



## Ceasing Participation in Leisure Activities After Immigration: Eastern Europeans and their Leisure Behavior

Monika Stodolska

To cite this article: Monika Stodolska (2002) Ceasing Participation in Leisure Activities After Immigration: Eastern Europeans and their Leisure Behavior, *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure*, 25:1, 79-117, DOI: [10.1080/07053436.2002.10707579](https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2002.10707579)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2002.10707579>



Published online: 03 Jul 2013.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 62



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 3 View citing articles [↗](#)

## ***PARTIE II / PART II***

---

### **LES FACTEURS DE PARTICIPATION / *FACTORS AFFECTING PARTICIPATION***



# CEASING PARTICIPATION IN LEISURE ACTIVITIES AFTER IMMIGRATION: EASTERN EUROPEANS AND THEIR LEISURE BEHAVIOR

Monika STODOLSKA

University of Illinois

## Introduction

During the 1980s and 1990s, leisure of ethnic and racial minorities has become an increasingly popular subject of inquiry among leisure researchers (Allison & Geiger, 1993; Hutchison, 1987; Klobus-Edwards, 1981; McMillen, 1983; Stamps & Stamps, 1985; Washburne, 1978, West, 1989). Only in recent years, however, have researchers begun to realize and acknowledge that ethnic and racial minorities are not internally homogenous populations that can be used as a convenient benchmark for comparisons with the “white mainstream,” but rather that they encompass individuals of diverse socio-economic background (Arnold & Shinew, 1998; Floyd, Shinew, McGuire & Noe, 1994; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire & Noe, 1995), different levels of assimilation/acclulturation (Carr & Williams, 1993a, 1993b; Floyd and Gramann, 1993; Floyd, Gramann & Saenz, 1993; Gramann, Shaull & Saenz, 1995; Kim & Scott 2000; Shaull & Gramann, 1998; Stodolska, 1998) and different generational tenure (Carr & Williams, 1993a). One of the manifestations of the growing recognition of diversity within ethnic populations has been the increasing emphasis by researchers on leisure behavior of minority women (Arnold & Shinew, 1998; Henderson & Ainsworth, 1999; Juniu, 1999; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire & Noe, 1995). Another area of focus that attempts to explore the internal heterogeneity of minorities is research on differences in leisure and recreation patterns between established minority groups and immigrant populations. Since the mid 1990s, a significant body of literature on immigrant issues has developed, including studies on subjects such as post-arrival changes

---

Loisir et société / *Society and Leisure*

Volume 25, numéro 1, printemps 2002, p. 79-117 • © Presses de l'Université du Québec

in leisure behavior, adjustment problems and the role of leisure in the assimilation process (Juniu, 1999, 2000; Rublee and Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 1998, 2000; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone and Shaw, 1997). Although this strand of research is still in its early stages of development and it has only begun to unravel the plethora of issues related to leisure of immigrant populations, immigrant leisure has been recognized as a legitimate area of research within the field of leisure studies.

Considering that ethnic and racial minorities, including immigrant groups, constitute a very large and fast growing segment of the Canadian and American populations, it is difficult to underestimate the importance of research on minority problems. Immigrants in particular play a very important role in maintaining economic prosperity of the two nations and offer invaluable contributions to their cultural and political spheres of life. While demographic figures alone can hardly convey the increasing significance of racial and ethnic minorities, they provide interesting insights into the current trends. As 2000 Census figures indicate, the number of immigrants in the United States has tripled during the last 30 years and is now approaching 30 million or close to 10 percent of the American population. According to the latest Census figures, Hispanics now slightly outnumber blacks as the nation's largest minority (US Census Bureau, 2000). Not only have the sheer numbers of immigrants in the United States been increasing, but also their spatial distribution has been changing rapidly. The growth of immigrant populations has become a universal phenomenon that is no longer limited to states with traditionally diverse populations. In fact, it is the states with lower concentrations of immigrants, such as Nevada, Georgia and North Carolina, that are experiencing the most rapid increases in the number of minority residents.

In Canada, immigration has been traditionally an important source of population growth. At the turn of the century, almost half of the population growth rate could be attributed to immigration (Statistics Canada, 1997). Since the post-WWII period, Canada experienced the highest immigration rates during the 1980s and 1990s resulting in almost 5 million Canadian residents being first generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1997). There are almost half a million first generation immigrants from Eastern European countries, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (formerly Czechoslovakia), Hungary and Ukraine residing in Canada. Eastern Europeans typically settle in Ontario, the city of Toronto being the primary destination, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta. In Edmonton, Alberta alone, there are more than 19 thousand people of Eastern European origin, including 5500 of those who speak Polish as their primary home language (Statistics Canada, 1997).

The significance of research on issues of immigrant groups goes far beyond the implications of the growing population size of ethnic minorities in Canada and the United States and their evolving spatial concentration patterns. While many

minorities have enjoyed a degree of emancipation and an increased economic and political power, some groups remain largely disfranchised. The needs and aspirations of immigrants tend to be ignored most often, even if they belong to otherwise well-established and politically influential ethnic groups. A recent study by the Center for Immigration Studies (Camarota, 2001) indicates that immigrants in the US are still behind native-born Americans in terms of income and home ownership rates. Furthermore, it suggests that the economic position of immigrants has been steadily deteriorating during the recent decades. In Canada, even though many immigrant groups have made significant economic and political gains over the last three decades, many newcomers still occupy lower positions in society and are known to fill jobs that other Canadians are unwilling to take (Isajiw, Sev'er & Driedger, 1993). Given these facts, it appears that research on the determinants of adaptation among immigrants as well as on factors that affect their quality of life has much to offer both in terms of policy implications and contributions to the understanding of the complex adjustment processes that immigrants undergo.

Leisure can play a particularly important role in the adaptation process. Existing research suggests that leisure is directly related to immigrants' quality of life and can significantly affect their speed and degree of assimilation (Ruble & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 1998). Leisure can also help to ease the hardships of the initial transitional period, but at the same time it can allow immigrants to retain a connection with their traditional way of life, thus enabling them to maintain a healthy emotional balance during this difficult period (Kim & Scott, 2000; Stodolska, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). Following their settlement in the host country, immigrants undergo certain profound changes. They are not only compelled to accept new jobs and to adjust to a new environment, but also they need to learn the language, reestablish their social networks and often redefine family roles. Leisure behavior is an inseparable element of this process of change. As it has been shown in previous research (Stodolska, 2000), immigrants cease some of their old leisure activities, but at the same they usually manage to retain some of their favourite pastimes and augment their leisure repertoires with new activities. By doing so, they are able to maintain an optimum level of novelty and familiarity in their lives (Iso-Ahola, 1980), and they retain connection with their former lifestyles while acquiring elements of the new culture (Allison & Geiger, 1993).

This paper examines the role of leisure in immigrants' adaptation by focusing on one aspect of the process of post-arrival leisure change – ceasing participation in leisure activities after settling in the host country. It explores in-depth ceasing participation patterns among Polish immigrants in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The objectives of this study are three-fold. First, the study is aimed at identifying major reasons why immigrants cease participating in their former pastimes. Second, it strives to identify groups of activities most commonly ceased by the newcomers. Last, it identifies and explains the reasons that Eastern European immigrants have for abandoning participation in their favorite activities. Findings

of this study are subsequently used to isolate patterns of changes in post-arrival leisure behavior that are likely to be universally applicable as well as to establish factors that might differentiate specific immigrant populations.

## Review of Literature

### *Eastern European Immigrants in Canada – Research on Polish Immigrants*

Even though first generation Polish immigrants constitute a significant part of the Canadian ethnic mosaic, until recently leisure of the Polish immigrant population in North America has not attracted much attention among researchers in our field. While there exists some published research in other social sciences that addresses selected aspects of the leisure experience of this ethnic group, it is difficult to find any serious attempts to explore the subject in a thorough and systematic manner. Since the great majority of existing literature on the Polish minority is quite descriptive in nature, it appears that the scarcity of empirical work dealing with this population extends to most branches of social science.

One of the few examples of empirical attempts to explore problems of Poles in North America was a study by Baker (1989) on Polish “Solidarity wave” immigrants in Toronto, Ontario. The author conducted a series of interviews to explore problems related to adaptation and ethnicity among the Polish immigrant population. Mostwin (1991) employed a series of quantitative surveys to obtain a more complete picture of social characteristics, problems, interests and aspirations of Polish immigrants to the United States. With the exception of these two empirical studies on the subject, the literature dealing with Polish ethnic group adopts a format of immigrants’ memoirs (Heydenkorn, 1990) or compilations of letters from immigrants (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958). These publications contain first hand accounts of everyday life, problems and feelings of newcomers and as such provide significant insights into their lifestyles and their post-settlement experiences.

Most studies devoted to the Polish ethnic minority in North America focus on subjects, such as the history of immigration waves (e.g. Avery and Fedorowicz, 1982; Brzezinski, 1974; Kobos and Pekacz, 1995), immigrant settlement patterns (e.g. Kobos and Pekacz, 1995), Polish ethnic organizations (e.g. Heydenkorn, 1974; Makowski 1967, 1987; Radecki, 1974), Polish ethnic press (e.g. Adolf, 1974; Stachniak, 1991), and biographies of prominent Polish immigrants (e.g. Kobos and Pekacz, 1995; Makowski 1967, 1987). Some of these publications also provide socio-demographic information about various waves of immigration from Poland (e.g. Heydenkorn, 1969; Kogler, 1969; Kogler and Heydenkorn, 1974) and discuss levels of assimilation and integration characteristic of these immigrant groups (e.g. Matejko and Matejko, 1974; Wojciechowski, 1969).

### *Leisure of Immigrants in Canada and the United States*

Empirical research on the patterns of leisure behavior among immigrant populations has been a recent addition to our field. Since the beginning of the 1990s, major leisure studies journals have published a number of articles dealing with changes in leisure behavior of immigrants, their assimilation patterns, constraints on leisure and the role of traditional customs in their leisure lives. Thus far, only four groups of immigrants, namely Latinos, East Asians (Chinese and Koreans), South Asians (Indians) and Poles, have been the subject of study by leisure researchers. While one may argue that the number of distinct groups that have been analyzed may be too small for inter-group comparison purposes, some common, as well as divergent patterns related to immigrants' leisure experience, can already be detected from this volume of research. Subsequently, I will present a brief overview of major findings obtained in studies on these four immigrant populations.

Presence of constraints on leisure related to the establishment process, such as lack of time, money, language skills and social isolation, has been observed in the majority of studies on immigrant populations. In her 1999 study of female immigrants from Latin America, Juniu reported that following immigration, the frequency with which immigrants engaged in leisure activities decreased, mainly due to lack of time, being overworked, family responsibilities and general changes in their lives. Lack of time appeared to be a particularly severe obstacle to immigrants' leisure participation. Since the majority of immigrants had come to the United States to improve their standard of living and since they emphasized the importance of economic success and advancement during the initial post-arrival period, they tended to work long hours and sacrifice their leisure sphere of life. Lack of English skills was another important obstacle that limited immigrants' participation in their desired leisure activities. It prevented them from establishing social interactions with individuals of other ethnic backgrounds, thus limiting their friendship circles to people of the same national origin.

Similar findings were obtained by Juniu (2000) from qualitative interviews conducted with immigrants from Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. The main leisure constraints identified by interviewees were also lack of time, lack of language skills, increased work responsibilities and obligations, tighter work schedules, and financial limitations. Most working-class immigrants in Juniu's study reported visiting family members and friends, getting together for BBQs and birthday celebrations to be among their favorite leisure activities. These common pastimes were social in nature, but due to language-related communication problems, participation was largely limited to the company of people of their own cultural background. Rublee and Shaw (1991), who studied Latin American refugee women in Atlantic Canada, also stressed the negative impact of lack of language skills on leisure lives of recent immigrants. They suggested that the lack of community involvement due to language difficulties and

new societal norms, combined with the reduced opportunity for socialization in church and neighborhood settings, made the lives of refugee women more home-oriented and passive and focused on child-care related activities.

In addition to the lack of language skills, Rublee and Shaw's (1991) study identified post-arrival social isolation and lack of social interactions as factors limiting leisure participation of immigrants. Interpersonal factors, including inability to find leisure co-participants, were also salient in the 1999 study of Chinese immigrants to Australia conducted by Tsai and Coleman. Tsai and Coleman's findings lend support to a conjecture that lack of established social networks can be detrimental to recent immigrants in their leisure pursuits (Stodolska, 1998, 2000). Moreover, Tsai and Coleman's study also revealed that the barriers perceived by immigrants as most important included resources, such as lack of time or money. These findings are in line with results obtained by Tirone and Shaw (1997), Tirone and Pedlar (2000), Stodolska and Jackson (1998) and Stodolska (1998), who found time and money to be particularly salient barriers for people during their first establishment period.

Discrimination was determined to be another important constraining factor that affected immigrants' participation in and their enjoyment of leisure activities by Stodolska and Jackson (1998). They found that patterns of discrimination experienced by white ethnic groups differed from those of well-established, visible minorities both in terms of the types of discriminatory treatment and the locations where such treatment took place. Discrimination also surfaced as a barrier constraining leisure of immigrants in a series of studies on South Asian youth conducted in the United Kingdom by Carrington, Chievers, and Williams (1987), Glyptis (1985) and by Taylor and Hegarty (1985). These studies showed that while South Asian girls were limited in their leisure pursuits by lack of parental approval, strict dress codes and by their own religious beliefs, South Asian boys enjoyed relative freedom from similar restrictions, but at the same time were more likely to experience racial discrimination from their mainstream peers. Constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants was the topic of another research project conducted by Stodolska in 1998. Findings of this study suggested that immigrants experienced barriers to participation not commonly found among the mainstream population, such as not feeling at ease among the mainstream, and perceived importance of certain constraints among immigrants diminished with increasing assimilation levels.

In several studies of recent immigrants from East Asia, leisure has been shown to serve as a tool that helps immigrants cope with the difficulties of the initial adjustment period. In a research project that tackled leisure behavior of Korean immigrants, Kim and Scott (2000) found that leisure was an important factor that helped immigrants to deal with establishment-related problems, enhanced their self esteem and reduced stress related to acculturation. Korean immigrants who perceived more leisure benefits had higher levels of self esteem

and experienced less acculturative stress. Yu and Berryman (1996) analyzed favorite leisure activities and interactions among constraints on leisure, self-esteem, and acculturation among teenage immigrants from China. The study revealed that along with increasing acculturation levels, Chinese adolescent immigrants participated more extensively in sports and affiliated more often with recreational clubs. Thus, the authors concluded that young immigrants were using leisure as a tool to facilitate their immersion into the new society.

Meaning of leisure activities, the role of leisure in the retention of cultural traditions and identity and the transformation of leisure lives after immigration were other themes that surfaced in the research on immigrant issues. In their 1997 study, Tirone and Shaw examined the meaning and importance of leisure in the lives of immigrant women from India. Their findings indicated the centrality of family in the life of immigrant women, a sense of lack of entitlement to private free time and the importance of extended family networks. The breakdown of traditional family structures following immigration was identified as a major factor behind the transformation of lives among immigrant women. Importance of extended family networks was also stressed in the 2000 study of South Asian teens and young adults by Tirone and Pedlar. They found that a significant portion of young people's leisure was centered around and appropriated by their extended families. South Asian teenagers spent much of their free time with parents, aunts and siblings, and they stressed the central role of family in many other aspects of their lives.

The retention of traditional cultural values through participation in leisure activities was clearly shown in the classic study of elderly Chinese in California by Allison and Geiger (1993). They found that leisure of immigrants included both traditional Chinese activities and seemingly American activities that were filled with Chinese content (e.g. gardening, sewing). Chinese immigrants appeared to maintain participation in culturally-related activities throughout most of their lives in America. Changes in leisure behavior of immigrants during the initial post-arrival period have been analyzed in a study of recent immigrants from Poland by Stodolska (2000). She employed Jackson and Dunn's (1988) theoretical framework to analyze patterns of ceasing and starting leisure participation as well as continuation of traditional leisure pursuits. The study showed that immigrants retained many of their traditional pastimes but ceased participation in some leisure activities, such as hiking, camping, family gatherings and long vacations. The findings of the study suggested that the observed post-arrival leisure participation changes could be partially attributed to past latent demand, to the decreased role of certain interpersonal constraints and to being exposed to new leisure opportunities.

The present study is a continuation of research conducted on the sample of Polish immigrants to Edmonton, Canada and is intended to offer an in-depth look at the pastimes newcomers had to discontinue as a direct result of the emigration experience. Even though Jackson and Dunn (1991) argued that ceasing participation

could not be analyzed in isolation and that changes in leisure behavior could be adequately explained only if other phenomena, such as initiating new activities, were simultaneously taken into account, it is not the goal of this study to provide a comprehensive picture of post arrival leisure behavior patterns. Instead, its main objective is to offer a detailed exposition of the factors that induce immigrants to abandon some of their pastimes during the period following their settling in the new country. Subsequently, the paper discusses commonalities as well as differences in post-arrival leisure behavior patterns among various immigrant groups.

Similarly to the previous study on Polish immigrant population (Stodolska, 2000), this paper makes use of the theoretical model of ceasing and starting participation developed by Jackson and Dunn (1988) and further expanded and tested by McGuire, O'Leary, Yeh, and Dottavio (1989) as well as by Iso-Ahola, Jackson, and Dunn (1994). For a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework used in these studies, one can turn to Stodolska (2000).

## Methods

This paper emerges from the second and third stages of a multi-stage, multi-method research project utilising both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Since the goal of this research was to present a detailed picture of leisure behavior of a distinct minority population whose problems and everyday issues were not readily apparent to the researcher and not previously discussed in the literature, a multi-method design was used to gather the data. The researcher believed that by combining qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, she would be able to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena from the perspective of the interviewees as well as design a survey instrument that would be able to capture nuances of the culture and unique experience of the studied minority group. A small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (Stage 1) was administered in the spring of 1995. The survey focused on leisure participation among Polish immigrants to Edmonton, Alberta and measured the level of assimilation of respondents using the assimilation theory developed by Gordon (1964) and subsequently revised by Williams and Ortega (1990). One hundred questionnaires were distributed using a snowball sampling technique. All one hundred questionnaires were returned; however, two of them were inappropriately completed and had to be excluded from the sample. The results of this pilot study were primarily used to verify the reliability of scales to be used in the large-scale questionnaire survey (Stage 3), to detect problems that might be encountered while applying scales developed and tested on the mainstream population to studying ethnic minority group and to identify problems that minority respondents might have in understanding concepts directly translated from the English language to their mother tongue. Several problems were detected during the initial pilot study. They were largely related to the inability of respondents to grasp concepts related to

leisure and recreation commonly applied in studies of the mainstream population. As such, the pilot study allowed the researcher to introduce appropriate changes and to make the questionnaire survey used in Stage 3 better suited for studying problems of this particular ethnic group.

This pilot survey was followed by a qualitative stage (Stage 2), consisting of a series of in-depth interviews. The objectives of this stage were twofold. First, it was intended to facilitate the design of a questionnaire to be used in a subsequent large-scale survey. Second, the interview material was meant to help in interpretation of quantitative findings. The final stage of the research project (Stage 3) consisted of a questionnaire survey that was distributed to recent Polish immigrants residing in Edmonton, Alberta.

### *Qualitative Stage*

The data in Stage 2 were collected during the late spring and early summer of 1996 during a course of semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with thirteen members of the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta. Questions dealing with the changes that had occurred in people's leisure after their settling in Canada were a component of a broader interview session concerned with problems related to assimilation of recent immigrants to Canada. All interviewees were members of the Solidarity wave of immigrants from Poland and had settled in Canada after 1979. Respondents were initially approached through the author's contacts among the Polish community in Edmonton. The sample consisted of five women and eight men, ranging from 16 to 50 years of age, with an average age of 32. The longest period of time spent in Canada was sixteen years (in the case of two of the respondents), while the youngest interviewee, a 16-year-old girl, had settled in the country only two years prior to the study. The average time of residence in Canada among the respondents was almost nine years. Six of the interviewees were married, one was living in a common-law relationship, two were divorced, and four were single. Interviewees were purposely selected to represent a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. They included a dentist, a car mechanic, a day-care worker, a store clerk, an electrician, a caretaker, a nurse, three students, two taxi drivers and one unemployed person. The goal of the researcher was to obtain information from people who could provide varied perspectives on the problems under consideration. During the initial interviews, several issues had surfaced that were not the part of the original interview schedule, but that appeared to be of particular importance to interviewees. One of the most pressing topics addressed by all of the initial interviewees had to do with discrimination and the negative treatment they received from mainstream Canadians. These topics, identified during the first interviews, were followed up in subsequent conversations. The interviews continued until the researcher was convinced that theoretical saturation had been reached in issues that were of primary importance to the research topic.

While additional information was still surfacing regarding several issues that were of the side interest to the study such as relations with the local ethnic community, immigration-related experiences related to different immigration process and attitudes to the mainstream population, the interview process had been completed after thirteen interviews due to time and other resource constraints.

The interviews were conducted in the home of either the interviewee or the author of the article. Respondents were offered a choice of the questions in Polish or in English. Since all of them felt more confident in their native language, all the interviews were conducted in Polish. Before each interview started, the respondent was informed about the general purpose of the study, the format of the interview and the topics that the questions would cover. The exact sequence and wording of the questions varied, depending on a respondent's personal opinions and characteristics. Additional probes regarding particular subjects were introduced as new topics emerged from the interviews already completed. The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and four hours and were tape recorded and later transcribed. To minimize data collection bias, detailed notes were kept on the circumstances in which interviews were conducted, on the psychological state of interviewees and on any other potentially relevant factors.

In the section of the interview dealing with issues related to leisure and recreation, interviewees were asked whether there were any leisure activities in which they had participated in Poland, but had abandoned after their settlement in Canada. Also, enquiries were made about the reasons for ceasing participation in each of these activities. In particular, the researcher was interested to learn how strong an effect factors, such as cultural differences, unfamiliar surroundings, language difficulties, financial difficulties and lack of free time, had on the respondents' inability to participate and how the importance of these factors was evolving since their arrival to Canada.

Once all the interview sessions had been transcribed, a constant-comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1980) was used to isolate major themes related to the leisure lives of immigrants based both on the interview transcripts and on other previously recorded contextual information. Particular attention was paid to discussions of the subjects that followed the respondents' answers to the initial questions. Such an approach allowed the researcher to gain an understanding of the phenomena in the broader context of the respondents' life experiences and value systems. During the subsequent stage of analysis, the transcripts were re-read and common themes and categories were isolated. The researcher kept track of examples of statements that were consistent with the themes, as well as possible exceptions. Finally, after all the relevant points had been synthesized from the data, the transcripts were read once again to ensure that all the significant aspects of the phenomena had been accounted for.

### ***Quantitative Stage Data collection***

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (Stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (Stage 3) which was conducted between December, 1996 and March, 1997. Five hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among first-generation Polish immigrants residing in Edmonton, Alberta with the individual as the unit of analysis. A list of Polish-sounding names was selected from the city telephone directory. Even though many Poles do not have what one would consider a typical Polish name, I believed that such a selection process introduced only a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names, since one can reasonably assume that individuals with or without Polish-sounding names would not differ with respect to any of the key characteristics relevant to the study. Subsequently, all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent. All potential respondents with disconnected telephone numbers as well as those who claimed not to be Polish immigrants were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of five hundred suitable individuals was created. Despite its possible bias towards less assimilated respondents, such a selection procedure had to be adopted because all other available lists of Polish immigrants had been compiled by various Polish ethnic organizations and businesses and thus were believed to be even more biased toward “ethnically-enclosed” immigrants.

Five hundred anonymous questionnaires were mailed out in the late November of 1996. In order to reduce gender bias, respondents were asked that the questionnaire be completed by the member of the household who had had his/her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mail-out, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997, three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mail-out yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. Twenty responses had to be excluded since they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus, the effective sample size was further reduced to 264 responses from individuals who immigrated to Canada in 1979 or later and thus could be classified as belonging to the most recent Solidarity wave. The sample consisted of 168 males (63.6%) and 96 females (36.4%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 70 with a mean of 43. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996 with the average length of residence being around nine years.

### ***Questions***

The questionnaire (in Polish) consisted of forty-seven questions designed to measure respondents' assimilation level, leisure participation patterns and motivations for and constraints on leisure. The analysis presented in this paper is based on the

respondents' answers to the questions regarding ceasing participation in leisure activities after settling in Canada. Specifically, respondents were asked whether there existed any types of recreation in which they had participated in Poland, but in which they had stopped participating after settling in Canada. Those who indicated that they had ceased participation in at least one activity were subsequently asked, in an open-ended question, to list up to three such leisure activities and to name the reasons why they had abandoned each one of them. Besides questions that dealt with leisure issues, the questionnaire also included a series of questions regarding socio-economic characteristics of immigrants, including their length of stay in Canada and age upon arrival.

### *Data Manipulation*

In order to analyze the data on activities that were most commonly ceased, activities listed by respondents in an open-ended question were grouped into ten fairly broad categories largely compatible with the ones used by Iso-Ahola *et al.* in their 1994 study (Table 1). Categories such as Exercise-oriented activities, Outdoor recreational activities, Team sports, Hobbies, Home-based recreation and Mechanized recreation contained activities that are almost identical to those identified by Iso-Ahola *et al.* Their category "Other" however, was subsequently subdivided into four distinct categories that were believed to be better suited for the purpose of studying changes in recreation participation of Polish immigrants. Categories such as "Typical Polish activities," "Cultural activities," "Travel/Tourism" and category "Other," encompassing all the activities that did not belong to any of the previously identified nine categories, were created.

In order to analyze the reasons for ceasing participation in leisure activities by immigrants after settling in the new country, respondents were asked to provide, in an open-ended question, the most important reason behind ceasing each activity. As a result, a comprehensive list of reasons for ceasing participation was created. Since very few of these reasons were listed frequently enough to allow for individual analysis, they were grouped into seven broad categories.

In the first step, reasons for ceasing participation were classified into Non-Immigration Related and Immigration Related. Non-Immigration Related category included: Financial difficulties, Lack of time, Life-span/Personal and Other. Immigration-Related category included: Limited social contacts due to emigration, Environmental differences and Adjustment difficulties. Specific reasons for ceasing participation and their allocation into seven-categories classification are presented in Table 2.

**TABLE 1**

## Allocation of Specific Activities to Categories (Activity-Types)

*Exercise-oriented activities*

Aerobics, Badminton, Body building, Bowling, Dancing, General Sports, Gymnastics, Ice skating, Jogging/running, Judo, Karate, Long distance running, Martial arts, Ping-Pong, Racquetball, Riding bikes/biking trips, Roller blades, Roller skating, Squash Swimming, Target shooting, Tennis, Track and field, Treadmill, Workout Wrestling, Yoga

*Outdoor recreational activities*

BBQ/picnicking/bonfire, Camping, Canoeing, Cross country skiing, Downhill skiing, Enjoying nature, Fishing, Going for a walk, Going to the park, Golf, Heliskiing, Hiking, Horseback riding, Hunting, Ice fishing, Kayaking, Mountain horseback riding, Ocean Fishing, Rock climbing, Sled racing, Spending time in forests, Walking dog, White water rafting

*Team sports*

Baseball, Basketball, Coordinated swimming, Curling, Handball, Hockey, Paintball game, Soccer, Volleyball

*Hobbies*

Baking, Charity work, Cooking, Gardening, Doing renovations, General hobbies, Handicrafts, Hobby brewing, Knitting, Making home movies, Minor car repairs, Painting, Participation in organized clubs, Photography, Playing musical instruments, Sewing, Tinkering, Writing short stories

*Home-based recreation*

Board games, Cleaning around the house, Computer/Internet, Crossword puzzles, Listening to music, Listening to the radio, Playing cards, Playing chess, Playing with children, Reading books, Reading newspapers, Spending time at home/doing nothing, Spending time with the family, Spending time in the backyard, Telephone conversations, Visiting friends/having friend over, Watching TV

*Mechanized outdoor recreation*

Carting, Driving a car, Flying ultra light plane, Gliding, Hang gliding, Hot air balloon, Motor boating, Parachuting, Riding motorcycle, Snowmobiling, Water ski, Yachting/sailing

*Other*

Bingo, Dating, Dining out, Drinking coffee, Going to beauty salons, Going to discos/night clubs, Going to hair dresser, Going to malls, Going out, Going to parades, Going to parties, Learning English, Meditation, Scuba diving, Shopping, Sleeping, Snorkeling, Spending time in coffee shops, Spending time on beaches, Studying, Sun bathing, Watching sporting events, Watching stand-up comedians, Water sports, Windsurfing

*Typical Polish activities*

Field trips in organized groups, Gardening in a small vegetable garden, Going to Polish concerts, Listening to Polish radio, Mushroom picking, Reading Polish books and newspapers, Religious service/praying, Social drinking, Spending time in sanatoriums/convalescent houses, Taking part in ethnic events, Trips to the opera/theatre/philharmonic organized by the employer, Two-week employer-organized vacations, Visiting out of town relatives/spending time in the countryside

*Cultural activities*

Going to classical concerts, Going to concerts, Going to film festivals, Going to the movies, Going to opera, Going to operetta, Going to theatre, Visiting art galleries

*Travel/Tourism*

Boat cruises, Exploring Canada, General tourism, Going to hot springs, Out of town trips, Travelling, Trips to the lake, Trips to the mountains, Trips to the ocean/sea

TABLE 2

**Allocation of Specific Reasons for Ceasing Participation Into Categories***Non-Immigration Related**Financial difficulties*

Cannot afford necessary equipment, Lack of money, Too expensive in Canada

*Lack of time**Life-span/Personal*

Change of family status, Health concerns, Injury, I am too old for this,  
Lost interest/lack of interest

*Other*

Activity too dangerous, Being too tired after work, Lack of appropriate license, Lack of car,  
Lack of paid leave, Lack of suitable facilities, No access to a garden, No park in the  
neighborhood, Not being able to take longer vacations, Not having enough room around  
the house

*Immigration Related**Limited social contacts due to emigration*

Don't have anybody to do it with, Lack of old friends in Canada, Not enough social contacts  
to organize a team of players

*Environmental differences*

Change of "system" (certain activities existed only in a communist country), Climate,  
Distances in Canada are too long, Different "mentality" of local people, Different  
repertoire/unfamiliar artists, Don't have to do it anymore (certain products are easily  
available in Canada), There are no good theatres in European style in Canada, This activity  
is not popular in Canada, Too afraid of wildlife, Unsuitable forests (for mushroom picking,  
walking etc.)

*Adjustment difficulties*

Don't know English language well enough, Don't know where to engage in this activity,  
Lack of available information, Not being familiar with the surroundings

**Findings*****Ceasing Participation – Quantitative Data***

As shown in Table 3, outdoor recreational activities were the most commonly discontinued type of activity. Detailed examination of the data indicates that hiking/nature walks and downhill skiing were the most often ceased outdoor-recreation activities. Almost half of the respondents who ceased participation in outdoor recreation activities discontinued participation in these two activities. Each of the remaining outdoor recreational activities was ceased by, at most, two respondents.

Outdoor recreational activities were followed by typical Polish activities and by home-based recreation. Exercise-oriented activities and team sports were also ceased by a significant proportions of the respondents. Detailed examination of the quantitative data indicates that general sports participation was the most often ceased exercise-oriented activity. Biking was ceased by three respondents and each of the remaining exercise-oriented activities was ceased by, at most, two people.

**TABLE 3**  
**Proportions of Respondents Ceasing Leisure Activities**

Activity Category	Ceasing Activities	
	<i>n</i>	% of sample
Outdoor recreational activities	43	16.3
Typical Polish activities	25	9.5
Home based recreation	24	9.1
Exercise-oriented activities	23	8.7
Team sports	21	8.0
Cultural activities	19	7.2
Travel/Tourism	16	6.1
Mechanized outdoor recreation	16	6.1
Other activities	11	4.2
Hobbies	5	1.9

***Reasons for Ceasing Participation – Quantitative Data***

The analysis of reasons for ceasing participation shows a somewhat interesting pattern. In Table 4, categories of reasons for ceasing participation are ranked in a descending order of their popularity.

**TABLE 4**  
**Proportions of Respondents Listing Particular Reasons for Ceasing Participation in Leisure Activities**

Reasons for Ceasing Participation	<i>n</i>	Proportion of the Sample (%)
Lack of time	41	15.5
Environmental differences	32	12.1
Financial difficulties	31	11.7
Limited social contacts due to emigration	23	8.7
Life-span/Personal	21	8.0
Other	14	5.3
Adjustment difficulties	9	3.4

Lack of time (a “Non-immigration related” category) was the most frequently mentioned reason for ceasing participation in leisure activities after settling in Canada. It was followed by environmental differences that encompass objective differences in the social and natural environment existing between the two countries. Financial difficulties were the third most often mentioned reason for ceasing participation in leisure activities. Limited contacts due to emigration and life-span/personal reasons were both mentioned by between 8 and 9 percent of respondents. Surprisingly, adjustment difficulties encompassing language difficulties, lack of knowledge where to participate in activity and not being familiar with the surroundings did not seem to affect leisure participation of the majority of respondents and were the least frequently given reason for ceasing participation after arrival.

### ***Most Often Ceased Activities and Reasons for Ceasing Participation – Quantitative Data***

In order to better understand reasons for ceasing participation in leisure activities, “Reason for ceasing” categories had been cross-tabulated against activity groups. Since in many instances a small number of cases precluded drawing inferences from the data, only three most popular reasons for ceasing participation in each activity category were selected to be presented.

As can be seen in Table 5, almost 30 percent of people ceased participating in outdoor recreational activities due to financial difficulties and another quarter of respondents due to lack of time. Environmental differences directly related to immigration were quoted by slightly more than 18 percent of respondents. Not surprisingly, environmental differences, lack of time and limited social contacts due to emigration were listed as the three most important reasons for ceasing participation in typical Polish activities. Interestingly, half of the immigrants listed limited social contacts due to emigration (e.g. lack of old friends, nobody to do it with) as the main cause for their ceasing participation in home-based recreation. Life-span/personal reasons and environmental differences were the most frequently mentioned reasons for ceasing participation in exercise-oriented activities. Team sports were ceased most often due to life-span/personal reasons, such as injury, lost interest, and change of family status. Adjustment difficulties related to language problems, not knowing where to engage in an activity and lack of information turned out to play a particularly important role in the case of cultural activities. Only financial difficulties appeared to preclude a greater number of respondents from visiting theatres, art galleries and going to concerts and to movies. More than half of immigrants who ceased participation in mechanized outdoor recreation attributed it to financial difficulties. Surprisingly, lack of time turned out to be the only major factor limiting travel related activities of immigrants.

**TABLE 5**  
**Three Most Often Listed Reasons for Ceasing Participation**  
**in Leisure Activities\***

Activity Category	Reasons for Ceasing Participation		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Outdoor-recreational activities	Financial difficulties (28.6%)	Lack of time (24.5%)	Environmental differences (18.4%)
Typical Polish activities	Environmental differences (35.5%)	Lack of time (25.8%)	Limited social contacts due to emigration (22.6%)
Home based recreation	Limited social contacts due to emigration (50.0%)	Lack of time (33.3%)	–
Exercise-oriented activities	Life-span/Personal (29.2%)	Environmental differences (20.8%)	Lack of time (16.7%)
Team sports	Life-span/Personal (30.0%)	Environmental differences (25.0%)	Lack of time (20.0%)
Cultural activities	Financial difficulties (40.9%)	Adjustment difficulties (22.7%)	Lack of time (18.2%)
Mechanized outdoor recreation	Financial difficulties (56.3%)	Environmental differences (18.8%)	–
Travel/Tourism	Lack of time (35.3%)	–	–

\* Hobbies and Other group of activities were excluded due to low count

### *Reasons for Ceasing Participation – Qualitative Data*

In order to better understand and explain reasons immigrants had for ceasing participation in leisure activities after settling in Canada, qualitative interview material was employed. While the quantitative data allowed the detection of broader patterns within the sample, interview quotations turned out to be helpful in illuminating major factors that forced immigrants to abandon participation in their former pastimes. Given the limited number of interviews conducted, however, one should interpret such accounts as suggestions as to the existing processes, rather than as definite explanations of why immigrants ceased participation in their former pastimes.

As quantitative data showed, outdoor recreational activities were most often ceased due to financial difficulties, lack of time and environmental differences between the two countries. Interview material showed another dimension of this finding. Since popular activities, such as downhill skiing, cross-country skiing, hiking and horseback riding were subsidized in Eastern Block countries (reasonably inexpensive, although hard to acquire equipment, subsidized accommodation in factory-owned resorts, government-run stables etc.), many people found these activities to be too expensive in free-market economies. For many recent immigrants, two-week vacations in a mid range motel in an alpine-style Canadian resort turned out to be out of reach, thus forcing them to quit participating in their favorite activities. As a middle-aged female nurse put it:

In Poland, I used to go skiing quite regularly, well... the skis were cheap, they were terrible, I know, but at least I could afford them. We usually stayed for two weeks in Zakopane or in Ustrzyki (*mountain resorts in southern Poland*) in the resort owned by my husband's employer. Sometimes we even went for the Christmas break when Agnieszka (*her daughter*) had some time free from school. Here I simply wouldn't be able to afford it. One day in a motel in Jasper or Banff would cost me what I used to pay for the entire two-week stay in Poland.

Almost a quarter of respondents stated that they quit participating in outdoor recreational activities due to the lack of time. As can be seen in Table 5, lack of time, often associated with job-related circumstances, was found to be a major factor that forced them to cease participation not only in outdoor recreational activities, but also in other popular pastimes. As many interviewees explained, lack of paid leave, being forced to work overtime or holding several jobs concurrently just to make ends meet made them sacrifice their favorite leisure pastimes after their arrival in Canada. They could not afford to leave their work for an extended period of time for fear of losing much-needed earnings, and they were often too tired after a 16-hour work day to go out for a BBQ with their families or for a fishing trip with their friends. As an interviewed taxi driver described:

Here you work more, that's for sure. They will exploit every bit of energy that you have. It's not like in Poland when you had to work 8 hours and then you could go home and forget about your job. You know, if you live on the West End or in Mill Woods, you have to wake up at 6 o'clock, get to down-town at 8:15, work, go for lunch, come home at 5:30, do something around the house, at 10 you have to go to bed because the next morning you have to go to work again. There are people who drive (*a taxi cab*) 12 hours non-stop. I know a man like that, he leaves at 6, comes home at 6, sits for a while, next day the same routine, and he only waits till Friday. When Friday comes he shouts "And today I'll finally get drunk!!!" Next day he sobers up, goes to church, has a dinner with his family, and then it's the same routine again.

Even though the eight-to-five work schedule may seem quite normal for people used to Western (and often US or Canada) work standards, many recent immigrants were socialized to entirely different work patterns in their home

countries. Even though the length of a work day may seem comparable between the US and many Eastern European countries (Ibrahim *et al.*, 1981), the communist system allowed much less demanding, less productive and more leisurely work behavior (Jung, 1990, 1994). Even though financial constraints and constraints related to time management tend to lose their intensity along with the increasing assimilation level and the time spent in the new country, the very demanding period immediately following the arrival often permanently alters leisure behavior of many immigrants (Stodolska, 1998, 2000).

As the qualitative data showed, environmental differences, such as colder climate, longer travel distances and abundant wildlife, prevented many people from participating in their favorite outdoor recreational activities. Several interviewees mentioned that they no longer engaged in hiking due to “unmarked trails” and “being afraid of bears and other wildlife they may encounter.” Others stated that their favorite activities were simply not popular in Canada, that “here everybody does it differently” and that this is simply “not the same” as it used to be in Poland. One middle-aged woman vividly described her first experience in camping in Canada:

In Poland we used to spent time camping by the lakes. Here we also went camping, but it so happened that some wild animal came right onto us from the bushes, we got terribly scared and Maciek (*her husband*) said that he wouldn't sleep under a tent ever again.

Asked to explain the incident in detail she said:

Yes, there are a lot of wild animals here. First time we went to Jasper it was a Canada Day long weekend. There were lots of people in Jasper that day so everything went smoothly. The next time we went camping it was already fall and some big animal, I don't know... maybe a moose started making cracking noises in the bushes and you know... you hear these sounds and it started growling and you know... we get so scared... we just sat in the tent... and we didn't know what to do – pack ourselves and jump into the car or just sit in this tent and not move. There was nobody out there (...) you can be brave when there are people around but we were there all alone. (...) We still go to spend some time by the lake, but now we stay in a motel or in cabins.

The “unsuitable forests” issue surfaced on many occasions, both in the responses to an open-ended question in the questionnaire and during the interviews. A middle-age car mechanic put it this way:

We used to pick mushrooms back home all the time. Here it's different. Those forests! You can't even get through these bushes. And all the forests they have here are fenced. It's a private property, you can't just go there to pick berries and mushrooms because it belongs to somebody. No... it's different here (...) I don't even think that mushrooms grow in forests like this.

Typical Polish activities such as two-week employer organized vacations, field trips in organized groups (also factory sponsored), visiting out of town relatives/spending time in the countryside or gardening in a small vegetable garden

(“ogrodki dzial\_kowe”) were the second most often ceased group of activities among Polish immigrants. Respondents attributed it mainly to environmental differences, lack of time and lack of social contacts due to emigration. Qualitative data seemed to confirm these findings. A female caretaker explained the reasons behind her quitting participation in gardening, her favorite pastime in Poland:

I would like to have a small garden like I used to have in Poland so I could grow vegetables, tomatoes, pickles, just to watch it grow. I really liked this a lot. My father even used to say “go watch your veggies grow” and then he would laugh at me. Well, I can’t have a garden like the one I had in Poland. People who live in apartment buildings don’t have gardens like the ones we had in Poland. I really miss this. I even joked one time with Maciek (*her husband*) – “go to Zbyszek (*his farmer friend*) and ask him whether he could give me a piece of land, just 10 m x 10 m, no more, so I could grow my vegetables”. And Maciek laughed at me “you silly, you would go 40 km just to weed a piece of land” but... you know... I would really travel this 40 km if they let me.

Several people mentioned that the fact that they no longer could spend their free time in factory-owned resort significantly altered their vacation patterns. A female interviewee complained that she missed vacationing in the home of her out-of-town relatives (a popular pastime for many Eastern Europeans). She mentioned that her cousins lived “one and a half hours” from Warsaw and no longer being able to visit them “made her sad.” Considering how important and popular “visiting out of town relatives/spending time in the countryside” was among immigrants included in the sample, we may speculate that the fact that they were forced to abandon this pastime after settling in Canada may have significantly influenced their overall level of leisure satisfaction.

Home based recreation also experienced shrinking numbers of participants among Polish immigrants. It has to be noted that activities, such as spending time with family and friends, socializing or watching television were found to be the most popular leisure activities among Polish population (Jung, 1990). The quantitative data showed that many Polish immigrants abandoned participation in this activities after settling in Canada. In the interviews, immigrants explained that they no longer had access to their old Polish friends and that members of their families with whom they used to spend their free time were left in the old country. One woman, asked about things that she misses the most from Poland, replied:

I miss everything... I miss the company of friends that I had in Poland, people that I knew from high school, from my neighborhood .... I wish I could spend some time with them. You know... I realize that this is the past because everything changes no matter where one lives.

Another woman, a daycare worker, described her experiences:

In Poland I spent a lot of time with my family. Here I don’t have any family except for my children (*she divorced her husband several months before the interview*).

Asked whether she misses her old friends from Poland she replied:

No... not really, I don't miss my old friends that much, because I have some new friends here, but I really miss my family. In Poland, I spent a lot of time with them, you know... with my sisters (*she had 8 siblings*), cousins and aunts. I spent all the holidays, birthdays, and name-days with them. Since there was a lot of us at home, we had a birthday party almost every month. My free time was organized around it.

A man in his 50s described the effects that changed social networks had on his leisure:

I will never have friends like the ones I had in Poland. Now I am older by 20 or 30 years than I was when I met my best pals and at this age you don't make friendships like this. Here, I only know a handful of people who are at the same age I am and who went through similar things I went through. I don't think I will ever make any new friendships. In all, I didn't make any new friendships during the last 6 years. Well... you don't go to places where you could make new friends... like... student's clubs, university, high school. Maybe I will meet some new people here if I decide to go to a language course or something, but all the friends that I had were from my school. I don't go for holidays anymore, I don't go camping or kayaking because I always used to go with them and now they are all gone...

Lack of friends and families and shattered social networks have been shown to strongly affect not only leisure, but overall life satisfaction of recent immigrants (Hendeykorn, 1990; Rublee and Shaw, 1991; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). On the other hand, it is possible that the ceasing of home-based recreation might have been entirely voluntary in some cases. Eastern European immigrants have been found to substitute home-based recreation activities with other pastimes, more popular in the country of settlement (Stodolska, 2000). Thus the "lack of time" given as the second most important reason for ceasing participation might be interpreted as an excuse for not wanting to participate in traditional forms of leisure or as a signal that other recreational activities have taken precedent over more traditional, sedentary pastimes. In fact, one may argue that the observed decline in home-based recreation might reflect changes in preferences combined with new opportunities, rather than a reduction in opportunities per se. While home based recreation was very popular in Poland, such high participation rates did not necessarily come as a result of strong preference for this type of leisure, but rather might have been an outcome of limited opportunities for other kinds of recreation, particularly in urban settings.

Exercise oriented activities were found to be the most often ceased activities among the general population both by the Jackson & Dunn (1988) and Iso-Ahola *et al.* (1994) studies. Among Polish immigrants, however, they were listed only in the fourth place. Respondents mentioned lifespan/personal reasons and environmental differences as main factors that made them quit participation in this type of recreation. As the interview material suggests, for many immigrants the moment of immigration to Canada marked an important transitional point in their lives. A

comment from an interview with a middle-aged taxi driver is representative of what some other interviewees and respondents to open-ended questions in the questionnaire had mentioned.

I came to Canada, I had to change my job, I got married, the next year our son was born and my whole life had changed. The things that I used to do as a kid (*i.e. before coming to Canada, getting married, having children etc.*) were not for me anymore. I got too old, too tired, I had different things on my mind and the sport wasn't for me anymore. You know... these things are for younger people. They weren't on my mind anymore.

Some respondents and interviewees simply stated that they were “too old for this,” that their health wasn't as good as it used to be, that they got married just before or after coming to Canada, that they had children, new responsibilities, had to work a lot to be able to “get somewhere” and thus, they were too tired for any serious sports involvement. What appears to be really interesting is that when asked to elaborate on circumstances that made them cease participation in leisure activities after coming to Canada, many interviewees seemed to divide their lives into two distinct parts – before emigration and after settling in Canada. Regardless of their age upon arrival, the period before emigration was always referred to as the time of “youth,” “fun,” “lack of responsibilities,” “childhood friends,” “parties and hiking trips,” “things we did with my college buddies,” “happy nights by the bonfire on a cheap and messy camping site” and generally, memories that are reserved for people in their teenage years and early adulthood. Even for people who left Poland as adults, with their husbands, wives and young children, the time of emigration seemed to mark the entry into a new life stage, into “true adulthood” – the period of responsibilities, troubles, worries and constant fight for survival. As one middle aged interviewee sadly observed:

In Poland we hiked in the mountains a lot. Andrzej (*her husband*) liked it and we went for holidays twice a year. We went to the mountains in the winter and to the seaside in the summer. We hiked a lot, traveled a lot. Here... it's a completely different life. Maybe it's because I came to Canada pregnant, you know, I had some complications. Then Allan was born and when he was 8 months old he developed asthma. I didn't speak English at all at that time. During the first three years (*after arrival*) I felt really awful. Then I went to school and then to work, and now... time just flies by - we have less and less time.

Even though many interviewees indicated that after the initial period of hardships and they were able to redefine their leisure lives, the moment of immigration always seemed to be perceived as a turning point.

Team sports were ceased by 8 percent of respondents following their settlement in Canada. Lifespan and personal reasons, environmental differences and lack of time were the most often listed reasons for ceasing participation. It has to be pointed out that soccer was mentioned by the majority of people who engaged in this extremely popular activity in Poland and stopped participating in team sports

after settling in Canada. In the questionnaire respondents explained their lost interest in the activity by the fact that they were “getting too old,” that their “health was not the same,” that they “got married, had children and couldn’t spend as much time with their friends as they used to when they were younger,” that “soccer was not as popular in Canada as it was in Poland” and that in Canada “everything was different – in Poland we kicked the ball on the street while here people join clubs, buy fancy clothing, have their teams etc.”

Interview material seemed to confirm the quantitative findings. A middle-aged interviewee stated that he used to “kick ball” when he was “young” (again referring to the period before emigration) and that after he got married and started a family, it was no longer an activity he would consider doing during his free time. Asked to elaborate on the subject he stated:

Yes, I did it back when I was young. Here I wouldn’t even have time for it. (...) There is this group of guys (*Polish*) who play football, but it is not for me anymore. You know, one has a family, has to work hard, no... it’s not for me anymore.

His wife present during the interview mentioned that she used to play volleyball when she was “young”.

Sometimes I look through the window and see people playing in the park and I think I would like to play too, but there isn’t anybody I could play with... no, it is not true... maybe there are some groups, a club or something, but these are mostly younger people. I could ruin their game, you know. This would be embarrassing. I wouldn’t want to do that.

Cultural activities such as going to concerts, film festivals, theatre, opera, movies and visiting art galleries, were ceased by a slightly smaller proportion of respondents (7.2 percent). People attributed this change in leisure participation patterns to financial difficulties, adjustment difficulties and to the lack of time. Interview material strongly confirmed this finding. Many interviewees mentioned that they had to cease participation in cultural activities which negatively affected the quality of their leisure experience. They nostalgically remembered “good old days” when they could go to the theatre once a month and when they “wouldn’t miss any opening night in the opera house.” They mentioned that participation in cultural activities in Canada was extremely expensive and that they simply could not afford tickets to the theatre, opera or even the movies. Several interviewees pointed out that cultural activities were heavily subsidized under the communist system, that free tickets were distributed by employers, that people were encouraged to participate and on occasions even bused from rural areas to see certain performances. An interview quotation by a middle-aged taxi driver illustrates this problem well:

You kind of need to push people sometimes, you know. Back in Poland I was working on my degree in Economics. And you know, we were from a small city, my father worked in a factory. There was always something going on. He would always bring invitations and tickets and often we would go.

Sometimes I wouldn't even enjoy it but a trip to Warsaw or to Lublin was worth it. I kind of miss it here. I know that I could go here too, but ... I don't know it's kind of different. You don't have the motivation anymore.

Another female interviewee (a middle-aged daycare worker) pointed out that prohibitively expensive tickets prevented her from enjoying movies and concerts.

You know... I would like... I like movies a lot. If I only could, I would probably never miss a movie premiere. I constantly hear that they start playing this or that movie, but you know... it is so that we can't afford it. Children are at that age (*14 and 17 at the time of interview*) that they would like to go... We went to see a movie lately, but that's all we could really afford. I would go to the movies a lot, a would spent my entire free time at the movies if I only could. You asked me about my dreams. My dream is to go to a concert. Never mind what kind of concert, a rock concert maybe – I've never been to a concert like this and I would really like to go. Maybe to Phil Collins or Elton John...

Moreover, language difficulties and a different repertoire were also mentioned as reasons why people no longer visited theatres and opera houses. The same person who previously talked about his trips to theatres in Warsaw and Lublin later noted:

Besides – you don't know those plays. Miller and others. Back in Poland we knew those authors from school. I probably wouldn't even be able to understand what they are saying. You know, you need to be fluent in the language to understand all those language little things. I can speak English, but when it comes to theater and all those old plays – it's different you know...

Travel/Tourism and mechanized outdoor recreation were both ceased by slightly more than 6 percent of respondents. In the questionnaire, lack of time was mentioned most often as the main reason for reduced participation in out of town trips and summer and winter vacations. Interview material seemed to lend some support to this finding. As one person put it:

We had our factory resorts in Swinoujscie (*seaside resort*), Rabka, and Zakopane (*mountain resorts*). Everybody knew that I was taking my two weeks off in the summer and my ten days off in winter and that I would spend this time in our hotels. I knew that I wouldn't upset my boss, that nothing would go wrong when I was gone and I wouldn't lose my job. There was nothing going on in my institution anyway, we had regular contracts, and basically, you know... we were moving papers from one pile onto another. So I could take my time off and never worry that something bad would happen. Here... I can't just tell my boss that I'll be gone for the next two weeks because it will make him mad. And what if he finds someone else for my place? What will I do then? It's not like I have my job for good and nobody can take it away from me. The next day I can be unemployed and we'll be in real trouble.

This quotation might illustrate the differences that exist in the distribution of free time between the two countries. These differences can largely be attributed to the relative job stability in communist Poland. In Canada, as one interviewee

put it, “your job depends on how pleased your boss is” and on your performance in the workplace. Consequently, even though according to some statistics (Ibrahim *et al.*, 1981), the length of the work week might have been comparable between the former communist countries and the Canada or the US, the true amount of discretionary time that immigrants enjoyed has been significantly reduced. Thus, large blocks of free time necessary for tourism and traveling that were taken for granted in communist countries might not be easily available to Polish immigrants in the Canadian environment. Several interviewees also mentioned prohibitively high cost as one of the most important reasons for reduced frequency of traveling. Financial difficulties, however, were not something that surfaced prominently in the quantitative data.

More than 50 percent of respondents, however, listed financial difficulties as the number one reason for ceasing participation in mechanized outdoor recreation. Motor boating, yachting and sailing constituted the core of mechanized outdoor activities most often ceased by Polish immigrants. Several interviewees pointed out that these activities were heavily subsidized under the communist system and often were easily accessible to people who used factory-owned facilities. Thus, immigrants who were suddenly faced with a very high cost of participation in this type of activities in a free market economy were forced to significantly reduce their participation.

## Discussion

### *Reasons for ceasing participation*

Results of this study showed an interesting pattern. Non-immigration related reasons for ceasing participation, such as lack of time or financial difficulties, that are known to constitute the most prevalent constraints among the general population (Henderson, Stalnaker & Taylor, 1988; Kay & Jackson, 1991), were found to play a decisive role for immigrants as well. In the survey, lack of time and financial difficulties were mentioned by immigrants as the number one and the number three reasons for ceasing participation in leisure activities. Interview data helped to shed some new light on this issue. Although some of the most salient reasons behind ceasing participation in leisure were similar for recent immigrants and for the general population, immigrants seemed to experience them in a different manner. Based on the interview data, we may argue not only that these factors were of a much stronger magnitude, but also that they had different underlying causes and different effects. Immigrants perceived that they had to work longer hours than other workers and often had to hold several jobs concurrently in order to make ends meet, to establish themselves in the new country and to fulfill their “American dream.” Fear of losing employment made them forego longer vacations, and the difference in work ethic between the two countries made them change their working habits. Low earnings in the period following the arrival and the initial

expenditures associated with the establishment period limited their income available for leisure-related expenditures. In this respect, the study tends to confirm Juniu's (1999, 2000) findings that also identified time pressures and financial problems as the most important factors limiting people's leisure in the post-arrival period. It appears that these issues are not limited to Polish or Latino immigrants, but apply to a majority of newcomers who seek a better life and improved economic conditions in the new country. Moreover, all participants in this particular study were raised in a centrally planned economy where many leisure activities were heavily subsidized by the government. Thus, the shocking increase in the cost of some of the activities often compelled immigrants to totally reorganize their leisure lives. Although it is difficult to determine without conducting a longitudinal study for how long lack of time and money remains salient in limiting leisure of immigrants, on the basis of assimilation- and mobility-based studies one may expect that these factors slowly decline in strength with the increased length of stay and with generational tenure (Isajiw, Sev'er & Driedger, 1993; Stodolska, 1998).

Results of this study suggest that there might exist some motivations for ceasing participation in leisure activities that are specific to certain groups of immigrants. For instance, people coming from communist countries may perceive increased costs and different work ethics as two of the most prominent factors limiting their leisure after emigration. Moreover, both qualitative and quantitative data pointed out that many people who grew up in communist countries had been previously involved in some activities that they conceptualized as leisure, even though they simultaneously served utilitarian functions that helped them survive in an environment marked by persistent shortages of consumer goods and unavailability of basic services. While gardening, making preserves or involvement in home improvement activities might have been necessary for maintaining a reasonable standard of living under central planning, this practical aspect of these leisure activities is often no longer present in the North American reality. In the words of one of the interviewees, in Canada they simply "didn't have to do it anymore." In this respect, the findings of the study seem to conform to Dumazedier's (1967) proposition that in certain, less developed countries, the line between leisure activities and useful tasks may be blurred as leisure can be helpful in everyday survival. It would be interesting to see if similar findings can be obtained for other groups of immigrants from economically less developed regions.

We may conjecture that for immigrants from other areas, different factors may be salient in affecting their leisure pursuits. As it has been shown by Rublee and Shaw (1991), community-based leisure and church-related activities may play a significant role for immigrants from Latin American countries, while the extended family may be the basis for socialization and leisure pursuits among East Indian populations (Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Thus, the more individualistic and secular lifestyle of the mainstream Canadian and American populations may be seen as a factor forcing some immigrants to forego their traditional pastimes.

The results of the study also showed that there exist certain reasons for ceasing participation in leisure activities that might be common to all immigrants across ethnic and racial lines. It is understandable that some activities will have to be ceased after emigration simply because not only physical, but also social environments of the two countries are likely to be different. Environmental differences that encompass factors, such as different climate, longer distances, different 'repertoire' of local artists, activity not being popular and differences in flora and fauna were listed by immigrants in this study as a second most important reason for abandoning their old pastimes. They were also identified by Juniu (2000) as factors that made Latino immigrants modify their leisure pursuits. While immigrants from the U.S. may experience only a minimal shock while settling in Canada, newcomers from countries more culturally and geographically distant are often forced to adjust to a profoundly alien environment.

Immigration is also almost always associated with shattered social networks that force individuals to restructure their lives, including their leisure behavior. Some immigrants, such as those from Central America and South Asia, are known to emigrate with large families or to sponsor members of their extended families soon after their arrival. Others, such as Europeans, usually emigrate alone or only with their immediate families. Also, the literature suggests that for some immigrants, such as those from India, Pakistan and Mexico, social networks, including the extended family, might be more important as a basis for their leisure than they are for other ethnic groups that mostly prefer to spend their free time alone or in the company of their friends or spouses (Freysinger & Chen, 1993; Horne, 1998; Hutchison, 1987; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Findings of this study suggested that the lack of old friends and extended families constituted a factor that not only limited leisure participation of some respondents, but also reduced the quality of their leisure experience. This observation appears to parallel findings obtained for the Latino (Juniu, 2000; Rublee & Shaw, 1991) and Indian communities (Tirone & Shaw, 1997), where disturbed social networks were also identified as an important factor affecting leisure pursuits of immigrants. This particular aspect of immigrants' leisure is not yet well researched and would require some further attention, including cross-ethnic comparisons.

An unexpected finding of this study is the fact that a seemingly significant immigration-related category of reasons for ceasing participation, namely "Adjustment difficulties" that encompass lack of language skills and lack of familiarity with the new leisure options, was determined to be of least importance for the surveyed immigrants. This observation appears to contradict the findings commonly reported in the literature that indicate lack of language skills as one of the major immigrant-specific inhibitors of leisure participation (Allison, & Geiger, 1993; Juniu, 1999, 2000; Rublee & Shaw, 1991). One may attempt to explain this apparent discrepancy by arguing that communication problems may act as constraints preventing immigrants from starting new North American pastimes and

may limit their opportunities for establishing contacts with members of other ethnic groups, but they are not an important barrier on participation in their old activities. After all, one does not need to speak the new language in order to communicate with his/her old friends, but it is the absence of old friends (classified as “limited social contacts due to emigration”) that makes people cease participation in many leisure activities.

### ***Most often ceased activities***

Results of the study with respect to most often ceased activities show some divergence from the findings obtained by Jackson & Dunn (1988) and Iso-Ahola *et al.* (1994) for samples of the general population. Jackson and Dunn found that exercise-oriented activities and team sports were the most often ceased pastimes, while the study by Iso-Ahola *et al.* established exercise-oriented activities and outdoor recreational activities to be ceased most frequently. In contrast, Polish immigrants were found to quit participating most frequently in outdoor recreation, typical Polish and home-based activities. High dropout rates for exercise-oriented activities were typically attributed to high replacement rates for activities in this category (Iso-Ahola *et al.* 1994). While we do not have qualitative data that would help us explain high ceasing rates in outdoor recreation among the mainstream population, the data for immigrants seem to indicate that money and time problems played the most important role. One needs to remember that respondents to this survey were not asked to indicate the activities that they had recently ceased, but rather the activities that had been ceased during the period immediately following their arrival in the new country. Thus, in the context of immigrant populations, constraints related to lack of money and time take on a somewhat different meaning than their equivalents applied to the mainstream population. As it has been already mentioned, in the period immediately following the settlement, immigrants often face increased financial and time-related pressures, which can lead to discontinuing participation in the most costly and time-consuming leisure pursuits, such as skiing and hiking. This observation is particularly straightforward to explain in the context of immigrants from former communist countries who had been able to rely on subsidized accommodation and had enjoyed significantly more free time than under the Canadian economic system. Given the high participation rates in these two activities in Poland (particularly among the socio-economic groups targeted by this study – predominantly middle-class Solidarity wave) (Jung, 1994), the rates of ceasing participation in outdoor recreation are likely to be very high compared to other types of recreation. We may argue that similar patterns will be observed among other immigrant groups whose members will abandon the most costly and time-consuming traditional pastimes in the period of financial difficulties following immigration.

Ceasing participation in typical Polish activities and home-based recreation are much easier to explain. We may safely assume that the pattern of ceasing traditional ethnic pastimes after immigration may be found not only among Polish immigrants, but also among most other immigrant populations, particularly those who cannot rely on the support of large ethnic communities in the place of settlement. While some minorities are known to put more emphasis on preservation of their ethnic traits than others (Gans, 1979, 1994; Isajiw, 1990), in the majority of cases, modified physical and social environment forces newcomers to adjust their leisure repertoires. The activities that are most likely to be abandoned will depend not only on the specific characteristics of the ethnic group, but also on the time of emigration, given the fact that the popularity of activities in the native country may vary with cohorts. The analysis of the rate and the degree of retention/abandonment of ethnic pastimes is beyond the scope of this study (for an interesting discussion of the topic see Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach & Reitz, 1990; Gans, 1979, 1992, 1994).

The results of this study showed that home-based activities, the most popular pastimes in Poland (Jung, 1990), were also among the most frequently abandoned leisure pursuits after settling in Canada. Lack of friends and family members were mentioned as one of the major reasons behind this phenomenon. Since activities categorized as “home-based,” such as socializing and spending time with friends and family, tend to constitute the core of leisure activities in almost every society (Cousineau, 1985; Ibrahim, 1981; Jung, 1990; Veal, 1984) and since leisure with one’s family has been found to be the most important and valued free-time activity (Kelly, 1990), the fact that immigrants may be forced to abandon these pastimes can be a symptom of certain negative changes that take place in people’s lives following immigration. Given that free-time socialization based on networks of family and friends established over the lifetime constitutes a basis for one’s psychological and emotional stability and has an important effect on family’s cohesion and quality (Freysinger, 1994; Manell & Kleiber, 1997), shattered social networks in leisure may induce a significant deterioration of immigrants’ well-being and overall quality of life. Lack of a helping hand in crisis situations and the fact that stresses of the adjustment period often tend to be “vented off” in the home environment may all be related to the declining home-based recreation among immigrants and may be indicative of other, more profound life problems. Restricted finances and the geographical distances that immigrants would have to overcome in order to reunite with their families, as well as, legal problems preventing them from traveling, might compound the feelings of isolation and despair. It would seem to be worthwhile to test whether similar patterns of home leisure abandonment exist among other immigrant groups and whether they are related to immigrants’ emotional and psychological well being as well as to their spousal and parental relationships.

Results of the studies conducted so far show inconclusive patterns. On the one hand, home-based leisure and socialization with other members of the same ethnic community has been found to constitute the core of leisure activities among South Asian and working-class Latino populations (Juniu, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). On the other hand, these results have been obtained for populations known for migrating with their extended families and settling in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods, which could potentially alleviate some of the hardships associated with disturbed social networks. As it was established by Juniu (2000) and Tirone and Shaw (1997), even individuals from such ethnic groups perceived that socialization in their home countries was easier and more intense than that in North America, where they tended to spend more time alone, were more isolated and generally enjoyed less social interactions.

A full one-third of Polish immigrants indicated “lack of time” as one of the reasons for ceasing participation in home-based pastimes. One may argue that lack of time given as a reason for ceasing participation may be an indication of time pressures related to the establishment period. It could also be indicative of an underlying pattern of change previously established by other studies (Schor, 1992) in which leisure is the sphere of life that becomes reduced first when people experience increasing time pressures. Sadly, the results of this study could also be interpreted as an indication that home-based activities and time spend with one’s friends and family are most easily sacrificed in response to external pressures. On the other hand, as it has already been mentioned, previous studies conducted on the same population sample (Stodolska, 2000) also show that home-based recreation can be substituted with other forms of leisure that are simply more appealing to newcomers. It would be useful to verify whether similar patterns can be observed among other immigrant groups whose culture emphasizes the importance of home-based activities.

## Conclusions

The study confirmed that factors related to time and money were the most important reasons for ceasing participation not only for the mainstream population, but also for immigrants. However, qualitative results suggested that the apparent similarities of quantitative findings might be obscuring profound differences in motivations, scale and circumstances related to the observed ceasing patterns displayed by immigrants. Thus, even though time and money appear to be the most important determinants of participation both for immigrants and for the mainstream population, for immigrants these factors appear to take on an entirely different dimension.

The study also identified two separate, but equally powerful, factors that affected leisure participation patterns of immigrants. One constituted broadly defined “environmental differences” between the native country and the country

of settlement, while the other was related to shattered social networks that immigrants had to cope with after their arrival. These factors are particularly important since they can potentially affect other aspects of immigrants' lives, such as their psychological and emotional well-being and their family relations.

Results also showed that Polish immigrants were forced to abandon their traditional pastimes, classified here as "typical Polish activities," which parallels the findings of other studies in regards to changes of leisure behavior among different ethnic groups. Furthermore, the study detected a sharp decline in participation in home-based activities after settlement in the host country. As the findings suggest, decreased participation in home-based activities can be related to shattered social networks that occur as a result of emigration. It remains unclear, however, whether this pattern is typical to other immigrant groups or whether it is specific to immigrants from Eastern European countries, where sedentary life styles are typical (Jung, 1990). It is also possible that this particular observation may be strongly related to the length of time elapsed since the settlement and to certain cultural characteristics of the group. One may also argue that given increased time and financial pressures, home-based activities and family-centered leisure might be easily sacrificed in favor of more appealing alternatives. This interpretation could have potentially serious implications for how we analyze leisure behavior not only of immigrant groups, but also of the mainstream population.

This article contains an analysis of ceasing participation patterns based on a subset of the data gathered in a broader research. There exist, however, other aspects of the process of leisure change associated with immigration that have not been tackled in this paper. Following emigration to a new country, newcomers are known not only to reduce their leisure repertoire by ceasing participation, but also to simultaneously pick up activities in response to new opportunities. The goal of this study, however, was not to provide a complete description of the changes in leisure behavior that follow immigration, but rather to provide an in-depth analysis of ceasing participation patterns in an attempt to indicate the direction in which leisure of newcomers from various ethnic groups may change after their arrival.

One may argue that while some groups may be more successful in their adaptation process and may be able to reorganize their leisure participation patterns to fit the new environment, others will not be as fortunate and will be compelled to endure shrinking leisure repertoires. This issue, however, cannot be resolved without employing cross-ethnic comparisons and without investigating immigrant populations for prolonged periods following their arrival in the new country. Moreover, one needs to be cautious while interpreting the results of this study as the qualitative interviews had been conducted only with a limited number of immigrants. While it is not an objective of qualitative research to obtain a representative sample, one may easily argue that some interesting perspectives and viewpoints have been omitted from the study due to a limited sample size.

Another possible limitation of this study is that it focuses on a single immigrant group only – a white ethnic minority from an Eastern European country. While Poles can be considered representative of other recent immigrants from this region, they possess certain characteristics that make them markedly different from immigrants from other parts of the world, such as Asia, Latin America or even Western Europe. Even though certain characteristics, such as the drive to advance in life, self-determination and the hardships of being separated from family and friends, are likely to be universal to all immigrant groups, one should not disregard other qualities that are unique to every immigrant group and that may be reflected in their post-arrival leisure patterns. Immigrants exhibit significant differences in terms of the motivations for emigration, education, skills and income levels, place of origin and cultural characteristics. Some individuals emigrate with their friends and families and are able to establish close-knit ethnic communities in the country of settlement, while others emigrate alone or with their nuclear families only.

Ceasing of participation in traditional leisure activities and the reasons behind these activities being discontinued may depend not only on the characteristics of the immigrants themselves, but also on characteristics of the receiving community. While some local populations may be more tolerant toward diversity and allow immigrants to maintain their traditional leisure patterns, others may look at the displays of alien customs with suspicion or even with open hostility, thus discouraging immigrants from retaining their pastimes. The size of the local ethnic group may also be of importance in the context of retention of traditional leisure activities. Larger ethnic communities are likely to create a support base upon which ethnic traditions can be maintained and preserved. They may facilitate operation of ethnic organizations that provide a venue for ethnic leisure-related events (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach & Reitz, 1990; Gans, 1994).

Broadly defined cultural characteristics of a given ethnic group need to be considered when studying issues related to ceasing traditional pastimes and retention of ethnic leisure. As it has been shown by previous studies, some ethnic groups (e.g. Jews) put more emphasis than others on the retention of their traditional cultural traits (Gans, 1979, 1994; Isajiw, 1990). Moreover, the bargaining position of the emigration party, which is related to its size and economic position, in relation to the receiving population, may have an affect on the extent and the nature of changes in leisure participation that occur following emigration.

The factors described above act simultaneously to shape the leisure behavior of immigrant populations and thus they all need to be acknowledged in future studies of post-arrival changes in participation. So far, only a limited number of ethnic groups have been a subject of study in the context of post-immigration changes of leisure behavior. It appears that our field needs to recognize the true diversity of immigrant communities and move beyond studying traditional immigrant groups. Moreover, there exists a need for research that encompasses several

different ethnic groups in an attempt to isolate differences and commonalities among distinct immigrant populations. Most importantly, however, research on immigrant leisure should not approach the phenomenon as if it were taking place in a social vacuum. Issues related to post-arrival leisure need to be tackled without losing sight of the realities of specific communities where immigrants choose to settle. The type of reception immigrants receive after their arrival and the response of the local population to newcomers, their distinct cultural patterns and needs, are all important factors that should be considered. Also, the size of the respective ethnic community, the level of ethnic enclosure and their effect on retention of ethnic pastimes and on changes in leisure need to be acknowledged.

There is much that we can learn about human leisure by studying immigrant groups. The experiences associated with moving to a new country are in many ways similar to those typically encountered during major life transitions (Jackson, 2001; Jackson, forthcoming). Also, many common life events can have an impact similar to that of immigration although on a somewhat different scale. After all, we all share certain experiences with immigrants when we move to a new place in search of jobs or education, when we lose our loved ones and when we face other significant life adversities. Immigrants, however, are subjected to major life changes that are concentrated over a short period of time and are often of extreme intensity.

---

## REFERENCES

- ADOLF, J. (1974). The Polish press in Toronto. In B. Heydenkorn (ed.), *Past and Present*. Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 91- 121.
- ALLISON, M.T., & Geiger, C.W. (1993). Nature of leisure activities among the Chinese-American elderly. *Leisure Sciences*, 15, 309-319.
- ARNOLD, M. L., & SHINEW, K. J., (1998). The role of gender, race, and income on park use constraints. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 16, 39-56.
- AVERY, D.H., & FEDOROWICZ, J.K. (1982). *The Poles in Canada*. University of Western Ontario: Canadian Historical Association.
- BAKER, R.P. (1989). The adaptation and ethnicity of Polish immigrants in Toronto: The Solidarity wave. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXI, 74-90.
- BRETON, R., ISAJIW, W. W., KALBACH, W. E., & REITZ, J. G. (1990). *Ethnic identity and equality. Varieties of experience in a Canadian city*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- BRZEZINSKI, T. (1974). The yesterday and the today of the Polish community in Canada. In Gordon, M.M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life. The role of race, religion, and national origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- CAMAROTA, S. A (2001). *The Slowing Progress of Immigrants: An Examination of Income, Home Ownership, and Citizenship, 1970-2000*. Report prepared for the Center for Immigration Studies. Available: [<http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/back401release.html>]

- CARR, D.S., & WILLIAMS, D. R. (1993a). Understanding the role of ethnicity in outdoor recreation experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 25, 22-38.
- CARR, D. S., & WILLIAMS, D. R. (1993b). Understanding diverse recreationists: Beyond quantitative analysis. In P. Gobster (Ed.), *Managing urban and high use recreation settings: Selected papers from the 4th North American Symposium on Society and Natural Resource Management*. St. Paul, MN: U.S.D.A. Forest Service GTR NC – 163, 101-106.
- CARRINGTON, B., CHIEVERS, T., & WILLIAMS, T. (1987). Gender, leisure and sport: A case study of young people of South Asian descent. *Leisure Studies*, 6, 265-279.
- COUSINEAU, C. (1995). Leisure and recreation in Malaysia: An interpretive overview, *World Leisure and Recreation*, 4, 5-22
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1967). *Toward a society of leisure*. New York: Macmillan
- FLOYD, M.F., & GRAMANN, J.H. (1993). Effects of acculturation and structural assimilation in resource- based recreation: The case of Mexican Americans. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 25, 6-21.
- FLOYD, M.F., GRAMANN, J.H., & SAENZ, R. (1993). Ethnic factors and the use of public outdoor recreation areas: The case of Mexican Americans. *Leisure Sciences*, 15, 83-98.
- FLOYD, M. F., SHINEW, K. J., MCGUIRE, F. A., & NOE, F. P. (1994). Race, class, and leisure activity preferences: Marginality and ethnicity revised. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26, 158-173.
- FREYSINGER, V. J. (1994). Leisure with children and parental satisfaction: Further evidence of a sex difference in the experience of adults roles and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26, 212-226.
- FREYSINGER, V. J., & CHEN, T. (1993). Leisure and family in China: The impact of culture. *World Leisure and Recreation Journal*, 35, 22-24.
- GANS, H. J. (1979). Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1-20.
- GANS, H. J. (1992). Second-generation decline: Scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15, 173-192.
- GANS, H. J. (1994). Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: Towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17, 577-592.
- GLASER, B. G., & STRAUSS, A. (1980). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine.
- GLYPTIS, S. (1985). Women as a target group: The views of the staff of Action Sport – West Midlands. *Leisure Studies*, 4, 347-362.
- GORDON, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- GRAMANN, J. H., SHAULL, S. L., & SAENZ, R. (1995). *Cultural assimilation and the importance of family-related and nature-related recreation experience among Hispanic Americans in California*. Paper presented at the NRPA Leisure Research Symposium, San Antonio, TX, October 1995.
- HENDERSON, K. A., & AINSWORTH, B. E. (1999). *Enablers and constraints to walking for older African American and American Indian women: The cross cultural activity participation study*. Paper presented at the NRPA Leisure Research Symposium, Nashville, TN, October 1999.

- HENDERSON, K. A., STALNAKER, D., & TAYLOR, G. (1988). The relationship between barriers to recreation and gender-role personality traits for women. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 20, 69-80.
- HEYDENKORN, B. (1969). The social structure of Canadian "Polonia". In T.W. Krychowski (ed.), *Polish Canadians. Profile and image*. Toronto: Polish Alliance Press Limited., 35-58.
- HEYDENKORN, B. (1974). The Polish Alliance of Canada. In B. Heydenkorn (ed.), *Past and Present*. Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 121-142.
- HEYDENKORN, B. (1990). *Ale i slaby nie zginie. Pamietniki imigrantow 1981-1989*. Toronto: Canadian Polish Research Institute.
- HORNE, J. (1998). Understanding leisure time and leisure space in contemporary Japanese society. *Leisure Studies*, 17, 37-52.
- HUTCHISON, R. (1987). Ethnicity and urban recreation: Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in Chicago's public parks. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 19, 205-222.
- IBRAHIM, H. (1981). Leisure behavior of contemporary Egyptians. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 13, 89-104.
- IBRAHIM, H., MOUTI, A. A., ALTOUHAMI, N., SHAMOUN, M. A., ISMAIL, M., ALHHILALI, E. (1981). Leisure behavior among contemporary Egyptians. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 13, 89-104.
- ISAJIW, W. W. (1990). *Ethnic identity retention*. In: R. Breton, W. W. Isajiw, W. E. Kalbach & J. G. Reitz. *Ethnic identity and equality. Varieties of experience in a canadian City*. Toronto: Toronto University press.
- ISAJIW, W. W., SEV'ER, A., & DRIEDGER, L. (1993). Ethnic identity and social mobility: A test of the "drawback model". *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 18, 177-196.
- ISO-AHOLA, S. E. (1980). *Social psychology of leisure and recreation*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers.
- ISO-AHOLA, S. E., JACKSON, E. L., & DUNN, E. (1994). Starting, ceasing, and replacing leisure activities over the life-span. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26, 227-249.
- JACKSON, E. L. (2001). "Leisure, transitions, and constraints," 3-page abstract of a paper accepted for presentation at the 2001 meeting of the Leisure Research Symposium, National Recreation & Park Association, Denver, Co.
- JACKSON, E. L. (forthcoming), Impacts of life transitions on leisure and constraints, in EL Jackson (ed.), *Constraints to Leisure*. State College, Pa: Venture Publishing, Inc. (scheduled for publication in 2003).
- JACKSON, E. L., & DUNN, E. (1988). Integrating ceasing participation with other aspects of leisure behavior. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 20, 31-45.
- JACKSON, E. L., & DUNN, E. (1991). Is constrained leisure an internally homogenous concept? *Leisure Sciences*, 13, 167-184.
- JUNG, B. (1990). The impact of the crisis on leisure patterns in Poland. *Leisure Studies*, 9, 95-105.
- JUNG, B. (1994). For what leisure? The role of culture and recreation in post-communist Poland. *Leisure Studies*, 13, 262-276.
- JUNIUS, S. (1999). *Leisure experience of Latino women immigrants*. Paper presented at NRPAL Leisure Research Symposium, Nashville, TN, October, 1999.
- JUNIUS, S. (2000). The impact of immigration: leisure experience in the lives of South American immigrants. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32, 358-381.

- KAY, T. & JACKSON, G. (1991). Leisure despite constraint: The impact of leisure constraints on leisure participation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 4, 301-313.
- KELLY, J. R. (1990). *Leisure*, 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. .
- KIM, Ch., & SCOTT, D. (2000). *Effects of acculturation and leisure benefits on acculturative stress and self-esteem among Korean immigrants*. Paper presented at NRPA Leisure Research Symposium, Phoenix, AZ, October 2000.
- KLOBUS-EDWARDS, P. (1981). Race, residence, and leisure style: Some policy implications. *Leisure Sciences*, 4, 95-112.
- KOBOS, A.M., & PEKACZ, J.T. (1995). *Polonia in Alberta, 1895-1995: The Polish centennial in Alberta*, Edmonton: Polish Centennial Society.
- KOGLER, R. (1969). A demographic profile of the Polish community in Canada. In T.W. Krychowski (ed.), *Polish Canadians. Profile and image*. Toronto: Polish Alliance Press Limited., 9-34.
- KOGLER, R., & HEYDENKORN, B. (1974). Poles in Canada 1971. In B. Heydenkorn (ed.), *Past and Present*. Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 27-36.
- MAKOWSKI, W.B. (1967). *History and integration of Poles in Canada*. Niagara Peninsula: The Canadian Polish Congress.
- MAKOWSKI, W. B. (1987). *The Polish people in Canada. A visual history*. Montreal: Tundra Books.
- MANNELL, R. C., & KLEIBER, D. A. (1997). *A social psychology of leisure*. State College: Venture Publishing.
- MATEJKO, J., & MATEJKO, A. (1974). Polish Canadians. In B. Heydenkorn (ed.), *Past and Present*. Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 37-60.
- MCGUIRE, F. A., O'LEARY, J. T., YEH, ch. K., & DOTTAIO, F. D. (1989). Integrating ceasing participation with other aspects of leisure behavior: A replication and extension. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 21, 316-326.
- MCMILLEN, J. (1983). The social organization of leisure among Mexican-Americans. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 15, 164-173.
- MOSTWIN, D. (1991). *Emigranci polscy w USA*. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.
- RADECKI, H. (1974). The Polish voluntary organizational structure; issues and questions. In B. Heydenkorn (ed.), *Past and Present*. Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute, 81-90.
- RUBLEE, C., & SHAW, S.M. (1991). Constraints on the leisure and community participation of immigrant women: Implications for social integration. *Loisir et Société*, 14 (1) 133-150.
- SHAULL, S. L., & GRAMANN, J. H. (1998). The effect of cultural assimilation on the importance of family-related and nature-related recreation among Hispanic Americans. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30, 47-63.
- SHINAW, K. J., FLOYD, M., MCGUIRE, F. A., & NOE, F., P. (1995). Gender, race, and subjective social class and their association with leisure preferences. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 75-89.
- SCHOR, J. B. (1992). *The overworked American*. New York: Basic Books
- STACHNIAK, E. (1991). Canadian reflections – The images of Canada and Poland in the Polish ethnic press (1908-89). *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXIII, 40-57.

- STAMPS, S.M., & STAMPS, M.B. (1985). Race, class, and leisure activities of urban residents. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 17, 40-56.
- Statistics Canada (1997). Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration, 1996 Census, Canada. Available at: <<http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/people/Population/demo25a.htm> demo35b.htm; /demo35c.htm; /demo35f.htm; /demo35h.htm; /demo29b.htm; /demo29c.htm; /demo29f.htm; /demo29h.htm
- STODOLSKA, M. (1998). Assimilation and leisure constraints: Dynamics of constraints on leisure in immigrant populations. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30, 521-551.
- STODOLSKA, M. (2000). Changes in leisure participation patterns after immigration. *Leisure Sciences*, 32, 39-63.
- STODOLSKA, M. & JACKSON, E. L. (1998). Discrimination in leisure and work experienced by a white ethnic minority group. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30, 23-46.
- TAYLOR, M. J., & HEGARTY, S. (1985). *The best of both worlds...? A review of research into the education of pupils of South Asian origin*. Windsor: NFER-Nelson.
- THOMAS, W.I., & ZNANIECKI, F. (1958). *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- TIRONE, S., & PEDLAR, A. (2000). Understanding the leisure experiences of a minority ethnic group; South Asian teens and young adults in Canada. *Loisir et Société*, 23, 145-169.
- TIRONE, S., & SHAW, S. M. (1997). At the center of their lives: Indo Canadian women, their families and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 29, 225-244.
- TSAI, E. H., & COLEMAN, D. J. (1999). Leisure constraints of Chinese immigrants: An exploratory study. *Loisir et Société* 22, 243-264.
- US CENSUS BUREAU. (2000). Population Estimates Program. Available on-line: [<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0045/tab09.txt>] [<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0045/tab05.txt>]
- US CENSUS BUREAU. (2000). Current Population Survey, March 2000, Ethnic and Hispanic Statistics Branch, Population Division
- VEAL, A. J. (1984). Leisure in England and Wales. *Leisure Studies*, 3, 221-227.
- WASHBURN, R.F. (1978). Black under-participation in wildland recreation: Alternative explanations. *Leisure Sciences*, 1, 175-189.
- WEST, P.C. (1989). Urban region parks and black minorities: Subculture, marginality, and interracial relations in park use in the Detroit metropolitan area. *Leisure Sciences*, 11, 11-28.
- WILLIAMS, J. A. & ORTEGA, S. T. (1990). Dimensions of ethnic assimilation: an empirical appraisal of Gordon's typology. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71, 697-710.
- WOJCIECHOWSKI, J.A. (1969). The future of Canada's Polish-speaking community. In T.W. Krychowski (ed.), *Polish Canadians. Profile and image*. Toronto: Polish Alliance Press Limited., 87-102.
- YU, P. & BERRYMAN, D. L. (1996). The relationship among self-esteem, acculturation, and recreation participation of recently arrived Chinese immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28, 251-273.

Monika STODOLSKA

*L'arrêt des activités de loisir après l'immigration:  
les Européens de l'Est et leurs habitudes en matière de loisir*

### RÉSUMÉ

Bien que les experts en loisirs se soient beaucoup intéressés aux loisirs chez les minorités ethniques et raciales, les recherches portant sur le comportement en matière de loisir des immigrants n'en sont qu'à leurs débuts pour ce qui est d'être reconnues comme champ d'étude valable. Dans cet article, on étudie le rôle que jouent les loisirs dans l'adaptation des immigrants, en ciblant un seul aspect du processus de changement des habitudes ludiques suivant l'arrivée: la cessation de la participation aux activités de loisirs une fois établis dans le pays hôte. Se fondant sur 13 interviews exhaustives ainsi que sur un questionnaire-sondage auquel ont répondu 264 immigrants polonais récemment établis à Edmonton, Alberta, on y étudie en profondeur les modèles de cessation de la participation chez les populations immigrantes. L'étude permet d'identifier les principales raisons qui amènent les immigrants à cesser de s'adonner à leurs anciens passe-temps (manque de temps, environnement différent et manque d'argent), les catégories d'activités le plus fréquemment abandonnées par les nouveaux arrivants (activités de loisir à l'extérieur, activités typiquement polonaises et activités ayant pour cadre le domicile). On y explique pourquoi les immigrants de l'Europe de l'Est cessent de participer à leurs activités de loisir préférées. Les résultats de cette étude servent ensuite à identifier des modèles universels de changement d'attitude en matière de loisir et de déterminer les facteurs pouvant varier d'une population immigrante à une autre.

---

Monika STODOLSKA

*Ceasing participation in leisure activities after immigration:  
Eastern Europeans and their leisure behavior*

### ABSTRACT

Although leisure of ethnic and racial minorities has attracted significant attention from leisure scientists, research on leisure behavior of immigrants is only developing and gaining recognition as a legitimate area of inquiry. This paper examines the role of leisure in immigrants' adaptation by focusing on one aspect of the process of post-arrival leisure change – ceasing participation in leisure activities after settling in the host country. Based on 13 in-depth interviews and a questionnaire survey completed by 264 recent Polish immigrants to Edmonton,

Alberta, it explores in-depth ceasing participation patterns among immigrant populations. The study identifies major reasons immigrants have for ceasing participation in their former pastimes (lack of time, environmental differences and financial difficulties), groups of activities most commonly ceased by the newcomers (outdoor recreational activities, typical Polish activities and home-based recreation) and explains the reasons that Eastern European immigrants have for abandoning participation in their favorite activities. Findings of this study are subsequently used to isolate patterns of changes in post-arrival leisure behavior that are likely to be universally applicable as well as to establish factors that might differentiate specific immigrant populations.

---

Monika Stodolska

*La interrupción de las actividades de ocio después de la inmigración:  
los Europeos del Este y sus hábitos en materia de ocio*

#### **RESUMEN**

Aunque los expertos en ocios se han interesado mucho en las actividades de ocio de las minorías étnicas y raciales, las investigaciones que tratan sobre el comportamiento en materia de ocio de los inmigrantes no están que en sus comienzos en lo que respecta a ser reconocidas como campo de estudio válido. En este artículo, se estudia el papel que juegan las actividades de ocio en la adaptación de los inmigrantes, teniendo como objetivo un único aspecto del proceso de cambio de los hábitos lúdicos después de la llegada: el cese de la participación a las actividades de ocio una vez establecidos en el país anfitrión. Basándose sobre 13 entrevistas exhaustivas así que en un cuestionario sondeo al que han respondido 264 inmigrantes polacos recientemente establecidos en Edmonton, Alberta, se han estudiado con detenimiento los modelos de cesación de la participación de las poblaciones inmigrantes. El estudio permite de identificar las principales razones que conducen a los inmigrantes a cesar de implicarse en sus antiguos pasatiempos (falta de tiempo, medio diferente y falta de dinero), las categorías de actividades más frecuentemente abandonadas por los nuevos llegados (actividades de ocio al exterior, actividades típicamente polacas y actividades teniendo por cuadro el domicilio). Se explica por qué los inmigrantes de Europa del Este cesan de participar en sus actividades de ocio preferidas. Los resultados de este estudio sirven enseguida a identificar los modelos universales de cambio de actitud en materia de ocio y a determinar los factores que pueden variar de una población inmigrante a otra.