Leisure, Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration

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In the second decade of the twenty first century, the United States is more diverse than it was at any time in recent history. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, more than one-third of the American population was classified as racial or ethnic minorities (U.S. Census, 2013). In 2012 Non-Hispanics Whites accounted for 63% of the population, Hispanics for 16.9% (53 million), African Americans for 13.1% (41 million), Asians for 5.1% (16 million), and American Indians and Alaskan Natives for 1.2% (3.8 million) (U.S. Census, 2013). Similar patterns exist in Canada, where between 1981 and 2001, the number of visible minorities had increased almost four-fold, from 1.1 million (5% of the total population) to approximately 4 million (13% of the total population) (Statistics Canada, 2008). Between 2000 and 2010, racial and ethnic minorities accounted for 91.7% of the U.S. population growth (Passel, Livingston, & Cohn, 2012) and, if the current trends continue, in 2050 non-Hispanic Whites will comprise less than half (47%) of U.S. citizens (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011).

Ethnic minorities contribute to cultures, economies and politics of their host countries and are indispensable parts of the rich tapestry that are the United States’ and Canadian societies. At the same time, issues of legalization of undocumented immigrants and concerns about border security, jobs, bi-lingual education, health care costs, and cultural change are at the forefront of political debates and everyday conversations in the receiving countries (PEW, 2013). Moreover, despite the United States and Canada being built and strengthened by the contributions of people of color and immigrants, till this day both countries struggle with the painful history of interracial conflict, genocide of the local native populations and, in the case of United States, slavery.
Leisure among ethnic and racial minorities has been the subject of research for over 40 years. While the early studies documented the differences in recreation participation among non-Hispanic Whites and African Americans (e.g., Mueller & Gurin, 1962), more contemporary scholarship has examined interracial relations in the context of leisure, constraints on leisure faced by minorities, the roles of leisure in the adaptation of immigrants, as well as their unique meanings and motivations for leisure. This chapter is intended to explore selected topics addressed in the existing literature on race, ethnicity, and leisure. We will begin by providing an overview of theoretical frameworks employed in studies of race, ethnicity and leisure. We will then describe extant research on leisure meanings and motivations, the roles of leisure in the lives of ethnic and racial minorities, and constraints on leisure experienced by members of minority populations. We will end this chapter by discussing possible topics for future study.

**Theoretical Frameworks**

**Marginality-ethnicity**

Significant theoretical developments in the area of race, ethnicity and leisure have occurred over the past four decades. The marginality-ethnicity framework was the earliest theoretical perspective employed in leisure literature that focused on understanding racial differences in leisure behavior (Washburne, 1978). The approach guided much of the empirical work in the field in the 1970s and 1980s. Washburne offered two perspectives to explain differences in rates of wildland recreation participation between Whites and African Americans. The marginality hypothesis held that low participation rates among Blacks were a result of limited access to socioeconomic resources, which in turn resulted from past discrimination. The

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2 Discrimination has also been used as a separate framework guiding studies in the field of ethnic/racial leisure. Literature in this area has been described later in the chapter.
marginality hypothesis was commonly tested by comparing rates of recreation participation between Whites and African Americans while controlling for income, education, or other socioeconomic variables (Floyd, 1999; Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998). If any observed differences disappeared, it was considered evidence of marginality effects. The ethnicity hypothesis (also known as the subcultural hypothesis) explained intergroup variations as a result of cultural factors, such as cultural norms, values systems, and socialization practices. It was concluded that the ethnicity perspective was supported if differences in participation remained after controlling for socioeconomic factors (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994; Johnson et al., 1998). The shortcomings of the marginality-ethnicity approach were explicated by Floyd (1998) who argued that the concepts of race and ethnicity often had been confounded and used interchangeably, that measurements of culture were often lacking or imprecise, and that diversity within racial and ethnic groups was neglected.

**Multiple Hierarchy Stratification Perspective**

With few exceptions (e.g., Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993, Gómez & Malega, 2007), studies on race and ethnicity did not consider how multiple sources of stratification (e.g., class, gender, age), along with race/ethnicity, affect leisure behavior. In response, a number of studies had adopted the multiple hierarchy stratification perspective (Markides, Liang, & Jackson, 1990) to examine how combined sources of disadvantage (e.g., low income, female, minority, older adult) condition various domains of leisure. The multiple hierarchy stratification perspective has been applied to analyze leisure activity preferences and participation (Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995), leisure benefits (Philipp, 1997), visitation to local and state parks (Lee, Scott, & Floyd, 2001), constraints to park use (Shores, Scott, & Floyd, 2007), and participation in fishing and wildlife-related recreation (Floyd, Nicholas, Injae, Jin-Hyung, & Scott, 2006).
Adaptation Theories

Several theoretical perspectives have been used to explain how the adaptation process to new cultural environments influences leisure among immigrants. Four specific concepts have been applied in this regard: assimilation, acculturation, segmented assimilation, and selective acculturation. Much of the research in the 1990s on leisure and ethnicity was informed by Gordon’s (1964) theory of assimilation (e.g., Floyd & Gramann, 1993, 1995; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). This traditional assimilationist approach stemmed from the works of the Chicago School of Sociology (Park & Burges, 1921/1969; Warner & Srole, 1945) and argued that immigrants follow a one-directional path where, with time, they shed their ethnic traits and replace them with the traits of the mainstream, Anglo population. Among the key sub-processes of assimilation outlined by Gordon (1964) were cultural assimilation (or acculturation) and structural assimilation. Gordon’s (1964) assimilation theory attracted much criticism over the years, in response to which other models characterizing adaptation processes of immigrant groups have been developed (Alba & Nee, 1997). The more recent research has argued that the contemporary ethnic groups are very diverse, and consist of people with various personal histories, goals and distinct social endowments who follow different trajectories when it comes to their adaptation to the host country (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For instance, the concept of segmented assimilation suggested that because of socioeconomic and racial stratification in the U.S., multiple “assimilation outcomes” are possible (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Selective acculturation referred to the strategic retention of core cultural values and practices among minority groups (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). The segmented assimilation and selective acculturation theories were used in studies on race and ethnicity by Gramann, Floyd, and Saenz (1993), Shaull and Gramann (1998), and Stodolska and Alexandris (2004).
**Transnationalism**

A few studies have examined the concept of transnationalism and its influence on leisure behaviors of immigrants. Transnationalism refers to sustained interaction and exchanges across borders through which immigrants maintain social networks in the home and host society (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szaton, 1992). This perspective was introduced to leisure studies by Stodolska and Santos (2006), and later employed in studies by and Li and Stodolska (2006) and by Huang, Norman, Ramshaw, and Haller (in press). Stodolska and Santos (2006) proposed the concept of transnational leisure, defined as leisure maintained by temporary migrants to "foster their ties with their countries and communities of origin" (p. 162), to describe how immigrants used their leisure efforts to stay connected to their families and home country.

**Self-construal**

The concept of self-construal guided much of the research on Chinese-Canadians’ leisure behavior that was conducted by Walker and his co-investigators (e.g., Walker, Deng, & Dieser, 2001; Walker, Jackson, & Deng, 2008; Walker & Virden, 2005). Self-construal refers to how a person thinks about her or himself in relation to others. Markus and Kitayama (1991) proposed that there are two main types of self-construal: (a) independent (or individualistic), where people endorse being unique, asserting oneself, expressing one’s inner attributes, and promoting one’s own goals; and (b) interdependent (or collectivistic), where people endorse belonging, fitting in, maintaining harmony, restraining oneself, and promoting others’ goals. Research has indicated that African Americans and Asian Americans are higher in collectivism compared with European Americans (Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2001), while some studies suggested that Latinos are also more likely to endorse this type of self-construal than European Americans (Freeberg & Stein, 1996).
Emerging Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks have been developed within the field of leisure with the study of racial and ethnicity minorities in mind. The Conditioned Attitude Model of Discrimination (Stodolska, 2005) focused on the decision making process leading to discrimination against minority groups. According to the model, the mechanism which determines whether discrimination occurs and what form it takes consists of three stages. First, people use their information set to derive beliefs about a group or an evaluation of its characteristics. Then they combine these beliefs with new information input to form an attitude toward the group members. Finally, they weigh the benefits and consequences of discrimination and decide whether or not to engage in the behavior. The Ethnicity and Public Recreation Participation Model (EPRP) (Gómez, 2002) was based on a review and synthesis of theories and models applied to recreation and leisure participation among racial and ethnic minority groups. Gómez distilled five major concepts that were incorporated into the EPRP: acculturation, socio-economic status, subcultural identify, recreation benefits, and perceived discrimination.

Recent work in the field has also been informed by the theory of planned behavior (Walker, Courneya, & Deng, 2006), social and cultural capital theories (Erickson, Johnson, & Kivel, 2009; Shinew, Glover, & Parry, 2004), and critical race theory (Arai & Kivel, 2009; Glover, 2007). One could argue that significant progress has been made in the theoretical sophistication of our sub-field, but much work remains to be done. In particular, the next decade seems to be conducive to incorporating, or perhaps developing, novel theoretical frameworks to study ethnicity, race and leisure, as increased globalization, realignment of the existing racial and ethnic hierarchy, and shifting migration patterns may call for new ways of understanding the dynamics of leisure behavior among minority populations.
Empirical Research

Meanings, Motivations and Benefits

Although early studies sought to identify and catalog basic needs leisure activities could satisfy (e.g., Driver, 1976; Tinsley & Kass, 1978), these efforts did not consider potential variation by race or ethnicity. Later research showed that there are patterns of similarity and difference in leisure motivations and perceived benefits among ethnic/racial groups. For instance, Hunt and Ditton (2001) who studied experience preferences of Anglo-American and Hispanic American anglers observed that escaping stress and being in a natural environment was more important to Anglos, while Hispanics rated achievement as a more important preference. Toth and Brown’s (1997) study of angler motivations showed that among White and Black anglers fishing held similar meanings, that Whites placed greater emphasis on “sport” aspects, while subsistence was of greater importance to Blacks. These studies reveal that even when activity participation or settings are similar, motivations and perceived benefits are affected by diverse cultural patterns among racial and ethnic groups.

Motivations and perceived benefits associated with leisure may also vary within ethnic groups. Shaull and Gramann (1998) analyzed perceived benefit domains (nature enjoyment and family cohesiveness) among Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans of different acculturation level. They found that bi-cultural Mexicans rated family cohesion more highly than the other acculturation groups and the Anglos. Winter, Jeong, and Godbey (2004) compared three motive domains associated with visiting natural areas (consumption, nature, and social interaction) among Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino residents in the San Francisco area. Consumptive reasons and social interaction were rated higher among Chinese and Filipino respondents, while Chinese respondents had the highest ratings on nature-related motivations. An important
The contribution of this study was its comparison of four different Asian origin groups and its demonstration of significant heterogeneity within this population. In a study of motivations for outdoor recreation among Euro-North Americans and Chinese in Canada, Walker et al. (2001) found that self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) mediated the effect of ethnicity on nature-related experience preference and two motives related to social interdependence. Their conceptual approach and findings showed the need to consider foundational culture in understanding the meanings and motivations for leisure of different ethnic groups.

In view of immigration trends, potential differences between Western and non-Western cultures should be considered. Cultures can differ in terms of perceptual orientation to nature (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984), as well as concept of time and orientation toward past, present, and future (Samovar, Porter, & Jain, 1981). Moreover, patterns and values related to decision making and initiating behavior, as well as extent of individualism and collectivism may vary (Simcox, 1993). Leisure in Western cultures is marked by activity, rationality, and efficiency with emphasis on individual and personal needs, while non-Western cultures place more value on passive use, as well as familial and group level benefits and collectivism (Simcox, 1993). Given the influence of culture on leisure and immigration trends, ethnic differences in leisure motivations, meanings, and perceived benefits are likely to endure (Floyd & Gramann, 1993).

The Roles of Leisure in the Lives of Ethnic and Racial Minorities

Adaptation. Some of the questions that drive the research on race, ethnicity and leisure have to do with the strategies immigrants employ to adapt to life in the new country and with the roles that leisure can play in the process. Research has shown that leisure activities that incorporate traditions of the home and host countries help to build bridges between ethnic and mainstream communities and promote cultural understanding (Kim, Heo, King, & Kim, 2014;
Leisure and sport are also convenient ways immigrants use to familiarize themselves with the local environment and culture, learn the language, establish initial contacts with people in the U.S., and to interact with them in non-stressful settings (Heo & Lee, 2007; Kim, Kleiber, & Kropf, 2001; Peters, 2010). Sport in particular plays an important role in the adaptation process among youth by allowing them to develop new contacts and to feel accepted by the peer group (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). Leisure also provides an important communication platform in interracial/interethnic marriages (Sharaievska, Kim, & Stodolska, 2013), a mechanism to release tension in a prejudicial environment (Hibbler & Shinew, 2002), and an opportunity to bond with children who struggle with acculturative stress (Stodolska & Yi, 2003).

**Retention of ethnic traits.** Leisure activities not only facilitate intra and inter-group contacts, but also provide a sense of familiarity after arrival, help to retain desired cultural elements and achieve an optimum level of arousal. In an environment where everything is new, were work is stressful and people struggle to rebuild their lives, it is through leisure that they maintain contact with their traditional culture, families back home, keep up with news from the home country, and celebrate their heritage (Allison & Geiger, 1996; Kim et al., 2001; Stodolska, 2000; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). Stress reduction, improvement in self-esteem and self-confidence, feeling of security, and increased life satisfaction are important benefits of participation in familiar activities and associating with people who can understand and sympathize with one’s experiences (Kim, Dattilo, & Heo, 2011; Kim et al., 2001). Leisure activities are also crucial to preserving ethnic culture among second and subsequent generations as they allow for celebrating ethnic traditions and maintaining contact with family and other

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3 It needs to be noted, however, that sport also promotes competition and introduces a possibility of inter-ethnic/racial conflict which may negatively contribute to interethnic interactions (Walker, Halpenny, & Deng, 2011).
members of the ethnic community (Tirone & Goodberry, 2011). Ethnic clubs and associations and ethnic churches often play an important role as carriers of such traditions and help to strengthen community bonds through leisure, sport, and cultural events (Price & Whitworth, 2004).

**Identity development.** Leisure activities can play an important role in helping ethnic and racial minority members develop and maintain ethnic and national identities. Kelly (1983) argued that leisure is the “life space in which identity is most fully expressed and developed” (p. 116) as, unlike work, it is the realm of freedom that allows people to “play” with different identities. Leisure also facilitates entry into new “communities of commonality” (p. 117) and development of social ties. A study by Kim and Kleiber (2001) on cultural integration and ethnic preservation of older Korean immigrants found that leisure activities contributed to maintaining Koreans’ cultural bonds, restoring their sense of ethnic identity, reinforcing their Koreanness and maintaining traditions. Stodolska and Yi (2003) indicated that ethnic identity among first generation teenage immigrants from Mexico, Korea and Poland was shaped by self-discovery of their cultural differences vis-à-vis mainstream Americans and other minorities, by comparisons with other members of their in-group, and by outside labeling. In another study, Stodolska, Tainsky, and Burset (2010) showed that sport spectatorship helped immigrants to discover their common Latino traits and to embrace ethnic designations imposed by others. Ethnic identity may also be shaped by genealogical travel to ancestral homelands that allows people to reconnect with their heritage and reexamine their cultural values (Day-Vines, Barker, & Exum, 1998).

**Physical activity and health.** Research has shown that although the attitudes toward leisure time physical activity (LTPA) among ethnic minority members are often positive (Skowron, Stodolska, & Shinew, 2008), involvement in LTPA is significantly below that of the
Anglo mainstream (Health United States, 2012). Such low rates of LTPA contribute to high overweight and obesity rates among African Americans and Mexican Americans and other negative health outcomes. Older minority members and those with low socio-economic status are at a greatest risk for inactive lifestyles (Whitt-Glover et al., 2007), although some groups, such as Latinos, are less active across the entire lifespan (Crespo, 2000). Low LTPA among ethnic minorities has been attributed to a number of factors, including different perceptions of body and health (Airhihenbuwa, Kumanyika, Agurs, & Lowe, 1995), and constraints such as fatigue, lack of time, lack of family support, lack of role models, lack of partners, child-care responsibilities, as well as gender role expectations related to family and household duties (Henderson, & Ainsworth, 2000; Skowron et al., 2008). Public spaces, such as urban parks, have been shown to be the primary contexts for physical activity, although the use of natural environments in minority communities for LTPA is often constrained by overcrowding, poor maintenance, safety concerns, and racial tensions (Stodolska & Shinew, 2010).

**Leisure Constraints**

*Socio-economic status.* Research on socio-economic constraints can be traced to Washburne’s (1978) marginality thesis that attributed minorities’ underparticipation in wildland recreation to inequality in resource allocation. Although ethnic minorities have achieved a remarkable economic progress in the last several decades, they are still predominantly clustered in lower-status occupations, earn less and exhibit higher poverty rates than non-Hispanic Whites (Macartney, Bishaw, & Fontenot, 2013). Lower wages make it difficult for people to afford costly recreation equipment and program fees (Trussell, this volume). Strenuous employment also leads to lack of time, exhaustion, and restricts minorities’ participation in some pastimes, including LTPA (Crespo, 2000; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). Lack of set work hours prevents
people from taking part in organized sport or recreation, and the low-skill work they perform (and resulting lack of job stability) make them unable or unwilling to take extended time off. Such constraints are particularly pronounced among immigrants in the immediate period after arrival, among international students with limited means of financial support, as well as undocumented and transnational migrants (Heo & Lee, 2007; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Stodolska & Santos, 2006).

Despite recent declines in residential segregation (Iceland, Weinberg, & Steinmetz, 2002), place of residence is still one of the key factors shaping leisure opportunities among minorities. Average living costs tend to be higher in cities where minorities are concentrated, worsening the economic burden they experience. Moreover, minorities make up a disproportionately large share of residents of central-city communities that offer less access to recreational facilities and quality natural environments (Garcia, 2013).

**Culture-related constraints.** Cultural differences can constrain recreation participation among minority groups. Specific gender-role expectations, lack of culturally appropriate child-care services, religious restrictions on mixed-gender interactions, and religiously-prescribed clothing that limits body movements have been shown to restrict leisure options (Stodolska & Livengood, 2006; Tirone & Shaw 1997). Language problems and broken social networks due emigration are also an important constraints faced by many ethnic minorities (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Heo & Lee, 2007; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Scott, Lee, Lee, & Kim, 2006; Stodolska, 1998). Immigrants not fluent in the langue of the host country may have difficulties establishing social contacts, finding out about recreation opportunities, communicating with staff of recreation centers, and signing up for programs (Heo & Lee, 2007; Stodolska, Shinew, Acevedo, & Izenstark, 2011). Many activities to which immigrants were used to in their home country may
also not be available in the U.S. or Canada, while others may be offered in a different form (Stodolska, 2000).

Two other factors related to culture that may constrain leisure are acculturative stress and intergenerational conflict. Walker et al. (2011) defined acculturative stress as “behaviors and experiences that are disruptive to a person after he or she immigrates (p. 227) and isolated four types of acculturative stress experienced by Chinese immigrants to Canada: language difficulties, not feeling at home, loss/nostalgia, and perceived discrimination. Intergenerational conflict can affect leisure opportunities when parents (often first generation immigrants) disapprove of the lifestyle choices of their children and of their children’s moving too far away from the traditional culture (Tirone & Godberry, 2011). Interethnic dating/marriage, engaging in leisure pursuits deemed unacceptable by the ethnic community and devoting too much time to leisure have been shown to lead to conflict in immigrant families (Stodolska & Yi, 2003).

Access to natural environments. Being open and free, natural environments provide a number of benefits to ethnic and racial minorities. They offer opportunity to express cultural values, get away from urban life, relax, improve intergroup relations, and promote social interaction (Gómez, 2002; Shinew, Glover, & Parry, 2004; Stodolska et al., 2011). Many of these benefits, however, are unrealized as access to natural environments is often severely restricted for ethnic and racial groups. Minority communities with higher poverty rates are less likely to have access to parks and green spaces, and public spending on parks in communities of color is usually lower than in more affluent neighborhoods (Floyd & Johnson, 2002; Floyd, Taylor, & Whitt-Glover, 2009; Garcia, 2013). Parks and facilities that are available are often overcrowded and poorly maintained (Blahna & Black, 1993; Gobster, 2002; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; Stodolska et al., 2011). Problems with park access are exacerbated by interracial conflict and
discrimination (Blahna & Black, 1993; Fernandez & Witt, 2013; Sharaievska, Stodolska, Shinew, & Kim, 2010). The perceptions of unwelcomeness come not only from deliberate discrimination, but also from exclusion due to lack of information about programs and services in the native language of local residents, inability of the staff to communicate with recreationists, and lack of understanding among the staff of the needs of the local population (Fernandez & Witt, 2013; Stodolska et al., 2011). These perceptions may worsen if the place or the leisure activity is labeled in a particular way (e.g., “African American park,” “White sport”) (Gobster, 1998; Philipp, 1999; West, 1989). Access to more distant, suburban natural environments or national parks may be additionally hindered by cost, problems with transportation, or historical issues tied to those places (Erickson et al., 2009; Gobster, 2002; Stodolska et al., 2011; West, 1989). Fear for personal safety due to high crime and gang activity has also been shown to disproportionately affect minorities’ participation in leisure activities in public spaces (Stodolska, Acevedo, & Shinew, 2009).

**Discrimination.** Discrimination has been reported as a constraint on leisure among minorities since the early 1970s (Lindsay & Ogle, 1972), although it was the seminal article by West (1989) that brought renewed attention to this topic. Since then, numerous studies have documented that racial and ethnic minority groups experience discrimination in parks, campgrounds, recreation areas, pools, beaches, golf courses and forests (e.g., Blahna & Black, 1993; Floyd et al., 1993; Gobster & Delgado, 1993). Discrimination in leisure has been shown to affect quality of recreation experience, recreation site choices, and to force minorities to isolate themselves during their leisure engagements or, conversely, to recreate in larger groups (Blahna & Black, 1993; Gobster, 1998; Hibbler & Shinew, 2002; Johnson et al., 1998). Discrimination also makes people restrict their leisure activities in terms of timing (people would not go out
after dark) and location (they would avoid parks, campgrounds and other areas where they feel they may be unwelcome) (Flood & McAvoy, 2007). Within recreation settings, studies have documented instances of discrimination from other recreationists such as physical attacks, verbal confrontations, and hate stares (e.g., Blahna & Black, 1993; Hibbler & Shinew, 2002; Sharaievska et al., 2010). Minority recreationists have also been denied service or offered a substandard service by the staff of recreation centers, and have been followed by the staff, park rangers or the police (Fernandez & Witt, 2013; Flood & McAvoy, 2007). Past racist practices that led to some recreation resources being associated with poverty, hard manual labor, and lynchings have also been reported to shape current leisure behavior of people of color (Erickson et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 1998; Mowatt, 2008). It is only recently that studies considered institutional and structural forms of discrimination (Erickson et al., 2009; Scott, 2013).

**Conclusions**

Although research on leisure, race, and ethnicity has significantly expanded and matured in recent years, it still occupies a relatively small place in the general body of leisure research (Floyd et al., 2008). In particular, a number of areas have been unexplored or underexplored and require further attention. Research should focus more on the globalization issues and on the mobility of minority populations. While most research in our field has concentrated on minority groups in Western developed countries, migrations and diversity are global phenomena. Thus, it would be desirable to explore leisure behaviors among minorities outside of the traditional receiving countries of the West. Researchers also need to consider significant economic, social and cultural changes taking places in the traditional immigrant sending countries such as China, India, and Mexico, and the effects of globalization on leisure behaviors of immigrants even before they arrive to their destination. The growing minority population in the U.S. and Canada
is also likely create a major realignment of racial and ethnic hierarchies in these countries, which may have significant implications for research on leisure among people of color and for the provision of leisure programs and services to minority groups.

While most of the traditional research has concentrated on working class minorities, such narrow focus has caused researchers to overlook factors shaping leisure behavior and choices among middle and upper class minority members. We believe more emphasis needs to be placed on resistance and trajectories of success and advancement within racial and ethnic groups. Future research needs to pay closer attention to the heterogeneity within minority populations, both when it comes to socio-economic status, as well as acculturation level, identity, urban-rural residence, immigration experiences and other possible markers of difference (Henderson & Walker, 2013). Simultaneously, researchers need to acknowledge the similarities across ethnic groups that may be overlooked by those used to investigating inter-group differences in leisure (Floyd, Walker, Stodolska, & Shinew, 2013). Considering the youthful age structure of the U.S. African American and Latino populations, future research should examine the provision of leisure services to children residing in disadvantaged communities and to the roles leisure can play in the positive development of immigrant youth. Also, while sport behavior among ethnic and racial minorities has been investigated extensively (Harrison & Bimper, 2013), tourism and travel among people of color remains almost completely unexplored (Philipp, 1994). As Scott (2013) pointed out, “inequality in service delivery is deeply embedded in the everyday functioning of how public park and recreation agencies do business” (p. 47). As the literature on race, ethnicity and leisure continues to expand, how to best translate and disseminate research findings in systematic ways and how to best provide leisure services to diverse groups should be a priority.
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