

Transnational Leisure Experience of Second-Generation Immigrants

The Case of Chinese-Americans

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Abstract

Technological advancements have enabled contemporary immigrants to live in two worlds and maintain virtual and physical contact with their country of origin through leisure and tourism. While the transnational practices of first-generation immigrants have been well established, the extent of transnational leisure in the native-born second generation has not been explored. The purpose of this study is to examine the transnational practices of second-generation immigrants, specifically their leisure activities. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 26 second-generation Chinese-Americans on their immigrant background and transnational leisure experience. Findings revealed two distinct patterns in their transnational leisure: 1) the contrast between “traditional” versus “contemporary,” and 2) the progression from “ways of being” to “ways of belonging.”

Keywords: *transnationalism; transnational leisure; immigrants; second generation*

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Globalization trends and modern advancements in transportation have facilitated human mobility. With new information and communication technologies, it is also increasingly easy for immigrants to maintain virtual and physical contact with their country of origin. Previous migration studies argued that compared to earlier migration waves, contemporary immigrants are more likely to sustain a strong connection to their homelands and develop networks across national borders (Glick-Schiller, 1996; Portes, 1997). Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc (1994) used the term “transnationalism” to describe this interconnected social experience, which is “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 7). Transnationalism has been used as a framework to examine the interactions between immigrants and their country of origin and how transnational ties influence both immigrant sending and receiving nations.

Immigrants can engage in different types of transnational practices, such as attending hometown celebrations, investing in real estate, and sending remittances (Basch et al., 1994; Portes, Haller, & Guarnizo, 2002). However, research on transnationalism focused less on individual connections and more on the public domain, such as political involvement (Guarnizo et al., 2003), religion and civil engagement (Levitt, 2001), and economic activities (Portes et al., 2002). Being more “practical,” these collective practices demonstrate that immigrants maintain transnational ties to their country of origin with an extrinsic purpose, such as “to pursue economic mobility and make political claims in their home or host country or in both” (Levitt & Waters, 2002, p. 12). There exists, however, a personal and emotional bond between diasporic communities and their homeland (Sheffer, 1986). In order to capture the intrinsic aspect of transnationalism, it is necessary to look beyond political and economic practices and examine the “transnational leisure” activities of immigrants (Stodolska & Santos, 2006).

Compared to work, leisure is one domain in life where people are relatively free from obligations and free to express themselves (Kelly, 1987). Intrinsic motivation and freedom of choice have long been identified as essential elements of leisure (Neulinger, 1974; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1986). Ryan and Deci (2000) developed the Self-Determination Continuum from intrinsic motivation to amotivation, which has been commonly utilized to examine leisure motivation (e.g., Baldwin & Caldwell, 2003; Walker, 2009). Although leisure motivation may sometimes be “purposive” and directed toward extrinsic benefits (Shaw & Dawson, 2001), in most cases leisure satisfies the core psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000). As such, motivation for transnational leisure may be more intrinsic and autonomous than that of other transnational practices, which means that transnational leisure signifies an emotional and symbolic attachment to one’s roots and heritage, rather than a functional attachment with pragmatic purposes. While the importance of political and economic transnational practices has been established empirically, the personal and cultural aspect of transnationalism warrants further examination. Therefore, it is necessary to study the transnational lives of immigrants from a leisure perspective.

The purpose of this study is to examine the lived experience of second-generation immigrants in their transnational leisure pursuits. Building upon the works of Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) and Stodolska and Santos (2006), transnational leisure is defined as the leisure activities of immigrants that signal conscious identification with their particular ethnicity and foster their ties to the people, language, and culture of their ancestral homeland. Specifically, study objectives are 1) to explore the transnational leisure activities of second-generation Chinese-Americans, 2) to examine their transnational leisure behavioral patterns in early adulthood, and 3) to compare the role of transnational leisure in early adulthood versus childhood and/or teenage years. Using a qualitative interview approach, this study focused on the experience

of second-generation Chinese-Americans between the ages of 18 to 30 for three reasons. First, Chinese-Americans were the earliest Asian immigrants to the U.S. and the largest ethnic group within the Asian-American population to this day, making up 22% of the 13 million Asian-American population (Marger, 2012). Second, the transnational practices of second-generation immigrants focus more on the cultural domain (Perlmann, 2002), which makes them better subjects for studies on transnational leisure. Third, the target population was limited to young adults in “emerging adulthood,” because this is the life stage when many individuals engage in the process of identity development (Arnett, 2000). Particularly for the children of immigrants, college is an important time to discover their beliefs, determine their identities, and to understand their connections to the larger society (Takeshita, 2007).

Literature Review

In the past, immigrants were considered to be the people who “uprooted themselves from their old society in order to make themselves a new home and adopt a new country to which they will pledge allegiance” (Basch et al., 1994, p. 4). Upon their arrival into the New World, immigrants were often forced to settle in less desirable areas, and then struggled to improve their living conditions and socioeconomic status (Handlin, 1973). Being separated from their native environment and desperate to belong in the host community, they gave up the traditions from home as they became assimilated into the dominant culture of the new society (Gordon, 1964). Nowadays, however, contemporary immigrants can be transnational and live in two worlds (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). They can live, work, and pray in the new country yet still sustain physical and emotional ties to their country of origin.

Transnationalism

Earlier sociological studies on migration generally focused on two themes. The first theme centered on the adaptation of immigrants in the new country, such as assimilation and immigrant incorporation (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003; Gordon, 1964; Iceland, 2009; Olneck, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Yinger, 1981). The second theme focused on the determinants of migration, including economic and political motives (e.g., Castles & Miller, 2009; Hatton & Williamson, 1998; Massey et al., 1998; Spellman, 2008; Stark, 1991; Thomas, 1973; Tilly, 2006; Trager, 2005). More recently, a third theme emerged in migration studies—transnationalism, which describes the interconnected lifestyle and social experience of immigrants maintaining multiple ties with their home and host societies (Basch et al., 1994).

Transnationalism could be sustained through activities of economic, political, social, familial, religious, and cultural nature. Regardless of activity type, Portes (1999) identified three characteristics of transnationalism, which are the activities that 1) occur across national borders, 2) take place on a regular basis, and 3) require a significant amount of time commitment. Transnational practices can also be divided into personal transnational ties and collective transnational actions (Haller & Landolt, 2005). Personal ties include keeping in touch with relatives across borders, sending remittances, and discussing homeland politics. Collective transnational actions include forming religious, civic, and political institutions and taking actions to parley home and host country social issues.

Another way to categorize transnational activities is to consider their meaning. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) distinguished between transnational “ways of being” and “ways of belonging.” Ways of being refer to the actual social relations and practices that immigrants engage in, such as having social contact with people in their country of origin. Ways of belonging refer to

the “practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark belonging” (p. 7). With ways of being and ways of belonging, it is possible to have one but not the other. For example, immigrants may eat food from their homeland only because their mother does the cooking, but not because they identify with that place. On the other hand, some immigrants may have no actual contact back in their country of origin, but they still feel a sense of connection to the homeland through memory, nostalgia or imagination.

Second-Generation Transnationalism

Scholars generally agree that the majority of contemporary immigrants engage in some level of transnational activities (Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003). However, it is less certain whether the transnational practices of first-generation immigrants would continue on to the second generation (Foner, 2002). Perlmann (2002) pointed out that discussions of second-generation transnationalism focus more on the cultural domain, while for the first generation, the emphasis is on their economic and political ties. He also suggested that since the second generation is usually not fluent in their parents’ native language, the possibility of them establishing economic ties (e.g., doing business in their country of origin) will be lower. Although cultural transnationalism is less studied than economic and political transnationalism, cultural transnational engagements are by no means rare among first and second-generation immigrants. In Al-Ali, Black, and Koser’s (2001) study on Eritrean and Bosnian refugees in Europe, they argued that cultural activities within the host country can still be considered transnational because they illustrate the desire to maintain cultural links with the home country. Brees (2010) also examined the transnational practices of Burmese refugees in Thailand. In addition to cultural activities and social events, purchasing consumer products from the home country was used as an example of “cultural enterprises promoting national identity,” which made it both cultural and economic transnationalism (p. 291). Finally, categorizing transnationalism as “narrow” and “broad,” Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina, and Vazquez (1999) compared the transnational practices of first and second-generation Dominican immigrants. Within the cultural domain, they found that first-generation immigrants engaged in both “narrow” and “broad” cultural transnationalism, while the second generation only took part in “broad” cultural transnationalism.

The strength of second-generation transnationalism varies among immigrants from different countries. Given the geographic proximity, second-generation Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorans, and Peruvians were found to have much stronger transnational ties than the Chinese and Russian Jews (Kasinitz et al., 2002). Second-generation Asian-Americans were also more likely to lose bilingual skills than the Spanish-speaking groups (Rumbaut, 2008). Moreover, the existence (or lack) of second-generation transnationalism can be influenced by parent-child relationships. Louie (2006) found second-generation Chinese-Americans to be more “ethnic” and less “transnational” than their Dominican counterparts, partly because Chinese immigrant parents were more demanding and put more emphasis on academic success. Although previous studies have found second-generation Chinese to be less transnational than immigrants of Hispanic ancestry, it should be noted that certain measures of transnationalism may be more difficult to achieve for some nationalities than others. For example, Kasinitz et al. (2008) found that 62% of second-generation Chinese residing in New York have visited China, which is lower than the 89% of second-generation Dominicans yet still “a high number given the distance and difficulty of travel” (p. 259). With regard to second-generation language retention, the origin of different language families and the linguistic complexity of specific languages make it more challenging for certain nationality groups to learn their parents’ native tongue (Kasinitz et al.,

2008). Therefore, while the loss of their parents' language and lower frequency of transnational practices suggest a lower level of transnationalism among Chinese-Americans, these variables may not be indicative of their interest in and efforts to become more transnational.

Although there is evidence supporting second-generation transnationalism, it has also been recognized that as a whole, the proportion of second-generation immigrants who engage in transnational practices is rather low (Jones-Correa, 2002). Itzigsohn (2011) indicated that approximately 25% to 30% of second-generation Dominicans engaged in transnational practices regularly, as opposed to the 60% of the first generation. Compared to their parents, the second generation is less likely to return to the homeland, more English dominant, more likely to marry outside of their original nationality group, and their frequency of sending remittances decreases over time. Moreover, the second generation has more social ties (e.g., friendship, work, marriage) in the receiving society than their parents, and may not find the need to participate in transnational networks as much (Jones-Correa, 2002). The loss of bilingual ability is also a common problem for second-generation immigrants (Foner, 2002; Perlmann, 2002). Finally, Levitt and Waters (2002) questioned whether the transnationalism of the second generation will have any long-term impact. Compared to the continuing transnational ties maintained by the first generation, if second-generation immigrants only engage in transnational activities occasionally, and these ties are confined to specific arenas in life, it is questionable whether these activities will have widespread consequences.

Current literature on transnationalism focuses more on public, collective activities. Although these political and economic transnational practices are central to the experience of first-generation immigrants, second-generation transnationalism has an important cultural component. Thus, instead of investigating these practical transnational actions, research on the second generation can turn to more personal and cultural transnationalism, such as the one maintained in and through leisure.

Transnational Leisure

Although leisure activities have not been the focus of transnationalism research in fields such as sociology, ethnic studies and geography, some cultural behaviors of immigrants that have been studied fall under the leisure domain. Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) defined sociocultural transnationalism as "the transnational practices that recreate a sense of community based on cultural understandings of belonging," and examined sociocultural activities, such as participating in township committees and taking part in symbolic events back home (p. 767). Itzigsohn et al. (1999) studied the "cultural transnationalism" of Dominican immigrants by dividing it into "narrow" and "broad" transnational practices. "Narrow" cultural transnationalism was characterized by high level of institutionalization and constant involvement in cultural production, while "broad" cultural transnationality included casual activities, such as dancing and listening to ethnic music. In the case of the Dominican community in Providence, although most cultural transnational organizations were run by first-generation immigrants, they tried to promote Dominican history and culture by reaching out to second-generation youths (Itzigsohn, 2011). The Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles study (IIMMLA) also included a number of variables related to transnational leisure (Rumbaut et al., 2008). Findings showed that 11.5% of second-generation immigrants attended a weekend or after school program to learn a language other than English, 8.1% participated in organizations associated with their parents' country of birth, and 48.7% watched TV or listened to the radio in their parents' language at least once a week or more. Likewise, the Immigrant Second Generation in New York study (ISGNY) discovered that 56.6% of second-generation immigrants frequently used ethnic

media, and 14.6% were members of ethnic organizations (Kasinitz et al., 2002), which is consistent with IIMMLA findings.

Research has also found some differences in cultural transnationalism across nationalities. West Indian immigrants considered ethnic music to be an important part of their cultural identity, while ethnic food and traditional holidays were more important to Chinese-Americans (Kasinitz et al., 2008). Data from IIMMLA indicated that second-generation Hispanic-Americans were more likely to use ethnic media "once a week or more" (64.5%) than the Chinese (37.1%) and Korean (48.9%) second generation (Rumbaut et al., 2008). ISGNY study revealed a similar pattern in that 83% of second-generation Dominicans and 70% of Puerto Ricans watched or listened to Spanish programming frequently, but only 31% of Russians and 41% of the Chinese did the same in their parents' language (Kasinitz et al., 2008). On the other hand, among the 10 main ethnic groups in the IIMMLA data set, second-generation Chinese had the highest proportion of attending after-school programs to learn another language (26%), followed closely by the Korean (23.4%) and significantly higher than other groups (e.g., Mexican-5.4%; Filipino-9.2%) (Rumbaut et al., 2008). It should be noted, however, that attending ethnic language schools is not necessarily indicative of the second generation's language proficiency, as many immigrant children learn their parental language at home. Given the differences in transnational leisure across nationalities, the second-generation's level of transnationalism cannot be determined by focusing on a few activities.

Within leisure literature, Stodolska and Santos (2006) were the first to introduce the concept of "transnational leisure," defining it as the leisure "that is maintained by transnational migrants to foster their ties with their countries and communities of origin" (p. 162). Their study identified the factors that influenced the leisure behavior of temporary migrants, including family status, work arrangements, economic, social, and cultural networks, and legal status. Although the focus of the study was on the effects of transnational/migrant status on one's leisure behavior, they provided some examples of transnational leisure, such as attending ethnic events, reading ethnic books and newspapers, and watching ethnic movies. Li and Stodolska (2006) also used transnationalism to examine the leisure behavior of international students. They discussed the meaning of leisure for Chinese students studying in the U.S., as well as how the leisure participation of international students was influenced by temporary student status, emotional status, and legal status.

Previous studies on the leisure experience of immigrants examined different variables, such as activity participation (Floyd & Gramann, 1993), motivation (Walker, Deng, & Dieser, 2001), perceived benefits (Shaull & Gramann, 1998), and constraints and barriers to participation (Scott, Lee, Lee, & Kim, 2006; Yu & Berryman, 1996). While the effects of migration and cultural assimilation on the leisure participation of immigrants have been well documented (see Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008), using a transnational perspective would be different. In the past, the difficulty of keeping in touch with one's homeland and the strong assimilationist pressures from the host society made it more important for immigrants to assimilate into the culture and lifestyle of their new country. With new technologies such as the Internet, smartphones, and satellite TV, however, contemporary immigrants have abundant opportunities to engage in transnational leisure and sustain their transnational identity (Green & Kabir, 2012). Of the few studies that examined immigrant leisure through a transnational framework, the target population was first-generation immigrants (Li & Stodolska, 2006; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). The second-generation experience may have, however, some unique characteristics. Being born and raised in the host society, second-generation immigrants have no English language barrier

and no issues with their legal status that may prohibit them from taking part in certain activities. Therefore, this study on the transnational leisure of second-generation immigrants helps to bridge the gaps in the existing literature in three ways: 1) by examining transnational leisure itself, rather than the effect of acculturation and transnationalism on immigrant leisure, 2) by focusing on the experience of second-generation immigrants, and 3) by exploring the cultural aspect of transnationalism, which has been less of a focus in transnationalism research.

Methods

This study explores the transnational leisure experience of second-generation Chinese-Americans through the use of qualitative research interviews. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain life world descriptions from the participants' points of view and unfold the meanings of their experiences (Kvale, 1996). Although the researchers were not second-generation immigrants, the principal investigator has lived abroad for eight years at the time of data collection. Two of the co-investigators also had the experience of studying or working abroad. The researchers' personal reflections on the transnational lifestyle of migrants, as well as their theoretical knowledge and social observation, allowed the researchers and the participants to co-construct an in-depth understanding of transnational leisure (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Data Collection

For this study, second-generation Chinese-Americans were defined as individuals who were born in the United States with at least one parent who was born in the People's Republic of China, including Hong Kong and Macao but excluding Taiwan. Participants were recruited through purposive and snowball sampling. According to the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), 95.5% of second-generation Chinese-Americans were "currently attending college" around the age of 24 (Zhou & Xiong, 2005). Thus, a university campus was selected as the starting point for data collection. The first few participants were contacted through the largest student organization for Chinese-Americans at a university in southern California. Afterwards, new participants were recruited through snowball sampling of existing participants. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in a student cafeteria on campus. In the end, 26 interviews were conducted from June to August, 2011. Data collection concluded after the point of data saturation.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to capture the transnational leisure experience of the participants as well as their feelings and attitudes toward their parents' country of origin and immigrant identity. An interview guide was developed based on relevant literature. Major questions included "What type of leisure activities do you do that are related to China or Chinese-American culture?" "Who do you usually do these activities with?" "Within your social group, how many of your friends are Chinese or Asian-American?" "Do these activities play an important role in your current life?" "When you were a kid, how were things different or the same compared to now?" and "How did your 'Chinese' leisure activities change since you came to college?" Interview questions were pilot-tested among a convenience sample of Asian-American college students to ensure that the questions were clear and comprehensible. The questions were revised according to the opinions of academic experts in respective fields and the feedback received from pilot-test participants. All interviews were conducted in English, but Mandarin Chinese was used occasionally for some proper nouns or Chinese-specific phrases. The interviewer was fluent in both English and Mandarin Chinese. Rapport was established at the beginning by discussing Chinese pop culture, such as favorite singers and TV series, and

then continued on to other types of transnational leisure and more personal experiences. The actual interview time ranged from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes, with an average of approximately one hour. Finally, to complement the interview data, a short English questionnaire was given to participants prior to the interviews to gather information on their demographic background and Chinese language proficiency.

Study participants consisted of 12 males and 14 females, ranging from 19 to 28 years of age (mean=21.8). Two participants were half-Chinese and half-Caucasian, while the rest had two Chinese parents. In terms of education, 22 participants were undergraduate students, and 4 were graduate students. The median of their family's annual household income fell in the \$50,000-\$74,999 category. As for their language proficiency, the majority (i.e., 19 out of 26) indicated that they could speak and understand Chinese "well" or "very well," but only few (i.e., 6 out of 26) could read and write Chinese "well" or "very well." Participants were asked to indicate their skill level for either Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese, whichever was the dominant Chinese language at home.

Data Analysis

All interviews were digitally voice recorded with the interviewees' consent. Afterward, verbatim transcripts of the recordings, along with the notes and observations of the interviewer, were made to ensure the accuracy of the transcribed data. The transcripts were sent to participants for verification. Most participants did not provide any comments, but one participant requested a copy of the audio recording of his interview, which was later sent to him. The participant recruitment process, interview and transcription procedures, and security measures to protect the confidentiality of the information obtained have been reviewed and received ethics clearance. To ensure participant anonymity, pseudonyms were used when reporting the findings of this study.

To process the data, the notes and transcripts were analyzed through systematic classification and identification of themes and patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The data were coded manually through a basic word processing program. The coding process consisted of three main stages: descriptive, topic, and analytical coding (Richards, 2005). First, descriptive coding is a means of storing the information and attributes of the people and activities being analyzed. The second step is topic coding, which involves labeling the text and allocating passages to topics. By giving labels to each meaning unit, extensive textual data can be reduced to topics. Finally, the third stage is analytical coding, where labels and concepts are grouped into various categories through constant comparison. Conceptual categories are integrated and developed into themes by analyzing and interpreting the relationships between core concepts. Although qualitative data analysis can be described as a series of steps, the coding process is not linear, but iterative (Richards & Morse, 2007). At times it may be necessary to return to the original transcripts and reflect upon new coding categories. Moreover, in order to obtain a meaningful interpretation of the data, it is also necessary to establish valid connections between qualitative findings and relevant literature and theories (Andriotis, 2009).

To enhance the trustworthiness of qualitative analysis and findings, this study employed data triangulation, theory triangulation, and expert opinion (Patton, 2002). Although the majority of the data came from semi-structured interviews, the websites of Chinese cultural student organizations at one university in southern California were also examined to gather information on their activities and mission statement. During the literature review process, a collection of 14 autobiographies of Asian-American college students was also examined (Garrod & Kilkenny, 2007). Although the book was not a part of the data, similar stories were being told in the in-

interviews conducted for this study and the first-person narratives in the book, which supported study findings. In addition, different theories on immigrants, such as assimilation, transnationalism and diaspora, were reviewed, creating theory triangulation and establishing a connection between findings and the literature. Finally, expert opinion was achieved by seeking the opinions and feedback of academic experts in respective fields to review the design and findings of this study.

Findings

To understand the transnational leisure experience of immigrants, participants were interviewed about the role of transnational leisure in their everyday life. Specifically, being Chinese-American, how transnational are their lives and to what extent are their leisure activities related to Chinese or Chinese-American culture? Findings revealed that participants took part in a wide range of culture-related leisure activities from childhood to emerging adulthood, from individual activities to social activities, and from traditional Chinese culture to contemporary Chinese pop culture. Four overarching themes were identified with regard to the transnational leisure participation of second-generation Chinese-Americans: 1) types of transnational leisure, 2) traditional forms of transnational leisure, 3) contemporary forms of transnational leisure, and 4) transformation from “ways of being” to “ways of belonging.”

Types of Transnational Leisure

When asked about their transnational leisure, participants provided a variety of answers. Table 1 provides a list of all the activities that were mentioned during the interviews, categorized into four types: *ethnic events and festivals*, *ethnic social clubs and organizations*, *ethnic media and pop culture*, and *Internet-based activities*. Examples or explanations of each type are provided in Table 1. Although some activities are labeled as “ethnic” events and “ethnic” clubs, they are transnational in nature because they sustain the culture of the home country, and participants can learn and experience transnational cultures. By contrast, some participants mentioned watching videos of a Chinese-American YouTube celebrity, which is part of an ethnic subculture within the U.S. and thus not included as transnational leisure. It should also be noted that Table 1 is not a comprehensive list of second-generation transnational leisure. Some forms of transnational leisure suggested by previous scholars, such as “reading ethnic books and newspapers” (Stodolska & Santos, 2006), were mentioned by the participants as something their parents did, but not themselves, and thus were not presented in Table 1. Moreover, activities such as eating Chinese food and shopping for groceries were not considered transnational leisure, because these practices are often due to habit or convenience, and may not necessarily demonstrate a conscious choice to connect to one’s ancestral culture (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004).

Among the four types, *ethnic events and festivals* and *ethnic social clubs and organizations* involve Chinese traditions, while *ethnic media and pop culture*, and *Internet-based activities* are associated with contemporary Chinese culture. The dichotomy between “traditional” versus “contemporary” leisure is important because for second-generation immigrants, the homeland is the country of their parents, grandparents, and ancestors—a place of the past. Do they associate the home country with being more historic and traditional? Or are they interested in the latest trends of the homeland, such as music, sports, and fashion? Although participants engaged in both traditional and contemporary forms of transnational leisure, further analysis revealed that there were two distinct patterns of behavior, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Table 1
Transnational Leisure of Second-Generation Chinese-Americans

Ethnic Events and Festivals	Ethnic Social Clubs and Organizations	Ethnic Media and Pop Culture	Internet-based Activities
Chinese Lunar New Year -celebrating at home with family -celebrating event in student clubs Ching Ming Festival (Tomb Sweeping Day) -visiting the cemetery with family Mid-Autumn Festival -attending the festivity in Chinatown Dragon Boat Festival -eating zongzi (rice dumplings)	University student organizations -kung fu/martial arts -traditional dance/folk dance -lion dance -dragon boat race -Teo-chew opera/Peking opera -traditional Chinese instruments -Chinese herbal medicine After-school programs (Chinese school) -games (e.g., Go, Chinese checkers, Chinese chess, Aeroplane chess, Chinese yo-yo) -art (e.g., Chinese knotting, Chinese ceramics, calligraphy)	Film -Chinese movies -Hong Kong movies TV -Taiwanese drama -Korean drama -Japanese comics/animation -magic shows -singing competitions Music -Chinese pop music -Korean pop music -karaoke in Chinese	Social media -maintaining contact with friends and family in China YouTube -source for Chinese music and videos Websites -information and billboard ranking of Chinese pop music Online shopping -Asian fashion

Traditional Forms of Transnational Leisure

Transnational leisure such as attending ethnic festivals and participating in ethnic social clubs indicates that second-generation Chinese-Americans have some interest in Chinese customs and traditions. For the study sample, these “traditional” activities usually occurred in a group setting and the theme was more region-specific when compared to “contemporary” leisure such as pop culture and Internet-based activities. First and foremost, much of what the participants knew about Chinese traditions and holidays started at home. In addition to the Chinese New Year, which is celebrated by most ethnic Chinese families, participants also talked about the Ching Ming Festival (“Tomb Sweeping Day”), when they would go to temples or cemeteries with their family to “visit” and honor their ancestors. Other holidays mentioned during the interviews included the Mid-Autumn Festival and the Dragon Boat Festival, when participants would either eat traditional food with their family or attend celebratory events in Chinatown.

Besides celebrating traditional holidays, a large portion of the participants’ “traditional” leisure activities occurred within their social groups. In college, many second-generation Chinese-Americans belonged to Chinese or Asian-oriented student organizations, and there is a greater emphasis on the traditional aspect of Chinese culture rather than contemporary culture in most student clubs. For example, according to one club website, their programs are “primarily geared toward the unique multi-cultural identity of Chinese-Americans striving to understand their heritage, history, and experiences” (ACA, 2011). The mission of another Chinese club is also to “create bridges and connect with each other and their own families to preserve the special Teo Chew language, culture, and heritage” (TCA, 2011). To do so, the club has language lessons and incorporates different themes, such as “family tree” and “Teo Chew origins” into their social activities. One participant, Ethan, described how the staff members “would push cultural things and traditions by making it into games, so people would be more interested.”

In addition to learning about Chinese culture and traditions, many extracurricular activities that participants were interested in involved traditional skills. For example, Daniel was involved in a Chinese martial arts club, and he described how he grew to appreciate the history and origins of different styles of Chinese martial arts:

Initially I did it because I was really bored, but then as I did it more and more, I started to watch more of the traditional old movies, started loving it more and more, and I started knowing the stories and traditional culture that was involved in Chinese martial arts as well.

Chinese cultural dance was another popular club activity, where members can learn and perform traditional folk dances of minority groups. Although they were not members, some participants talked about their school’s Lion Dance club and Dragon Boat team, which also have roots in traditional Chinese culture. Another interesting case of leisure and traditional culture was the experience of Cindy, whose “biggest interest is traditional Chinese medicine.” She was involved in a club for complementary and alternative medicine (which included traditional Chinese medicine) as a way to combine her interest with her Chinese heritage.

The “traditional” leisure of second-generation Chinese-Americans was not only group-based, but region-specific—focusing on regions or sub-cultures within China rather than China as a whole. Some participants chose not to join a large organization for all Chinese-Americans “because I’ve heard about how big it is, and how you just become like a number in there, so I don’t feel comfortable with that,” according to Frank. Instead, they preferred to join Chinese cultural clubs with a regional focus, on areas such as Teo Chew, Hong Kong, Hmong, and Shanghai.

April explained why she chose the Teo Chew Association (TCA) over the Association of Chinese Americans (ACA):

ACA incorporates everyone, all Chinese people, and TCA, that's basically who I am, because I'm full-blooded Teo Chew. I identify myself more as a Teo Chew, with my dialect and stuff. I really want to learn more about my culture, my background, and more about myself.

Although participating in transnational leisure to learn about one's culture and because "this is who I am" was not an intrinsically motivated behavior, it illustrated a combination of identified and integrated motivation, in which case participants could still feel a sense of autonomy because the perceived locus of causality was internal, not external (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Since China is a diverse country with many dialects and subcultures, minority groups wish to raise awareness of their own culture. The same phenomenon exists among Chinese-Americans in the U.S., with minority ethnic groups struggling against the dominant, Mandarin-speaking population. For example, Matt explained,

Our main dialect is not Cantonese and not Mandarin. Very few people speak it, especially in our generation, since often one parent is Teo Chew and the other is Mandarin or Cantonese, so the dominant language would prevail over Teo Chew. We want to up-keep our language, and learn more about our background and history.

An important issue in migration studies is how much language and culture is lost or preserved after the first generation (Portes & Hao, 2002; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean, 2006). Even though second-generation Chinese-Americans were often more fluent in English than in Chinese, their Chinese ancestry was still important to them. Through different forms of leisure participation, Chinese cultural activities allowed them to learn more about themselves and associate with other ethnicities.

Contemporary Forms of Transnational Leisure

Transnational leisure also takes the form of "contemporary" activities, such as ethnic pop culture and Internet-based activities. As opposed to the group-based, region-specific traditional activities discussed in the previous section, contemporary transnational leisure of the study sample was more individual and pan-ethnic in nature. When asked who they did these activities with, most participants answered along the lines of "It's more of an individual thing" or "I think they are things that I do on my own." For some people, the reason why they pursued these activities on their own was because they no longer lived at home. They used to watch Chinese TV or listen to music with their parents, but not anymore since they went off to college. However, the bigger issue was that participants could not find friends who shared the same interests. According to Jane, who was a staff member in a Chinese student organization:

My closest friends are Chinese-American. We don't normally talk about traveling in China, and most of them don't talk about watching Chinese dramas. I feel like a lot of them are more Americanized, and they tend to not watch that stuff.

April, who was the president of another Chinese cultural club, also stated, "It's like in my group of friends, I'm probably the only one, one of the few that listen to Asian culture, music, and stuff."

Most participants had many Chinese-American or Asian-American friends, which might indicate their social preference, but also reflected the student population makeup. According to Asian Nation.org, the Asian student population in many universities in California was approxi-

mately 40% (aMedia, 2000), so it was not surprising that participants had many Asian friends. Nevertheless, they still had trouble finding people who shared similar interests in Chinese pop culture. One possible explanation is that the Asian student population includes newly arrived international students as well as native-born second and later generation immigrants, and the two segments may belong to different social groups and rarely interact. For example, Dawn mentioned that the Taiwanese-American student group in her school was mostly Chinese-speaking first generation, so she did not feel comfortable there. Compared to the second generation, first-generation Chinese are more likely to take interest in contemporary Chinese culture, but the different subgroups within the ethnic Chinese population make it difficult for second-generation Chinese to find partners with the same interest. Moreover, participants in this study were recruited through purposive sampling. Although having strong transnational ties was not part of the sampling criteria, those who were willing to take part in the study might have more interest in their Chinese ancestry than their peers.

With regard to contemporary transnational leisure, participants expressed the desire to find friends with the same taste. When asked if she would discuss Chinese music or drama with her friends, Leah responded, "Rarely... we don't really bond that way. But it's something that I would actually like to do, but I just haven't actually found that group." Alex, who studied abroad in Beijing, also explained that:

I wish I could find more people who like that kind of music. I feel like after I study abroad, I didn't continue to learn the Chinese. That's also because I don't have many friends who share the same taste. So maybe I just listen to it myself, and appreciate it myself.

Another participant, Jack, even stated that his friends hate Chinese music: "I actually would like to find people that I can talk about this stuff with, but my friends kind of hate Chinese music. They didn't really know it when I play it." The lack of interest among their friends was the main reason why these modern, pop culture-related activities were usually considered an individual interest rather than a social activity.

In addition to being personal and solitary, another characteristic of contemporary transnational leisure among the study sample was that it was not region or country specific. Participants were not only interested in Chinese pop culture, but had a greater interest in Asian pop culture in general. During the interviews, participants were asked specifically if they listened to Chinese songs. While most participants would answer "yes," they would go on to talk about Taiwanese, Korean, and Japanese music. For example, Josh stated, "Yeah, I do listen to Chinese music. I've been listening to a lot more Asian music, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese music. That's actually the majority of what I listen to." When asked about their preference for Chinese films or television, many participants would watch movies or dramas in the Chinese language, but not actually produced in China. For example, April said, "I like those Taiwanese dramas. I grew up watching those Hong Kong dramas, and then recently I got into the Taiwanese ones." Korean dramas were also popular among Chinese-Americans, and some participants would watch Korean drama dubbed in Mandarin.

When asked about their identity, however, participants most commonly self-identified as "Chinese-American" rather than the pan-ethnic term of "Asian-American." Some participants would emphasize that they used to consider themselves "American" as a child, but became more "Chinese-American" now. Sometimes they also referred to themselves as "American" when describing their interactions with relatives living in China or newly arrived Chinese international

students. Seeing as they rarely self-identified as “Asian-American” during the interviews, their embrace of all Asian pop culture as their individual leisure is quite interesting. Previous research provided some evidence of second-generation immigrants’ increasing acceptance of pan-ethnicity as they grow up. In CILS, the percentage of respondents who used a racial or pan-ethnic term (e.g., Hispanic, Asian) to identify themselves increased as they progressed from middle school to graduating high school (Rumbaut, 2002). Specifically, at age 14, no second-generation Chinese-American self-identified as Asian or Asian-American, but as respondents reached the age of 17, almost one-third did so. The ISGNY study also found that young Chinese-Americans “do indeed consciously choose to be Asian-American, often after taking Asian-American studies classes in college or joining Asian-American organizations” (Kasinitz et al., 2008, p. 81). The second generation’s increasing acceptance of pan-ethnicity may account for the all-inclusive nature of second-generation Chinese-Americans’ perception of Chinese/Asian pop culture. Although the participants in this study identified more with being Chinese-American than Asian-American, their contemporary transnational leisure exemplified an increasing degree of pan-ethnic interest.

Finally, the Internet plays an important role in modern life as a form of leisure. For Chinese-Americans, the Internet provided their main access to Chinese pop culture and entertainment. Most participants referred to YouTube as their primary source of Chinese music and dramas. Participants also visited websites to search for information on Asian pop culture. During the interviews, four specific websites were mentioned: www.1ting.com, www.g-music.com.tw, www.soompi.com, and www.yesasia.com. It is worth noting that [G-music.com](http://www.g-music.com) and [1ting.com](http://www.1ting.com) are both in Mandarin Chinese with no English pages, [Soompi.com](http://www.soompi.com) is a purely English website, and [YesAsia.com](http://www.yesasia.com) has four language choices: English, Traditional Chinese, Simplified Chinese, and Japanese. From the language setting, it is possible to distinguish whether these websites are targeting Asians or Asian-Americans.

In addition to music or drama-related websites, interviewees also accessed www.yesstyle.com, which is an online retailer selling apparel and accessories from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan to other parts of the world. Shopping online for products from one’s country of origin fits the narrow definition of transnationalism, because it involves border-crossing transactions and contributes to the economy of the homeland. Among the pop culture information websites discussed earlier, participants visiting [G-music.com](http://www.g-music.com) and [1ting.com](http://www.1ting.com) can be considered “transnational,” because these two websites and their companies are based in Taiwan and China, respectively. However, [Soompi.com](http://www.soompi.com) and the company [Soompi Inc.](http://www.soompi.com) are based in San Francisco. Thus, if one makes purchases through [Soompi.com](http://www.soompi.com), the profits may still go to the homeland—in this case, Korea—but indirectly. It should also be noted that not all border-crossing, internet-based leisure activities are “transnational.” They could be the result of a globalized interest and lifestyle. Whether an activity is “transnational” in nature depends on the participants, their background, and cultural identity.

Being second-generation Chinese-American, participants enjoyed transnational leisure activities that involved contemporary Chinese culture as well as traditional culture. They pursued their interest in Chinese pop culture on their own, while their club activities tended to focus more on the traditional aspects of Chinese culture. The reason behind this dichotomy could be related to their social groups and the difficulty of finding partners with similar leisure interests, but it could also be a reflection of their self-construal. Markus and Kitayama (1991) identified two overarching self-construals within Western and non-Western cultures. While people in Western societies tend to have independent self-construal, the interdependent self-construal is more common in non-Western cultures. Since second-generation Chinese-Americans have

roots in both Eastern and Western cultures, they may have both individualistic and collectivistic characteristics, which are expressed separately through contemporary and traditional activities.

From Ways of Being to Ways of Belonging

The contrast between traditional and contemporary forms of transnational leisure for Chinese-Americans was discussed in the context of their current life, as young adults in college or graduate school. However, their experience with Chinese leisure might vary in its meaning and significance from childhood, adolescence, to early adulthood. Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) distinguished between transnational “ways of being” and “ways of belonging.” Using these notions to examine the leisure activities of second-generation Chinese-Americans, there appears to be a transformation from childhood to early adulthood, and from being forced to participate in activities related to Chinese culture to actually understanding the meanings of one’s actions and associating these activities with their Chinese-American identity.

Almost all participants had the experience of going to Chinese school on Saturdays when they were young. Being sent by their parents, most people disliked attending Chinese school. They were not interested in learning their parents’ language, and as one participant, Tony, stated, “Who likes going to school on a Saturday?!” The experience of attending ethnic language schools is not unique to second-generation Chinese. Similar programs exist for other immigrant groups, and some ethnic schools offer language as well as religious education (Hearn & Ramsay, 1993; Rumbaut et al., 2008). While a small minority of second-generation immigrants has positive memories of language schools, in most cases immigrant children did not enjoy their ethnic school experience (Hinton, 1999; Kasinitz et al., 2008). Chinese schools also provide some cultural activities for children. However, many participants felt that those activities were also forced upon them. For example, Frank, who was interested in martial arts and practiced Judo in college, said he did not like learning Kung Fu in Chinese school: “We get to do one activity, and Kung Fu was my activity. Back then, I was really stubborn. Like I would do it, but I wouldn’t really do the forms, and I wasn’t interested in how we had to learn all the forms.” Karen also explained that she learned calligraphy, Chinese knotting, and Chinese ceramics back in Chinese school, but personally, she was always more interested in dancing, and later pursued Chinese dance in high school and college.

One’s choice of leisure may be a matter of personal preference. Often, however, people’s interests evolve as they grow older. Alex experienced several types of Chinese activities when he was young, but did not like any of them:

I tried Chinese yoyo once, but it’s hard. I didn’t really get it. I learned a little bit of Kung Fu growing up, but I didn’t really like it. My parents tried to initiate me to do things, like calligraphy and Tai Chi, but I haven’t really continued it. I just sort of started to learn, and then stopped.

It was not until high school that he found the type of Chinese leisure he enjoyed, which was playing Chinese board games. Another participant, Jack, first learned Chinese from a private tutor, and rejected it: “She made me recite those Chinese poems. I never really liked the poems. I thought it was weird. It doesn’t sound as nice as English poems.” After taking Chinese classes in college, however, he discovered that he really liked learning Chinese idioms and the stories behind them. He would look them up on the Internet, keep a list of Chinese idioms, and try to use them in his everyday conversations. Although these Chinese idioms were still a part of “school,” he enjoyed reading about them and tried to find more in his spare time.

From childhood to early adulthood, participants had more freedom to choose their own leisure. When they were young, their transnational practices were mostly “ways of being.” But as they developed a deeper understanding of the meanings of these activities, transnational leisure now signified “ways of belonging.” When asked about the importance of Chinese culture in her life, Karen stressed the difference between level of interest and amount of time spent:

I think in the past, my mom kind of pushed it on me, so I feel like it was a bigger part of my life back then. But here, I did pursue it because I was genuinely interested in it. So I pursued Chinese culture more actively in college than in high school.

Although the amount of time Karen spent on these Chinese activities decreased in college, their level of importance increased because she chose to do them on her own. Jeremy also emphasized the importance of choice in his personal experience:

Before I thought Chinese culture was kind of boring and lame. I grew up learning about the festivals and celebrating the Chinese New Year, but to me it was very routine. It didn't have much meaning... I like to find out about it on my own. So for me, my pursuit of Chinese culture really took off after high school, and [was] not influenced by my parents, or maybe even friends. It's more just by myself.

Even for those who enjoyed transnational leisure when they were young, it made a difference whether or not they understood the meaning of these activities. Dawn described how her family would perform religious ceremonies to honor her ancestors:

When I was little, I just went along with it. I thought it was cool though, because I liked having them give me responsibilities, like placing these things here, or holding the incense and bow three times. I enjoyed watching and being a part of that tradition.

While she liked the ceremony as a child, she appreciated it more as an adult, because “I understand more of what that traditional ceremony means. And it's more of a cultural and family bonding experience for me now.”

In addition to understanding the meanings of transnational practices, participants also grew to acknowledge how Chinese culture was related to their identity. For example, Mia stated,

Childhood, it was more like my parents made me do them, but I would not really understand why. Later, I started to explore more of my Chinese heritage, getting more into it, because I know this is part of who I am, because I want to do it.

The age period from late teens to mid-twenties, known as “emerging adulthood,” is important to one's identity formation (Arnett, 2000). The participants' experience with transnational leisure in college was different because they have embraced their bicultural identity. According to Matt:

I'm becoming more mature, more aware of who I am as a person, so that includes my identity as Chinese-American, so it [Chinese culture] is more relevant now than before. Now it's like a way of life, because college is just that time when you find out more about yourself. So I'm becoming more involved in Chinese clubs and learning about my culture.

With such awareness, the activities discussed earlier, whether it was listening to Chinese music or practicing Kung Fu, signified a transnational “ways of belonging.” Although study participants were fairly young, they went through a transformation in their transnational leisure, from forced participation to truly appreciating its meanings and significance. It is important

to note that such transformation did not occur for all participants, much less all second-generation Chinese-Americans, at this stage in life. While most participants grew to recognize the importance of learning Chinese, they varied in their level of interest in transnational leisure and identification with China. Moreover, as indicated by some participants' difficulty of finding companions for transnational leisure, they were more transnational than many of their friends. For second-generation immigrants, the transformation from "ways of being" to "ways of belonging" may take place at different stages in life, or perhaps never at all.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study examined the transnational leisure pursuits of second-generation immigrants, with Chinese-Americans as the study population. First, findings suggest that transnational leisure consists of four main types: ethnic events and festivals, ethnic social clubs and organizations, ethnic media and pop culture, and Internet-based activities. This categorization corresponds to the first study objective and provides a detailed illustration of transnational leisure in the Chinese-American context. Second, the themes of traditional and contemporary transnational leisure describe the participants' leisure behavioral patterns in early adulthood (study objective 2). While they participated in both contemporary and traditional forms of transnational leisure, their contemporary transnational leisure tended to be independent and pan-ethnic in nature, but their traditional activities were more region-specific and occurred in a group setting. Being in between two cultures, the dichotomous pattern of Chinese-American's transnational leisure might indicate that they have both independent and interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and it would be interesting to further explore how they associate different personal characteristics with different forms of transnational leisure.

Moreover, the fourth theme of transnational ways of being versus belonging reveals that second-generation immigrants experience a transformation from childhood to early adulthood, as they grow to appreciate the meanings of transnational leisure and how these activities reflect their identity as Chinese-Americans (study objective 3). The changes in one's leisure preference are not uncommon, and adults sometimes find themselves returning to childhood leisure activities that they rejected before. However, the transformation of second-generation immigrants from "ways of being" to "ways of belonging" is more than just a new found interest. Choosing to engage in transnational leisure and acknowledging it as a part of one's identity and ancestral heritage makes the activity meaningful. Such sense of belonging is not established in the activity itself, but in how second-generation immigrants bond with their family and other members of their community through transnational leisure. Therefore, the second generation may need to reach a certain age and level of maturity to be able to appreciate the "ways of belonging" experience.

All participants were students at the time of data collection, and many of their leisure activities took place within a college setting and/or with their college friends. Colleges are a unique environment where second-generation immigrants can meet people of different backgrounds and develop their self- and ethnic identity (Takeshita, 2007). Data collection took place in a university in southern California, where there was a large Asian student population. Therefore, participants had opportunities to join not only Chinese-American student organizations, but also clubs targeting specific aspects of Chinese culture or subgroups within the "Chinese" population. Had the data been collected in a school with fewer Asian students, the Chinese-American students there would not have had as many types of transnational leisure to choose from. The situ-

ation would be similar for those who are not a part of the college community. Those living and working in proximity to ethnic enclaves could still take part in community events; otherwise, their transnational leisure may be more individualistic or engaged in with close friends. Since the transnational attachment of the second generation tend to be weaker than their parents, they may not be as determined in the pursuit of transnational leisure, and participation level might decrease over time. On the other hand, after second-generation immigrants start their own family, they may want to keep traditions alive and re-invest in transnational leisure. The transnational leisure of the second generation after college is still unknown and warrants further inquiry.

This study contributes to the literature on migration and transnationalism by examining the transnational leisure activities of second-generation immigrants. Previous studies on transnationalism focused more on economic, political, and religious practices (e.g., Guarnizo et al., 2003; Levitt, 2001; Portes et al., 2002). There are fewer studies on the personal and cultural aspects of transnationalism. Scholars have also categorized transnational practices according to the efforts involved and impact achieved, such as “narrow vs. broad” transnationalism (Itzigsohn et al., 1999), “core vs. expanded” transnationalism (Guarnizo, 2000), transnationalism “from above” vs. transnationalism “from below” (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998), and personal transnational ties vs. collective transnational actions (Haller & Landolt, 2005). Many transnational leisure activities identified in this study could be categorized as the broad, personal, and non-institutionalized aspect of transnationalism, which was an area less studied. Moreover, leisure usually involves more autonomous motivations than work and other obligations, and cultural transnationalism is believed to be “more affective oriented and less instrumental” than political or economic transnationalism (Walker, 2008; Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002, p. 768). Therefore, the transnational leisure of second-generation immigrants is not so much a necessity as a reflection of their interests and identity. On the other hand, transnational leisure also brings external rewards, such as improved language proficiency. Thus, one cannot assume that all transnational leisure is purely intrinsically motivated; the second generation may participate in transnational leisure to perfect the language of their parents and increase future career opportunities.

The notion of “transnational leisure” also contributes to leisure research. Many studies on the leisure behavior of immigrants were comparative in nature and examined cultural or racial differences in leisure behavior and participation (e.g., Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Stodolska & Yi, 2003; van Wel, Linssen, Kort, & Jansen, 1996). By comparing immigrants to the majority population, these studies focused more on some aspects of leisure constraints experienced by minority groups or the changes in their leisure after migration. Of the few studies that employed a transnationalism framework to study the leisure of immigrants (e.g., Li & Stodolska, 2006; Stodolska & Santos, 2006), the target population was first-generation immigrants. In the case of Chinese-Americans, the first generation may face certain constraints, such as language barriers, which prevent them from taking part in the mainstream leisure activities. However, the second generation has a higher level of assimilation than their parents, with the ability and resources to pursue more types of American leisure. Thus, their participation in Chinese cultural activities as leisure is a personal choice, not by default and not because their legal status or other constraints gave them no options. In today’s global and multicultural society, it is important to examine the role of transnational leisure in the lives of second-generation immigrants, so as to better understand the function of leisure in creating and sustaining transnational ties between immigrants and their homeland, and from the second generation and onward.

This study also has practical implications for leisure service organizations. In the past, immigrants’ primary goal was to become assimilated into the host society, which more or less

meant giving up their original language, culture, and lifestyle. However, contemporary immigrants can live in a “transnational social field” and engage in transnational leisure after migration (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004). For example, South Asian immigrants in the U.S. can now watch cricket via the Internet rather than football on TV. Leisure service providers must be aware of this trend, and they need to understand the transnational lifestyle of immigrants in order to cater to their needs. A recent example is CBC’s *Hockey Night in Canada*, which has been broadcasted in Punjabi and Mandarin Chinese to attract the immigrant population (CBC Sports, 2008; 2011). This study offers insight into the transnational leisure activities of immigrants, which enables service providers to understand the needs and improve the leisure experience of this growing population.

This study is not without limitations. First, as participants were second-generation immigrants between the ages of 18 to 30, the results cannot be generalized to other immigrant generations and age groups. In addition, the findings of this study are limited to Chinese-Americans, and not immigrants of other national origins. While the objectives and methodology of this study can be duplicated in studies on other immigrant nationalities, there are some differences between China and other countries that prevent the generalization of study findings to other nationalities. Within the second-generation Chinese-American population, this age cohort (18 to 30 years old) has witnessed the rapid development and modernization of China as they were growing up. The Beijing Olympics of 2008 and Shanghai World Expo of 2010 were two mega events that placed China on the international stage, and they took place as most participants went from adolescence to early adulthood. Given the context, the second generation’s interest in China and transnational leisure may be different from the experiences of other groups. Future studies can conduct a comparative analysis with other nationalities or generation cohorts. Moreover, this study examined the *what* and *how* of transnational leisure, but not so much the *why*. Future studies can investigate different types of transnational leisure across a continuum of leisure motivations. Building upon the findings of this study, it would also be interesting to follow up on the relationship between contemporary vs. traditional activities and the Western vs. non-Western self-construal. Finally, study participants were students at the time of data collection. It is suggested that a longitudinal study on their transnational leisure experiences at later stages in life would foster a better understanding of the transnational lifestyle of second-generation immigrants as they leave school, enter the work force, and start a new family. Such study could not only examine the changes in their transnational leisure activities, but also explore the possibility of second-generation transnationalism being passed on to the third generation.

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