

**Critical Intersections of Gender, Race and Ethnicity:
Leisure Constraints, Negotiations and Resistances of Immigrant Adolescent Girls**

by

Bronwen L. Valtchanov

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Recreation and Leisure Studies

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2013

© Bronwen L. Valtchanov 2013

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made available to the public.

Abstract

Leisure can provide a central context for the core adolescent issue of identity development. Given the importance of leisure in adolescents' lives, it is imperative to understand the constraints to leisure and possible constraint negotiations. While extensive research exists on the leisure constraints and negotiations of adults, there is a notable paucity of similar research which addresses the potentially unique constraints and negotiations experienced by adolescents, with a particular lack of focus on adolescent girls from diverse races and ethnicities. As such, this research sought to explore the leisure constraints, negotiations and resistances of diverse adolescent girls. Guided by a feminist theoretical and methodological approach, the current research involved nine conversational interviews with immigrant adolescent girls, representing diverse races and ethnicities. It became clear that girls experienced numerous constraints, but also crucially negotiated constraints, and mobilized their leisure as resistance. As immigrant adolescent girls, participants each embarked on a personal journey, which spanned both the exterior geographies and interior landscapes of their two distinct cultures, back home and in Canada. Participants' points of departure provided a mapping of some of the contours of their life back home, including structural constraints, gender constraints and gender resistances. As participants left home for Canada, they discovered a different world, fraught with its own leisure constraints. These Canadian leisure constraints encompassed all three major forms of constraints: structural, intrapersonal and interpersonal. Within this new world, participants also experienced racism and gender constraints. Significantly, participants discovered ways to navigate the Canadian constraints they encountered and resisted racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice. Finally, beyond an articulation of constraints and negotiations, girls' leisure experiences revealed the intersections of influences and identities. Participants also unpacked continuing and emerging leisure identities and embraced leisure as a cultural connection.

Acknowledgments

I would first and foremost like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Diana Parry. Diana skillfully and thoughtfully guided my research journey. She provided invaluable feedback and encouragement throughout the research process, from beginning to end, even despite some challenging timelines. I am deeply grateful to have Diana as a supervisor and mentor.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Troy Glover and Dr. Tracy Penny Light. Troy provided helpful insights into issues of diversity and immigrant youth. I particularly appreciate his assistance with participant recruitment through his contacts within the community. Tracy's thoughtful questions encouraged me to further situate my research within its particular context of place and to consider how it may be applied in transformative ways.

I am also very grateful to the nine inspiring girls who graciously contributed to this research. It is my hope that the stories and experiences they candidly shared may travel far and touch the lives of others as they have certainly touched mine.

My research process was also vitally supported by the UW Recreation and Leisure Studies community, where I have been fortunate to find a home. In my two years here, I have been encouraged by incredible faculty and students to follow my passions, think deeply and critically, and embrace new possibilities for my personal and professional journeys. I am particularly thankful for the assistance of Faith-Anne Wagler in offering helpful editorial suggestions for my research findings. She and other colleagues also helped to clarify and motivate all aspects of the research process with frequent discussions.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their endless patience, interest and encouragement. In particular, I would like to thank my husband, Deltcho, for his unwavering support.

This research was in part inspired by my two younger sisters, Lexie and Breanna. Thanks to both of you for providing me with the impetus to recognize the unique possibilities and challenges of adolescent girls. This research is for you and for all girls who are finding their own way!

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	3
2.1 Adolescence and Identity.....	3
2.2 Adolescent Girls and Identity.....	4
2.3 Leisure, Adolescence and Identity.....	7
2.4 Leisure Constraints.....	9
2.5 Women’s Leisure Constraints.....	10
2.6 Adolescent Girls’ Constraints to Leisure and Leisure as Constraint.....	14
2.6.1 Gender Ideologies/Roles/Stereotypes.....	14
2.6.2 Gender Roles and Consumptive Leisure.....	17
2.6.3 Body Image.....	21
2.7 Adolescent Girls’ Negotiations of Constraints and Leisure as Resistance.....	24
2.7.1 Technology and Public Space.....	25
2.7.2 ‘Playful Practices’: Emotion Play and Creative Leisure.....	27
2.7.3 Female Friendships.....	28
2.8 Adolescence and Diversity.....	29
2.8.1 Diverse Adolescents’ Leisure Constraints.....	31
2.8.2 Diverse Adolescents’ Leisure Constraint Negotiations and Resistances.....	32
2.9 Research Gaps.....	36
2.10 Purpose Statement.....	37
2.11 Research Questions.....	38
Chapter Three: Theoretical Orientation.....	39
3.1 Theoretical Framework: Feminism.....	39
3.2 Feminist Theories.....	41
3.3 Intersectionality.....	42
Chapter Four: Methods.....	43
4.1 Research Design.....	43
4.1.1 Research Questions.....	43
4.1.2 Feminist Research and Methodology.....	43
4.1.3 Conversational Interviews.....	44
4.1.4 Photo Elicitation.....	46
4.2 Research Process.....	47
4.2.1 Participant Recruitment.....	47
4.3 Research Strategies and Data Collection Techniques.....	50
4.3.1 Conversational Interviews.....	50
4.3.2 Photo Elicitation.....	52
4.4 Data Analysis Procedures.....	53
4.5 Challenges with Adolescent Participants.....	56
4.6 Researcher’s Role.....	58
4.6.1 Reciprocity.....	59
4.6.2 Reflexivity.....	59
4.7 Ethical Considerations.....	61

4.8	Credibility.....	62
Chapter Five: Findings.....		63
5.1	Participant Profiles.....	63
5.2	Points of departure: Mapping life “back home”	67
	5.2.1 Structural constraints.....	67
	5.2.2 Gender constraints.....	71
	5.2.3 Gender resistances.....	77
	5.2.4 Leaving home for Canada.....	81
5.3	“A different world”: Encountering leisure constraints in Canada.....	83
	5.3.1 Structural constraints.....	83
	5.3.2 Intrapersonal constraints.....	88
	5.3.3 Interpersonal constraints.....	90
	5.3.4 Experiencing racism.....	92
	5.3.5 Gender constraints.....	94
5.4	“You have to try new things”: Navigating constraints and resistances in Canada	98
	5.4.1 Structural constraint negotiations.....	98
	5.4.2 Intrapersonal constraint negotiations	100
	5.4.3 Interpersonal constraint negotiations	101
	5.4.4 Racism resistances.....	104
	5.4.5 Gender resistances.....	105
	5.4.6 Other resistances.....	109
5.5	“This is what I brought from home”: Unpacking cultural intersections through leisure.....	111
	5.5.1 Influences of religion.....	112
	5.5.2 Gender and religion.....	116
	5.5.3 Continuing leisure identities.....	118
	5.5.4 New leisure and emerging identities.....	122
	5.5.5 Leisure as a cultural connection.....	126
Chapter Six: Discussion.....		131
6.1	<i>“This is who I am”</i> Discovering identities through leisure.....	131
6.2	<i>“I don’t know what’s wrong with girls”</i> Experiencing gender constraints back home.....	136
6.3	<i>“The picture-perfect girl on television”</i> Encountering gender constraints in Canada.....	140
6.4	<i>“Girls have to believe in themselves to do things they want to do”</i> Enacting gender resistances.....	151
6.5	<i>“Expose your culture”</i> Positioning diversity within girls’ leisure experiences.....	163
Chapter Seven: Conclusion.....		171
References.....		174
Appendix A.....		195
Appendix B.....		198
Appendix C.....		202
Appendix D.....		205

Appendix E.....	207
Appendix F.....	208
Appendix G.....	209

Chapter One: Introduction

The transition from childhood to adulthood that characterizes adolescence is often seen as a time of dramatic challenge and change. For adolescent girls, there are particular challenges such as body image issues (James, 2000) and limiting gender role norms (Shaw, 2007). Navigating the challenges of adolescence can be crucially supported by adolescents' participation in leisure activities. For instance, leisure has been found to play an important role in identity development, a key adolescent task (Kelly, 1987; Kivel & Kleiber, 2000; Mahony, Larson & Eccles, 2005). In addition to family, school, peers, and work, some researchers have even called leisure the fourth developmental context for adolescents (Silbereisen & Todt, 1994). Given the importance of leisure participation for adolescents, there is a troubling trend of pre-adolescent girls, who are confident and eager recreation participants, frequently abandoning their interests as they enter adolescence due to social pressures and a lack of confidence (Pipher, 1994). For sports and other physically active leisure, there is a particularly dramatic decline in participation for girls as they move from early to mid-adolescence (Davison, Schmalz & Downs, 2010; Slater & Tiggemann, 2010). As such, there is a need to understand what prevents, or constrains, adolescent girls from participating in recreation and leisure. Moreover, research is needed to understand how adolescent girls negotiate leisure constraints. That is, despite constraints to leisure such as social pressures related to gender roles, some adolescent girls find ways to negotiate constraints and even to use leisure as resistance to confining gender expectations. Broadly, constraints can be understood as factors which impede one's participation in, or enjoyment of, leisure activities (Shaw, 1999). Constraints can be structural, intrapersonal or interpersonal (Jackson, 2007). The need to understand leisure constraints for adolescent girls is not adequately being addressed given the notable lack of leisure research on adolescent girls,

and particularly on adolescent girls from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996).

The purpose of this study was to address these gaps in the leisure literature. Utilizing a feminist theoretical framework, this study sought to voice the unique perspectives of adolescent girls as it explored the constraints to leisure as well as the active negotiations and resistances by adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities.

This research is significant because it extends the developing theory of gendered constraints to adolescent girls from diverse backgrounds. Practically, this study can facilitate a greater understanding of how to develop and promote inclusive leisure experiences through effective education, programming and policies. Diversely informed theory and practice are crucial in an increasingly multicultural Canadian society (Walker, 2007) and growing global community. In addition, since research has shown that lifelong active recreation habits are developed when one is young (Scott & Willits, 1998), there is an important potential for leisure in adolescence to shape lifelong leisure. More broadly, by resisting the pressures to constrain their participation in certain leisure contexts, girls may be empowered to challenge and resist other forms of gender stereotyping in society at large (James, 2000). Expanded and more diversely informed knowledge, as explored in this study, may assist in making leisure opportunities more accessible and enjoyable for adolescent girls. While this research may offer a contribution to knowledge on a broader, societal level, it is my hope that it has also positively impacted the girls who participated in my study. By creating a space where girls' unique perspectives and leisure experiences were not only heard, but were valued and shared with others, participants may have gained an increased confidence in themselves and sense of empowerment about their leisure choices.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this section, I critically explore several bodies of literature from various perspectives including psychology and women's studies to situate and enhance contributions from recreation and leisure studies. I begin by reviewing research pertaining to adolescence, identity development, female adolescence, and the roles of leisure in facilitating adolescent identities. I then proceed to examine leisure constraints research and specifically the constraints of adolescent girls and their negotiations of these constraints. Finally, I highlight research insights on the leisure experiences – both constraining and freeing – of adolescents from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. These explorations culminate with a discussion of three key research gaps, which are addressed in this study.

2.1 Adolescence and Identity

Adolescence is defined as a “period of transition spanning the second decade of life during which a person's biological, psychological, and social characteristics undergo change in an interrelated manner and the person goes from being childlike to adultlike” (Lerner, Brown, & Kier, 2005, p. 3). The major changes in body, mind, and behaviour alter how an adolescent looks, feels, thinks, and necessitate the developmental task of understanding who one is in the face of these changes. It is perhaps ironic that during the period of time when so many things are changing and uncertain, society begins to ask adolescents what kind of contributions they will make to the world, what kind of roles they will adopt, and essentially who they are now and want to be in the future. The kind of emotional upheaval that can result from this challenge may mean that adolescents experience what influential developmental psychologist Erik Erikson termed an “identity crisis” (Erickson, 1959). Social and behavioural scientists believe this identity crisis is the central issue in understanding personality and social development in adolescence (Lerner et al., 2005). The need to resolve this crisis is one way to comprehend the key self-definitional

developmental task of adolescence – the development of one’s identity, which is the “set of thoughts, feelings, values, attitudes, and behaviours that defines a person’s self (Lerner et al., p. 131).

Part of developing one’s identity involves determining what roles one will adopt, that is, the socially prescribed set of behaviours to which a person can commit, and which become the outward expression of an adolescent’s identity (Lerner et al., p. 131). Identity develops through an on-going process of person-context interactions in which an adolescent explores their world and then evaluates and integrates the reactions to their explorations (Grotevant, 1998). Through various contexts, such as activities and people, adolescents are exposed to role possibilities which they may reject or incorporate into their sense of self and identity. However, if adolescents feel they cannot find a role that fits their biological, psychological and social characteristics, they will experience ‘role confusion,’ which Erikson deemed the negative outcome of the “bipolar emotional crisis” he felt needs to be resolved during adolescence as outlined in his classic Theory of the Eight Stages of Ego Development (Erikson, 1959). Although all adolescents are faced with the challenge of developing their identity, there are particular challenges for adolescent girls.

2.2 Adolescent Girls and Identity

One of these challenges is the disparity between the “real self,” the person an adolescent believes herself to be, and the “ideal self,” the person she wants to be, which is felt most in the area of physical appearance (Harter, 1988). While this disparity is often felt by both male and female adolescents, it especially impacts young adolescent girls who are less secure than young adolescent boys about their physical appearance (Koff, Rierdan, & Stubbs, 1990). This gender disparity must crucially be linked to a cultural context in which girls are judged about their

physical appearance in ways that boys are not. Indeed, adolescent girls exist within a media-saturated culture which presents unrealistic images of girls and women as thin and flawless (Kilbourne, 1999; Low et al., 2003). Not only are girls uniquely bombarded with messages about how their bodies should look, but compared to boys, they also experience more social comparison for physical attractiveness (Liechty et al., 2006). Given this, it is not surprising that adolescent girls experience poor body image (Bross, 2002) and a range of issues which stem from this, including body monitoring, appearance anxiety, disordered eating and excessive exercise behaviours (Colley & Toray, 2001).

By way of an example of this troubling behaviour, a longitudinal study of male and female adolescents between the ages of eleven and fifteen found only girls experienced a decrease in their perceptions of physical attractiveness (Lintunen et al., 1995). It may be for this reason that adolescent girls typically have lower self-esteem than young adolescent boys (Harter, 1988). In another longitudinal study, researchers assessed developmental changes in self-esteem from early adolescence to late adolescence and into early adult years. It was found that there are distinct developmental trajectories for males and females, where the self-esteem of adolescent males *increases* as they move towards late adolescence and early adulthood, while the self-esteem of females *decreases* (Block & Robins, 1993). Furthermore, a study of adolescents from ages twelve to fourteen indicated that girls have lower self-esteem than boys in all major domains of self-definition, including appearance, academics, and athletic performance (Bolognini et al., 1996). That adolescent girls tend to have lower self-esteem than adolescent boys, and that their self-esteem decreases even more throughout adolescence is particularly concerning given the connections of low self-esteem to depression (Harter & Jackson, 1993) and high social anxiety (Alsaker & Olweus, 1986).

As mentioned above, part of establishing one's identity involves finding a role to play in life. Specifically, identity is a synthesis of several different roles, such as being a student or an athlete. Among these various roles are gender roles, a "socially and culturally defined set of behaviours linked to being male or female in a given society" (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 157). It is important to distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender' given that these terms are often used interchangeably. 'Sex' is the biological determination of a person being male or female, whereas 'gender' is a multidimensional construct composed of biological, psychological, emotional and behavioural features that are loosely integrated (Ashmore, 1990). Gender is not a neutral or stagnant construct since it is "constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 125). This construction results in a classification system that shapes the relations between men and women (Crawford & Unger, 2000). Closely connected to gender and gender roles are gender stereotypes, which produce beliefs and expectations about what females and males "should" and "should not" be like (Heilman, 2001). It is proposed that during adolescence, youth are socialized by the institutions of society to become more gender stereotyped in their personal behaviours. This socialization is termed the gender intensification hypothesis (Lerner et al., 2005). The gender intensification hypothesis rests on the notion that a large part of the social context of adolescence involves the socialization experiences an adolescent receives by virtue of being either male or female (Lerner et al., 2005). While this process occurs for adolescent girls and boys, its occurrence can be particularly detrimental for girls given that many of the stereotypical behaviours associated with femininity function to close off opportunities for girls' wide explorations of the world, of roles, and of the identity they are developing. For instance, key socializing agents such as peers, family and the media encourage such 'feminine' behaviours in girls as compliance, while independence is encouraged in boys

(Crouter, Manke, & McHale, 1995). In a study replicating a 1972 examination of young adults' perceptions of gender role stereotypes, Nesbitt and Penn (2000) determined that although there have been changes, many concerning gender stereotypes continue to be prevalently held, including views that females are 'not at all independent', 'very submissive', 'very quiet', 'very emotional' and emotionally vulnerable.

Reviewing some of the psychological literature on adolescent girls reveals a rather bleak picture of girls who, compared to adolescent boys, feel more insecure about their physical appearance and have lower self-esteem, both of which only continue to decrease throughout adolescence. Adolescent girls also become increasingly bound by restrictive gender roles and stereotypes that can impede the possibilities of girls' development of identities, which are empowering, rather than limiting. While adolescent girls are often confronted with roles, contexts, and socializations that can inhibit their search for meaningful identities, one context which may be particularly important and freeing is that of recreation and leisure.

2.3 Leisure, Adolescence and Identity

Leisure can play an integral role in helping adolescents develop their own sense of self by offering the freedom to explore, experiment with, or "try on" different roles (Kelly, 1987). Paralleling Grotevant's (1998) psychological description mentioned above of the process of identity development through person-context interactions and adolescents' evaluations of reactions, Shannon (2007) describes that "leisure offers the opportunity to "present" ourselves to others and to gauge their reaction on our successes and failures. Through this process individuals' identities emerge" (Shannon, 2007, p. 25).

In addition to leisure offering an exploration of different roles, leisure can also be an avenue for adolescents to discover their individuality by providing opportunities for them to

differentiate themselves from others – a process called individuation (Kleiber, 1999). For instance, an adolescent may have some friends who are joining a basketball team at school, but instead of also joining the team, the adolescent may decide to pursue art classes because she feels passionate about exploring her creative side. This leisure choice demonstrates the adolescent's individuation from some of her friends as well as possibly identifying with the role of artist, both processes which contribute to the adolescent's developing identity.

Despite the importance of differentiating from others through individuation, another significant part of identity development is determining how one fits into the world. This occurs through adolescents' connection with their peers. Indeed, during adolescence there is a marked shift from spending time with family to spending time with peers. Adolescents begin to form a personal peer culture through their contact with peers at school and in leisure time, combined with the influence of the media, which create unique situational and generational bonds (Zeijl et al., 2000). Ultimately, as Kelly (1983) asserts, leisure can be a vital “social space in which there is openness for important new interactions and self-definitions” (p. ix).

Through an exploration of different roles, individuation, and connection with peers, adolescents can be seen as active producers of their own development as they are “literally creating themselves with whatever opportunities they have” (Kleiber & Mannell, 1997). For instance, when adolescents have access to playing sports or musical instruments, if there is sufficient interest, there is an investment in these activities and the resulting competencies, identity and social groups. When adolescents' opportunities are hampered by constraints, there is an accompanying restriction of freedom to “discover a wider self and to develop their personal character, concerns, language, attitude and essentially identity to their full potential” (Foley et al., 2007, p. 184). This restriction of developing one's full potential is amplified by gender

constraints faced by adolescent girls. In the following section, I provide a brief overview of leisure constraints research to better understand the study's main focus, the leisure constraints of adolescent girls and their negotiations.

2.4 Leisure Constraints

Early research into factors which impede participation in recreation and leisure activities conceptualized these factors as “insurmountable obstacles” (Jackson, Crawford & Godbey, 1993, p.1) and the term ‘barrier’ was used accordingly. With this understanding, it was assumed that nonparticipation was the outcome if an individual encountered a barrier (Jackson, Crawford & Godbey, 1993). Research in this area has now shifted to a more sophisticated understanding of factors that mitigate between a possible activity and an individual's opportunity for participation in that activity (James, 2000). The term ‘constraints’ more fully encompasses a broadened understanding of people's leisure choices where “leisure participation is dependent not on the absence of constraints, but on negotiations through them” (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993, p.1). Specifically, constraints can be understood as “factors that may prevent, reduce or modify participation, or may adversely affect the quality or enjoyment of the leisure activities” (Shaw, 1999, p. 274).

There are three types of constraints. The first type is structural constraints, which occur after leisure preferences are formed, but before leisure participation takes place (Jackson, 2007), and include such factors as time and money. Although the situation is changing, the majority of research on constraints to leisure has focused on structural constraints (Jackson, 2007). The second type of constraints is intrapersonal, which are individual psychological qualities that affect leisure preferences (Walker, 2007). Intrapersonal constraints include factors within an

individual such as shyness and anxiety. The final type of constraints is interpersonal, which are social factors that affect leisure preferences (Walker, 2007) such as the expectations of others.

2.5 Women's Leisure Constraints

Recognizing the significance of gender as a variable affecting leisure behaviour and the androcentric nature of early leisure theories, Shaw (1994) suggests a theoretical framework using three approaches to the analysis of women's leisure constraints. The first and dominant approach to understanding women's leisure focuses on the constraints that women encounter in their leisure lives. As Shaw describes, the emphasis of this approach "is on ways in which women are disadvantaged or oppressed within patriarchal society, and how their subordinate status within that society limits their access to, and enjoyment of, leisure" (Shaw, 1994, p. 8). A significant amount of both theoretical and empirical research has examined ways in which women's leisure is constrained (for recent research, see for example, Bedini & Anderson, 2005; Brown, Brown, Miller et al., 2001; Fendt & Wilson, 2012; Klitzing, 2004; Parry & Shinew, 2004; Shannon & Shaw, 2005; Son & Yarnal, 2010). A commonly reported leisure constraint is women's lack of time, which is connected to high-levels of time stress and role overload given work, household and family commitments (the double shift) which leave little time for leisure, especially for employed mothers and women who care for other dependent family members (Zuzanek, 2004). Another frequently reported constraint to women's leisure is a lack of money to access leisure opportunities. While both men and women report economic constraints to leisure participation, "women's lack of economic power and their lower earning power compared to men has been shown to be particularly constraining on their lives in general, and on their leisure lives as well" (Shaw, 1994, p. 10). It is critical to situate women's constraints to leisure, such as time and money, within the context of women's disadvantaged position within patriarchal society. 'Time'

constraints arise from gendered relations, which dictate women's roles as wives and mothers responsible for household and family commitments. These gendered responsibilities are centered on the ethic of care, which often leave women caring for others before themselves and struggling to feel entitled to their own leisure (Shaw, 1994). Economic constraints, as mentioned, often stem from women's lack of economic power and lower earning power, which hinge on the patriarchal control of money where men often have more employment opportunities and earn higher incomes than women (Freysinger et al., 2013a). Economic constraints, on a broader level, are also evident in a lack of recreational opportunities, facilities and leisure programs that result from unequal funding and unequal provision of programs, teams and sports for men and women (Shaw, 1994).

Gender ideologies can also present significant constraints to leisure for girls and women. For instance, gender ideologies which insist on girls' preoccupation with their physical appearance and with other appropriate 'feminine' behaviours discourage exertion and physical activity. Indeed, a recent study by Davison, Schmalz & Downs (2010) found that two of the main reasons adolescents girls gave for disliking physical activity were concerns about their physical appearance and threats to their gender identity. Constraining gender ideologies were also illustrated in Wiley, Havitz and Shaw's (2000) study of male and female recreational athletes, which found that women pursuing a "non-conforming" or gender-inappropriate sport, specifically women hockey players, reported the lowest participation duration and frequency of all participants. Wiley et al. (2000) suggest that this finding reflects that female hockey players need to overcome a number of constraints, including the gendered nature of sport generally and hockey particularly. Overall, as Shaw asserts, considerable research "links women's constrained

leisure with women's position within a patriarchal society" where "leisure constraints are seen to arise out of structured, gender-based power relations" (Shaw, 1994, p. 12).

The second approach looks at leisure itself, or leisure activities, as potentially constraining and focuses on "the gendered nature of recreational participation and how traditional, stereotypical activities act to reinforce and reproduce oppressive gender relations" (Shaw, 1994, p. 8-9). This approach problematizes leisure itself to challenge the notion that leisure is always a positive experience or activity, a position which is not explored in the leisure constraints framework except in so far as leisure remains constrained (Shaw, 1994). This second approach of leisure as constraining suggests that cultural practices, including leisure, reproduce dominant ideologies, such as those connected with traditional views of "femininity" (Shaw, 1994). One striking domain for the reproduction of gender relations through leisure is mass media. A recent content analysis of gender roles in the media examined a broad range of media forms including television, movies, music videos, advertisements and video games and despite this diversity of media contexts, there was a surprising convergence of overarching themes (Collins, 2011). Notably, women are under-represented in the media and when they are present, they are often portrayed negatively and in stereotyped, subordinated and sexualized roles (Collins, 2011). Media messages affect viewers and the socio-cultural climate by subtly influencing ideas, values and beliefs, which then shape individual's perceptions of social reality (Bryant & Oliver, 2009). Leisure can also be constraining when the activities into which women are channelled represent a narrow range of activities society deems appropriate for women and girls. For example, sports which emphasize aesthetics and body shape are considered more socially acceptable for women and girls, which lead parents to enroll their daughters in more "feminine" sports, such as dance and figure skating (Klomsten, Skaalvik & Espnes, 2004). Wiley

et al.'s (2000) study of male and female recreational athletes indicated that female figure skaters reported feeling very comfortable expressing themselves in their sport, likely because figure skating confirms a "feminine image" and reflects the comfort participants may have felt "representing themselves as part of that feminine subculture" (p. 28). As Shaw warns, "if leisure participation . . . reproduces gender relations and perpetuates and reinforces restrictions on women's lives and choices, leisure cannot be conceptualized simply as a beneficial or desirable experience with no adverse consequences" (Shaw, 1994, p. 14).

The third approach in the analysis of women's leisure is one which "sees women's leisure as offering possibilities for resistance. . . [which] arises out of the definition of leisure as a situation of choice, control and self-determination" (Shaw, 1994, p. 9). The notion of agency also becomes important in the argument for leisure as resistance, where agency allows for the view that "women (and men) are social actors who perceive and interpret social situations and actively determine . . . how they will respond" (Shaw, 1994, p. 15). Furthermore, resistance through leisure is also connected to leisure as empowerment (Shaw, 2001). Acts of resistance to imposed gender restrictions can occur, for instance, through women's involvement in sports, which can challenge cultural sex-role prescriptions (Shaw, 2001). Additionally, leisure as a site for self-expression and autonomy can provide an opportunity for moving beyond societal prescriptions about acceptable behaviour, including gender roles (Shaw, 1994). While the leisure as constraining approach can be seen to reproduce gender relations, the leisure as resistance approach is the reverse process, where structured gender relations can be challenged to affect not only women's leisure participation and enjoyment, but also might "affect gender equality in a broader sense as well" (Shaw, 1994, p. 17). Keeping in mind the first two theoretical constructs

of Shaw's (1994) framework- constraints to leisure and leisure itself as a constraint- I turn now to examining adolescent girls' leisure constraints.

2.6 Adolescent Girls' Constraints to Leisure and Leisure as Constraint

Although this area has not been recently explored within the leisure literature, previous research demonstrates that adolescent girls face significantly higher levels of overall constraints than their male peers (Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994). This can be seen in the more limiting social control over the leisure pursuits of adolescent girls (Shaw, Caldwell, & Kleiber, 1996). For instance, adolescent girls reported feeling pressure from friends to participate in activities in which they were not personally interested, such as going to parties or shopping, but unlike their male peers, girls felt obligated to go along with friends' activities in order to not hurt their friends' feelings (Shaw et al., 1996), a finding which is congruent with previous research on girls' emphasis on preserving social relationships (Giordano, 2003). Compared to adolescent boys, girls also experience more social control over their leisure pursuits because they are more likely to participate in free time activities in order to please parents or to satisfy parental demands, control which girls report resenting more than the control they experience from peer pressure (Shaw et al., 1996). In addition to more social control, girls typically have more trouble gaining access to leisure opportunities (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995), including access to public spaces (Foley et al., 2007).

2.6.1 Gender Ideologies/Roles/Stereotypes

The ideas that inform ideologically-based practices are often derived from cultural norms and stereotypes about how people should behave based on how they 'are.' In a self-reinforcing, circular manner, ideologies strongly shape the roles individuals take on to fulfill the expectations they perceive of themselves, based on the ideologies with which they associate. As Henderson et

al (2002) argue, we take on certain roles in our lives due to dominant, or hegemonic, power structures in which “individuals react to values and beliefs that support, often unconsciously, social relationships and structures of power” that may not truly serve their best interest (Henderson et al., 2002, p. 259). These social relationships and structures of power function within our patriarchal society which privileges men over women. A potent and pervasive form of reproducing and reinforcing patriarchal values is through gender stereotyping. Stereotypes linked to dominant ideologies in society can greatly impact the perceptions and behaviours of adolescent girls.

When confronted with limiting gender ideologies, one of two responses typically occurs. The first response is that adolescents may try to rebel against gender ideologies by engaging in leisure activities and behaviours that defy expectations (Foley et al., 2007). A second response may be to “accept the ideologies as their fate and act in accordance to hegemonic discourse, without acquiring the desirable and admirable autonomy and individuation” (Foley et al., 2007, p. 185). Both responses can be problematic. While the first response, rebelling against gender ideologies, can certainly be empowering, it can also be detrimental if girls rebel in a way that might ultimately harm them. For instance, Wearing and Wearing (2000) argue that adolescent girls may take up smoking as a defiance of authority and as resistance to confining ‘good girl’ images.

The second response to limiting gender role ideologies – accepting them- can narrow the possibilities girls see for themselves. Another influential developmental psychologist, James Marcia, expanded Erikson’s descriptions of adolescent identity development to include theories about various ways adolescents engage with the ‘identity crisis’ they face. Marcia (1980) suggests the idea of foreclosure, where an adolescent adopts a socially approved, easily available

role and thereby avoids the identity crisis. The psychological response of foreclosure closely parallels the response of accepting ideologies as one's fate, as articulated by Foley et al. (2007) in the leisure context. For adolescent girls seeking to situate and define themselves, gender roles can certainly be a "socially approved, easily available role" which may foreclose leisure and identity opportunities. Indeed, girls' gender role intensification during adolescence is key among the proposed reasons for the observed decrease in physical and outdoor activity (Davison et al., 2010; Pipher, 1994).

In a study examining the constraints experienced by adolescent girls in outdoor recreation, Culp (1998) identified three theoretical categories influencing girls' participation in outdoor recreation: relational, structural and personal influences (which closely resemble Crawford, Jackson & Godbey's (1991) proposed hierarchy of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints) (Culp, 1998). The most significant area of constraints in Culp's study were from relational and structural categories, including gender roles, lack of opportunities, differential opportunities for males and females, as well as peer influence. Gender role constraints were considered relational and social influences and were found to be a significant social influence and correspondingly, an important source of constraints. While participants expressed their perception that there have been many changes in gender roles in recent generations and that there are less gendered restrictions on female behaviour now than in the past, nearly every participant voiced frustration with gender constraints, which manifested in stereotypical gender expectations from peers, parents, and social institutions, such as those offering outdoor recreation opportunities. Specific gender role constraints in the context of outdoor recreation included notions that it is unacceptable for girls to get dirty, that males are

considered more physically strong and competitive, and that activities such as hunting and fishing tend to be passed from fathers to sons, as they are considered more appropriate for males.

Culp's (1998) research offers some important insights into the leisure constraints experienced by adolescent girls, but it is dated and does not explore the experiences of girls from minority races and ethnicities. Culp (1998) acknowledges her use of a homogeneous European-American sample and suffices to simply note that "further investigation around these variables [race, class, ethnicity, and sex] could illuminate different experiences and perspectives across diverse populations" (p. 377). I will return to this important research gap in the final section of the literature review

2.6.2 Gender Roles and Consumptive Leisure

Many leisure researchers have discussed the increase of consumptive leisure, where consuming products accompanies leisure activities, or even becomes the focus of leisure. In our capitalist, consumer society, the old adage 'you are what you eat' can be adapted to 'you are what you buy' as individuals' worth is often reduced to their material possessions. As Seabrook (1990) contends, "we seek to express who we are through our purchases . . . the buying of things has become inextricably bound up with the roots of human identity" (p. 11). For adults, this manifests in assessments about such larger material items as houses and vehicles. For adolescents, the scale may be smaller, but the same kinds of judgments surround items such as the clothes they wear, and increasingly, the technology they use (e.g., computers, video games, cell phones). Judgments of worth based on material goods, such as clothes, may be even more prevalent for adolescent girls given our culture (as reinforced by the media), which emphasizes the importance of how women and girls look.

Cook and Kaiser (2004) provide critical insights into the consumption of ‘tween’ girls – girls between the ages of about eight to fourteen years old. They reveal that tween girls have been targeted as a lucrative marketing and merchandising category, which produces and reproduces a “female consuming subject” (p. 203). The female consuming subject tween girls are encouraged to become reflects an increasingly sexualized version of femininity mapped onto the bodies of young girls by powerful industries (Cook & Kaiser, 2004). Through the literal fashioning of their appearance with clothing and other consumer items, tweens display “a complex array of mixed emotions regarding gender, sexuality and age (as well as race, class and other modes of identity) [which] intersect uneasily as they become embodied and visualized” (Cook & Kaiser, 2004, p. 205).

Beyond the (hopefully) obvious problems of a consumer society which evaluates people’s worth largely on the status of what they own, another problem is the confounding of consumer ‘choice’ with individuality and agency. Economist Juliet Schor addresses what she calls the debate of consumers as “dupes versus agents”, reviewing a central assumption of consumers as agents through the position that “consuming is a, if not “the,” realm of agency in contemporary society” (Schor, 2007, p. 24). While consumption, including consumptive leisure, can undoubtedly provide an array of options from which people can ‘choose’, this form of ‘self-creation’ can also be critically denounced as consumers being ‘duped’ into conformity. Schor’s succinct articulation of this duality involves her contrasting of what she assumedly views as an epitomization of the savvy, individualistic “agentic” consumer with that of the duped, conforming consumer: “For every hip indy music connoisseur, there is most likely a bleached-blond, Coach-carrying, North Face-jacketed college student with a Tiffany heart bracelet around her wrist who is inarticulate about her consumer choices” (Schor, 2007, p. 24).

It is not surprising that Schor's example of the highly accessorized, 'inarticulate' consumer is a young woman, given powerful gender ideologies which insist upon convincing women and girls that, contrary to helpful adages, you *can* judge a book by its cover and it's what on the *outside* that counts. One particularly influential way that such gender messages are received is through the pervasive institution of the media. For adolescents, with over half of their waking hours spent in free time and discretionary activities, exposure to media often consumes hours a day. For instance, Canadian adolescents between the ages of 12-17 years spend an average of 12.9 hours a week watching television (Statistics Canada, 2004). Additionally, Canadian adolescents between the ages of 15-24 years spend 11.8 hours a week using the computer, including internet use (Statistics Canada, 2011). Given that adolescents have access to relatively large amounts of money, considerable marketing is aimed attracting their attention and expenditures (Caldwell, 2005). This marketing is reflected in advertising found nearly everywhere, including television, magazines, the internet, and even bathroom stalls. As Kilbourne (1999) attests, "advertising is one of the most potent messengers in a culture that can be toxic for girls' self-esteem" (p. 131). When an adolescent girl constantly receives messages from advertising and throughout popular culture that "she should diminish herself, she should be *less* than she is", it is little wonder the self-esteem of adolescent girls is consistently shown to be lower than boys' self-esteem, and continually decreasing (Kilbourne, 1999, p. 136). Many recent studies have confirmed the media's detrimental impact on girls' body satisfaction and self-esteem (see, for example, Bell, Lawton & Dittmar, 2007; Gentile et al., 2009; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Schooler et al., 2004). While the message of being less than you are is most obviously and familiarly seen in media's obsession with thinness, the ultimate message is "most deeply about

cutting girls and women down to size” physically, emotionally and psychologically (Kilbourne, 1999, p. 137).

This undermining of girls’ self-esteem occurs through the diversion of attention from any true form of power to the captivation of products that offer false promises of creating desirable selves. In this light, the ‘innocence’ vanishes from the popular scene of a group of giggling girls poring over teen magazines, a common form of leisure for adolescent girls, with magazines reported as girls’ most preferred reading material (Hughes-Hassell & Rodge, 2007). While Schor (2007) is critical of how “consuming has become the privileged form (or site) of identity construction” (p. 25), one analysis that is missing is the crucial connection of consumerism and identity, especially for adolescent girls. That is, focusing resources (time, energy, money) on selecting, acquiring and displaying material goods ultimately limits the resources available for other pursuits which may more meaningfully contribute to one’s identity and self-expression. Furthermore, as Wolf (1991) insisted in her classic text *The Beauty Myth*, women and girls’ culturally encouraged preoccupation with changing and accessorizing themselves in the name of beauty and superficial status, is an effective way of diverting mental and physical resources away from activism against restrictive gendered ideologies. It becomes clear how the popular consumptive leisure pursuits of adolescent girls, such as shopping and reading magazines, can be forms of Shaw’s (1994) notion of leisure itself as constraint.

Another example of leisure as constraint is seen in adolescent girls’ display of cell phones as a fashion accessory. Foley, Holzman and Wearing’s (2007) study illustrates how adolescent girls use cell phones as fashion accessories and, more generally, as products of ‘conspicuous consumption’. Veblen’s (1899) notion of ‘conspicuous consumption’ refers to the purchase and display of material items as a way of asserting status and prestige (Foley et al., 2007). Veblen

(1899) also discussed 'pecuniary emulation' where individuals who are not truly affluent (or, part of what Veblen called the "leisure class") seek to emulate the acquisition of prestigious material goods in order to feel and appear wealthier. While the prestigious material goods of Veblen's time may have been quite different than those of modern times, his observations remain strikingly relevant. The cell phone can be seen as a product that people, especially younger people, use to distinguish themselves from others through conspicuous consumption. As Demers (2004) notes, "the growing mobile generation regards the mobile phone as the centre of their social universe and they are eager to embrace services that not only improve the way they communicate, but also differentiate them from their peers" (p. 29). Cell phones as fashion accessories can contribute to the reproduction of certain feminine stereotypes of women and girls as primarily concerned with how they look and with the products and accessories that accompany crafting certain desirable self-presentations. Indeed, these self-presentations become part of adolescent girls' broader efforts to portray particular body images.

2.6.3 Body Image

There is a striking gender gap in physical activity participation. Specifically, research indicates that girls are less physically fit than boys of the same age and only half as likely to be involved in sporting organizations (James, 2000). This gender disparity has been found in Australian research (Australian Sports Commission, 1999), American research (Strauss, 2001) as well as Canadian research (Crocker, Eklund, & Kowalski, 2000). In fact, women's fitness participation across all age groups is decreasing, with the greatest decline for young women (Robinson & Godbey, 1993). One of the reasons proposed for this gender gap in physical activity participation is girls' concerns about their bodies.

Body image is a significant issue for adolescent girls. Many girls are unhappy with their physical appearance, as evidenced by the findings of a large Australian study of adolescents, which found that 66% of adolescent girls felt they were overweight, compared to 62% of adolescent boys who thought they were the right weight (Institute for Child Health Research, 1995). This significant gender discrepancy of weight perception is at least partially accounted for by powerful messages conveyed by the media about the ideal female body; with thinness as a major part of this ideal (Chow, 2004). Instead of incorporating physical activity and its associated benefits to achieve this ideal thinness, however, many young women are turning to radical and unhealthy diets to look slim (Freysinger et al., 2013a). As James (2000) describes “girls’ bodies, especially during puberty, rarely match up to the unrealistic ideals portrayed in the media. Heterosexual romances featured in novels, magazines, movies, and on television perpetuate the notion that men judge women by their appearance” (p. 263). It is this pervasive belief of judgment of girls’ value based on physical appearance (especially by males) that connects to young women’s high level of self-consciousness about their appearance that “may limit their recreation participation in public spaces to avoid embarrassment” (James, 2000, p. 263).

In her research on adolescent girls’ perceived alienation from certain active recreational spaces, James (1995) found that there were certain spaces where girls felt the most self-conscious, including basketball courts, public swimming pools, health clubs and beaches. Additionally, there were certain active recreational spaces that girls felt they would utilize more if boys were not present, due to the girls’ high self-consciousness (James, 1995). One such space – public swimming pools – was examined in-depth to determine girls’ perceived constraints and their negotiations. In a qualitative study using focus groups and semi-structured interviews,

James (2000) explored the attitudes of Western Australian adolescent girls towards public swimming pools. A conceptual framework was offered to explain the girls' decision to participate in swimming as dependent on two factors: "situational body image" and "desire to swim" (p. 266). A girl's "situational body image" was conceived of as a combination of a girl's overall body image as well as the situation, which included the particular place and audience (James, 2000). James argued that navigating one's "situational body image" and "desire to swim" led to different participant outcomes, or typologies, including "Achievers" (girls who were oblivious to constraints and had high levels of participation), "Compromizers" (girls who were self-conscious but who developed ways to cope so that they could participate at a reasonable level) and "Avoiders" (girls who avoided participation whenever possible).

Body image issues were certainly a constraint felt by many participants in the study who did not feel good about their bodies (James, 2000). James's study goes beyond the more simplistic understanding of body image issues as a purely internal, or intrapersonal, constraint to lend a more contextualized understanding of this constraint as it relates to particular audiences, or interpersonal factors. It was not only the girls' own perceptions of their bodies that caused discomfort, but also, and perhaps more so, the people present at the public swimming pools. Specifically, girls described a feeling of being watched and talked about which made them very uncomfortable (James, 2000). Interestingly, while girls were acutely aware of their presentation in public where boys were concerned, some also described that being with other girls could be worse than being around boys (James, 2000). This finding speaks to the suggestion that "*all...audiences are in a sense refracted through male eyes*" with pervasive media images conveying to boys that girls' physical attractiveness is paramount, and conveying to girls that

because of this, girls judge other girls' worth on their ability to attract boys (James, 2000, p. 275).

Returning to Shaw's (1994) framework, I have examined how adolescent girls can face significant constraints to leisure, such as gender ideologies and body image, and how leisure itself can be a constraint, through certain forms of consumptive leisure. These constraints converge to seriously challenge girls' leisure experiences. Indeed, as Shaw (2007) contends, "stereotypes and social expectations about gender roles and traditional beliefs about the nature of femininity may constrain girls' and women's hopes and aspirations. This, in turn, can negatively affect their opportunities and their self-concepts" (p. 47). Despite the constraints that adolescent girls confront, it is both heartening and crucial to recognize and explore how adolescent girls *can* negotiate these constraints.

2.7 Adolescent Girls' Negotiations of Constraints and Leisure as Resistance

While numerous constraints to leisure clearly exist, recognizing possibilities for navigating through these constraints can be an essential part of asserting one's own freedom to choose, often a core conceptualization of leisure itself (Freysinger et al., 2013a). As Bregha (1980) aptly asserted, "An adolescent needs to believe that they can attain *freedom from* their constraints, in order to attain *freedom to* progress forward in life" (p. 36). Indeed, adolescence can be a critical time for resisting traditional passive, submissive, other-directed femininity (Wearing, 1998). Studies of women's leisure have indicated that leisure can be an important avenue for resisting gender ideologies, for creating a sense of personal or collective empowerment and even for bringing about positive social change by challenging gendered power relations (Shaw, 2001). While individual negotiations of leisure constraints may not be consciously or intentionally conceived of as resistance, Shaw (2001) suggests the possibility that

resistance not be limited to intentional, collective acts with clear, 'positive' outcomes. For instance, "an individual girl's struggle to be allowed to participate on a boys' hockey, soccer, or football team may lead to her personal empowerment" which may be seen by other girls who "may adopt the resistant behaviour themselves, or may begin to question and challenge their own and others' assumptions about the appropriateness of girls' participation in "boy's" sports" (Shaw, 2001, p. 195). In this way, individual negotiations of constraints may spur new discourses and behaviours, which challenge notions of appropriate femininity (or other constraining ideologies), creating space for the third theoretical construct in Shaw's (1994) framework of women's leisure – leisure as resistance. Sometimes strategies for resistance involve physical 'tools' that aid in opening up new spaces, figuratively or literally.

2.7.1 Technology and Public Space

A recent study by Foley, Holzman, and Wearing (2007) examined adolescent girls' use of cell phones and determined that this technology can assist adolescent girls in gaining increased access to public spaces and leisure opportunities therein. Previous research has found young women to be disadvantaged, compared to their male peers, in terms of access to public spaces (Byrne, 2004).

To understand the limitations that adolescent girls experience in public spaces, it is crucial to recognize that leisure spaces are socio-cultural constructions which are continually subject to confrontations as "power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constantly negotiated and renegotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics" (Aitchison & Reeves, 1998, p. 51). A central part of socio-cultural dynamics is the negotiation of social divisions, where some groups are more powerful than others and, as such, more 'entitled' to claim and occupy both physical and social spaces (Pritchard et al., 2002). In terms of negotiating social divisions, research has

demonstrated how space is racialized, gendered and heterosexualized (Pritchard et al., 2002). One study by Pritchard, Morgan and Sedgley (2002) highlights how leisure spaces can be multiply constraining in their exploration of how sexuality and gender combine to constrain women's use of public leisure space, even within the designated gay and lesbian space of the UK's Manchester's village. This study contributes to the small body of gender tourism research which "acknowledge[s] . . . the synergy between gender relations and spatial relations..." (Aitchison, 1999, p. 19). This acknowledgment is particularly salient for adolescent girls whose access to public spaces is often restricted due to parental concerns about safety. Indeed, a prevailing contemporary form of femininity is the construction of girls as vulnerable to the dangers of public spaces, itself a construction reinforced by parents (Campbell, 2006). This recognition does not ignore the real concerns of parents based on actual violence which may occur in public spaces. It does recognize, however, that the public world has been "constructed as unsafe by family, peers, normative regulations, fear, violence and sexuality" (Van Roosmalen, 1993, p. 28). Indeed, the disadvantaged access to public spaces experienced by adolescent girls is due, in large part, to constraints around safety. In spite of these constraints, however, some adolescent girls are negotiating access to public spaces through the use of mobile technology.

Foley et al. (2007) argue that adolescent girls' access to public space is facilitated by the use of cell phones because the phones provide a sense of security through being able to readily contact others. This increased access to public spaces facilitated by cell phones may expand the scope of identity development for adolescent girls as they may be more inclined to explore a broader array of leisure opportunities, including those that occur in public spaces, precisely because the security provided by cell phones may allow them to "safely" experience more "intense, identity-seeking activities" (Wearing & Foley, 2002, p. 3). Along with providing

increased, safe access to public spaces, cell phones could potentially assist adolescent girls in asserting and projecting more self-confidence in public spaces (Foley et al., 2007). In this way, cell phones can provide adolescent girls with opportunities for resisting constrained spaces and self-concepts.

2.7.2 ‘Playful Practices’: Emotion Play and Creative Leisure

Insights about potential avenues for leisure constraint negotiation, or resistance, for adolescent girls are also apparent in research which examines women’s coping in particularly stressful periods of their lives. Fullager’s (2008) research on women recovering from depression illustrates how women’s depression can be seen as a manifestation of stultifying gender norms which culminate to constrain women’s authentic identities and lives. While Fullager’s work critically highlights the constraints of gender norms, she also focuses on how women use leisure as a “counter-depressant” to recover or transform themselves (Fullager, 2008). Since adolescent girls are in the process of discovering their identities and adult women faced with depression are in the process of recovering (or transforming) their identities, the strategies of these women may well benefit adolescent girls who are negotiating their own constraints.

The women in Fullager’s study spoke of mobilizing their leisure time to specifically “recover a space away from the performative expectations” they encountered as women (or, ‘superwomen’) (Fullager, 2008, p. 41). Indeed, for women who felt they had lost themselves, recovery from depression (and from the gendered constraints that contributed to their depression) “involved the renegotiation of gendered expectations” held by themselves and by others (Fullager, 2008, p. 43). For many women, this renegotiation came in the form of what Fullager calls “emotion play” which are “playful practices [which] embodied an ethos of lightness, letting go, relaxation, and enjoyment in taking time” (Fullager, 2008, p. 45). Leisure provided women

with opportunities for “emotion play” in diverse activities. Many activities were connected to creativity, which allowed women to find a voice and a space for themselves, through such pursuits as journal writing, poetry, art classes, and community theatre (Fullager, 2008).

In addition to creative forms of leisure, another context that was crucial for women recovering from depression was friendship, particularly female friendships (Fullager, 2008). There was an emphasis on enjoyment of friendships, which often involved engagement in different leisure activities and which ultimately created “the context of a playful belonging” for emotional reciprocity and emerging identities (Fullager, 2008, p. 45).

2.7.3 Female Friendships

Throughout literature on women’s leisure, and particularly resistance leisure, a recurring theme is female friendships which create supportive environments where women and girls feel they can be themselves and can resist limiting gender norms. Hey’s (1997) research specifically on adolescent girls and friendships concluded that “it is within the intimacy of girls’ networks that the processes of ‘making oneself as a girl’ is at its most intense” and that “it is between and amongst girls as friends that identities are variously practised, appropriated, resisted and negotiated” (Hey, 1997, p. 30). One way that the friendships of women and girls can facilitate resistance to stereotyped gender roles is through the use of humour. Within the safe spaces of female friendships, humour can emerge to playfully, yet critically, identify incongruities in “the way things are supposed to be and the way things are” (Green, 1998, p. 181).

For adolescents in general, “hanging out” with friends is a highly valued form of leisure (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). For adolescent girls, peer relationships may be particularly meaningful since female socialization emphasizes dependence on others and maintenance of

close social bonds (Gilligan, 1982). As Kilbourne (1999) asserts, “one of the most powerful antidotes to destructive cultural messages is close and supportive female friendships” (p. 149).

Adolescent girls’ negotiation of leisure constraints can take many forms, including using leisure as resistance, where challenging the limitations of gender ideologies can be personally empowering. Resistant acts can even have a collective impact by encouraging others’ resistant behaviours and creating new discourses that offer broader meanings of femininity. Expanded conceptions of femininity can also be projected through the confidence and independence facilitated by tools such as cell phones. Insights from women recovering from depression – and transforming their identities- can be informative for adolescent girls developing their identities, where leisure can be a space for resisting gender expectations and experiencing playfulness and creativity. Finally, female friendships can be a supportive space for girls to challenge constraints and experience freedom to decide for themselves who they are. Understanding the experiences of girls’ leisure constraints and negotiations involves exploring diverse perspectives, including the unique positions of adolescents from minority races and ethnicities.

2.8 Adolescence and Diversity

Despite the recognition that ethnic identity often affects people’s leisure behaviour and that people’s leisure behaviour often reinforces their sense of identity, Walker (2007) comments that “to date there has been relatively little research conducted on ethnic and visible minority groups and leisure behaviour in Canada” (p. 152). This is particularly surprising and concerning given Canada’s growing multicultural demographic, where visible minorities comprised only 4.7% of Canadians in 1981, and grew to 13.4% by 2001 (with an expected 20% by 2017) (Statistics Canada 2003, 2005). The most recent Canadian population census indicates that 16.2% of Canadians are visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2006). Of the over four million

Canadians between the ages of 15-24 years, 18.7% are visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2006). It should be noted that my review of adolescence and diversity research is structured separately from other literature reviewed because this reflects the focus and structure of extant 'diversity' research which tends to examine unidimensional factors associated with leisure behaviour, such as race and leisure. However, my own approach to researching diverse adolescent girls will use a feminist intersectional approach (see Theoretical Frameworks), which recognizes that social divisions such as race and ethnicity critically intersect with many other factors, such as gender. My feminist intersectional approach seeks to challenge and problematize the separation of crucial social factors and identities to render a more embedded, intersectional and ultimately holistic portrayal of the complexity of human experience. Before examining some of the limited research on adolescents from diverse backgrounds, clarifying some commonly used terms may be helpful.

'Race' and 'ethnicity' are terms which are often used to refer to variables of individuals' diversity, but they are not the same concepts. Race is "concerned with shared physical features" (such as skin colour and eye shape), while "ethnicity is concerned with common cultural characteristics" (such as language, religion, traditions, and value systems) (Walker, 2007, p. 151). It is important to recognize that, like gender, "ethnicity and race are socially defined in ways that change over time" and further, "it is a social construction as to whether those identifications make a difference" (Kelly & Freysinger, 2000, p. 172). As Kelly and Freysinger (2000) further remark, "the reality of race and ethnicity is in how people are identified and treated by those with dominant social power" (p. 172). For many people of minority races and ethnicities, including adolescents, these identifications impact their lives, including experiences of leisure and recreation. Canadian immigrants' experiences provide important insights into how

racial and ethnic identifications can make a significant difference to their lives and leisure experiences, often in challenging and constraining ways.

2.8.1 Diverse Adolescents' Leisure Constraints

Poverty and discrimination are two significant challenges Canadian immigrants continue to face, challenges which directly impact quality of life, including opportunities for leisure (Tirone, 2010). In the last twenty-five years in Canada, there has been an increasing poverty level among racial and ethnic minority immigrants, and particularly severe poverty experienced by adolescent immigrants (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). Poverty disproportionately experienced by racial and ethnic minorities means that youth from low-income families often miss important opportunities to participate in leisure and recreation activities including sports, art, and other extracurricular activities (Tirone, 2010). Although there have been efforts to develop and implement recreation programs and policies, which serve the unique needs of immigrant and minority youth, these have not materialized (Frisby et al., 2005). Structural constraints such as poverty are explained by the marginality hypothesis of differential leisure participation (Walker, 2007) and certainly have important impacts on minority adolescents' access to recreation and leisure experiences. Another significant factor, discrimination, also complicates the lives of minority adolescents, and may particularly undermine adolescents' sense of belonging, self-worth and developing identities (Tirone, 2010).

Tirone is one of few researchers exploring the experiences of minority adolescents in the context of leisure. She argues that for immigrants and minority Canadians, discrimination “prevents them from developing adequate and enriching social support networks. . . [and] far too often inhibits recreation and sport participation” (Tirone, 2010, p. 161). Several of her studies are informative regarding discrimination experienced by minority adolescents in leisure settings. For

instance, in her study of South Asian Canadian adolescents, participants reported discrimination during community recreation programs, competitive sports, and YMCA summer camps (Tirone, 1999). In another study of minority adolescents – children of immigrant parents from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh – participants experienced discrimination in the form of name-calling and bullying as a result of their minority status, compounded by recreation and sport leaders' failure to intervene (Tirone, 2000).

From an American context, Stodolska and Yi (2003) examined the impact of immigration on ethnic identity and leisure behaviour among adolescent immigrants from Korea, Mexico and Poland. In terms of the impact on the adolescents' ethnic identity, Stodolska and Yi (2003) determined three distinct processes that shape ethnic identity: firstly, self-discovery of cultural differences compared to mainstream Americans and other minorities; secondly, comparisons within their own ethnic group; and thirdly, outside labeling. Immigrant adolescent in Stodolska and Yi's (2003) study described being labeled as "ethnics" by the outside world, which could lead to discriminatory behaviours, including being teased, ridiculed or socially isolated by peers. Discriminatory behaviour also extended to school personnel when some immigrant adolescents described experiences of feeling patronized by teachers (Stodolska & Yi, 2003). In terms of post-immigration changes to leisure behaviour, adolescents' leisure became much more commodified and materialistic. Participants articulated that "one needed money to be able to afford leisure and to "fit in" within the American teenage culture" (Stodolska & Yi, 2003, p. 66). This prompted many immigrant adolescents to seek employment in order to afford leisure-related items and to supplement their family income, which contributed to changing family relations (Stodolska & Yi, 2003).

2.8.2 Diverse Adolescents' Leisure Constraint Negotiations and Resistances

Despite significant constraints to recreation and leisure opportunities, some racial and ethnic minority adolescents are finding ways to participate in leisure to achieve important benefits, as well as to sometimes resist limiting ideologies of culture and/or gender. In their study of South Asian young Canadians, Tirone and Pedlar (2005) explored the rich leisure lives of participants and found that it was through leisure that participants were able to enter a variety of social groups (including people from their own ethnic background, other ethnic backgrounds, and people from dominant groups), which resulted in important social networks that not only benefitted social development, but also improved access to education and jobs.

Resistant leisure for ethnic minority adolescents is exemplified in young, urban Aboriginal communities of hip-hop groups which resist the impacts of poverty, marginalization, and colonialization to encourage young Aboriginal voices, movements and creativity (Fox & Lashua, 2010). Urban Aboriginal hip-hop groups connect to creative, artistic forms of leisure that are part of Aboriginal ceremonial legacies (such as dances, chants, interrelationships, and distributive economics), which provide an avenue for Aboriginal youth to “express their political critiques and civic engagements and envision alternative methods for enacting policy, public governance, and civic engagement” (Fox & Lashua, 2010, p. 234).

Finally, one study incorporates many of the relevant concepts discussed and highlights the distinctive experiences that emerge from intersections of gender, ethnicity, age (adolescence), identity, and leisure. In her research on young Muslim women and sport, Walseth (2006) explores the role of sport in the young women's development of identity, or what she calls 'identity work' in order to emphasize how “the development of identity is constantly negotiated as a result of influence by different socialization agents” and that identities are “under constant

challenge and attack” (Walseth, 2006, p. 76). For young Muslim women who are second-generation immigrants living in a developed, neo-liberal country (Norway), there is often huge tension in the development of their individual identities as they contend with their collective ethnic identities (Walseth, 2006). Walseth articulates three primary responses to this identity negotiation in the context of sport. One response involves participants who deliberately position themselves inside the boundaries of their ethnic collective identity and accordingly do not participate in any form of sport or physical activity. These young women are “most strongly influenced by the processes of cultural maintenance [and] have developed through socialization an embodied femininity marked by prudence and inactivity” (Walseth, p. 86).

A second response to the negotiation of Muslim young women’s identities in the Walseth (2006) study was a deliberate challenging of the boundaries of their ethnic identity, where participation in sport is part of this resistance, despite cultural sanctions, which underlie the role of women as symbols of cultural maintenance. The third response to navigating their identity development was some young Muslim women’s alignment with their religious (Islam) rather than ethnic (Muslim) identities, where Islam’s encouragement of exercise facilitated the young women’s participation in sport and physical activity (Walseth, 2006). The study highlights how young women’s involvement in sport “is influenced by the intersection of different positions”, which create different responses to the hegemonic notion of femininity depending on the intersections of positions, or identities, such as gender, ethnicity and religion (Walseth, 2006).

Adolescents who are racial and ethnic minorities can face immensely challenging constraints to even accessing leisure opportunities due to constraints such as poverty. For those who are able to engage in recreation and leisure activities, their enjoyment can be compromised by further constraints such as discrimination. Despite these challenges, minority adolescents can

have rich leisure lives where they can benefit from enriching experiences such as building diverse social networks and resisting gender and cultural constraints. Research on the experiences of young Muslim women and sport speak to the unique intersections of factors such as gender and ethnicity in shaping leisure and identities.

In their review of race and ethnicity in leisure research, Shinew, Stodolska, Floyd et al. (2006) situate research on the leisure behaviour of ethnic and racial minorities as an important sub-field of leisure studies. Leisure scholars are beginning to recognize “the limits of ‘single variable’ analyses in this complex society and have begun to examine the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, age, and social class in relation to leisure behavior and related outcomes” (Shinew et al., 2006, p. 405). Future research needs to examine the many sources of stratification which result in a “hierarchy of participation” with young white men with high levels of education and high incomes having the greatest participation in leisure, while the lowest participation in leisure occurs for elderly minority women with low education levels and low incomes (Lee, Scott & Floyd, 2001). Shinew et al. (2006) assert a need for future research to examine the factors that facilitate and constrain the leisure of various groups as well as how different groups negotiate limited leisure resources. I certainly agree with Shinew et al.’s (2006) suggestion that “understanding leisure as it relates to the richness that racial and ethnic diversity brings to community life as well as the marginalization and exploitation of particular subgroups of our population is an exciting and worthwhile endeavor that deserves further investigation” (p. 407). My study aims to address the future research suggestion offered by Shinew et al. (2006) in contributing to research that recognizes the limits of single variable analysis to explore the intersections of gender, race and ethnicity with diverse adolescent girls and their experiences of leisure constraints, negotiations and resistances.

2.9 Research Gaps

It is clear that there has been insightful and important research in the many areas that inform an understanding of adolescent girls' experiences of leisure constraints and their negotiations. However, a critical review of some of this research reveals potential avenues for capturing a more thorough and complex picture of the leisure lives and identities of diverse adolescent girls. My study addressed three main research gaps.

The first research gap involves broadening the focus of constraints research. As Jackson (2007) has noted, the majority of constraints research has been on structural constraints, which are more amenable to quantitative measurements. Furthermore, in their review of gender and constraints research, Shaw and Henderson (2005) suggest future research could benefit from more focus on potential sociocultural constraints, rather than the more common focus of constraints research on psychosocial, or individual, constraints. The feminist qualitative research approach of my study can further an understanding of interpersonal and intrapersonal constraints and provide a clearer picture of constraints in a sociocultural context. That is, beyond more quantitative approaches which have simply surveyed individuals about what constraints they face, qualitative approaches, such as the in-depth interviews I undertook for my study (more on this below), place constraints in the context of why they are meaningful to participants. A feminist qualitative approach can also work to deconstruct simplistic notions of structural constraints experienced by individuals, such as adolescent girls, to potentially reveal how 'structural' constraints may more accurately be other forms of constraint. For instance, the commonly given structural constraint of time may be more about what gender expectations (a more interpersonal constraint) demand in terms of time commitments to others, which may leave little time for oneself. The mere categorization of constraints into types obscures how structural,

interpersonal and intrapersonal factors are often inextricably connected. Notably, these connections can be seen with powerful social ideologies, such as gender, where the expectations of others (interpersonal) become internalized (intrapersonal) and restrict possibilities for acquiring resources (structural) to access leisure opportunities.

A second research gap addressed the lack of current leisure research on adolescent girls, and specifically on how adolescent girls negotiate constraints and may use leisure as resistance. My study aimed to extend Shaw's (1994) framework of leisure constraints to adolescent girls.

A review of the literature also makes apparent a striking exclusion of the unique perspectives of adolescent girls from diverse races and ethnicities, a third research gap I intend to address. Researchers exploring the constraints and negotiations of adolescent girls have acknowledged their own homogeneous samples and the need to include the perspectives of diverse groups of girls. Few, however, have undertaken this endeavour. What remains is a 'whitewashed', sometimes universalized, picture of the experiences of adolescent girls' leisure. While decades of 'second wave' feminism have sought to challenge universalized notions of femininity and inject a crucial understanding of racial and ethnic standpoints (among others), this impact seems not to have reached gendered leisure research, or at least to the extent that one would hope to see. My study addresses this research gap by exploring the experiences of diverse adolescent girls to illuminate critical intersections and interconnections between gender, race, ethnicity and leisure.

2.10 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to explore diverse adolescent girls' constraints to leisure and how they may be negotiated or resisted. This qualitative, inductive study was guided by a

feminist theoretical framework, using conversational interviews to gain an understanding of the perspectives of a racially and ethnically diverse sample of adolescent girls.

2.11 Research Questions

The main two questions connect directly to the study's purpose. Firstly, **'What are the constraints to leisure participation and enjoyment experienced by adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities?'** A particular focus was on understanding intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints given that the majority of published empirical research on constraints has emphasized structural constraints, with little research on intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints (Jackson, 2007). The focus was on specifically exploring intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints given the research on adolescent girls, which stresses the importance of their peer relationships and societal gender and cultural norms (interpersonal), as well as developing concepts of their individual identity (intrapersonal).

The second question derived from the study's main purpose is **'How do adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities negotiate constraints to their leisure participation and enjoyment?'** This question involves concepts of empowerment and leisure as resistance to gender and cultural norms and limitations.

Using the insights gleaned from the two main research questions, an additional question becomes pertinent: **'How can leisure activities be effective and inclusive spaces where adolescent girls can gain a sense of identity and empowerment?'** This research question follows the insistence that "according to the feminist paradigm for research an understanding of constraints must be accompanied by practical notions of how to remedy inequities" (Culp, 1998, p. 375).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Orientation

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Feminism

A feminist theoretical framework guided and informed my study. Understanding feminism is both simple and complex. For me, as a proud, self-identifying feminist, feminism at its core is about equality and empowerment for all people (men and women) to lead lives of their own choosing. Specifically, Henderson et al. (1996) define feminism as “the philosophical and theoretical frameworks that embody aspects of equity, empowerment, and social change for women and men” (p. 13). Feminism is not merely about a way thinking, but is also crucially a way of being and doing. Theory and practice are inextricably linked in feminism, so that ‘the personal is political’ as the popular feminist slogan asserts. Bunch (1985) contends that feminism is perhaps the most important social force to address world problems. With this in mind, the particular aims of feminist inquiry include correcting inequalities that marginalize women and recognizing the central themes of gender roles and biological sex (Culp, 1998). These aims are undertaken through placing a critical focus on females in society and culture (Freysinger, Shaw, Henderson & Bialeschki, 2013a). Contextualizing women’s experiences within society and culture involves critically recognizing, and working to disrupt, the patriarchal institutions which often frame women’s experiences.

Patriarchy is a concept which is central to many feminists. Patriarchy is defined as the “social and cultural rules that privilege men over women” (Henderson et al., 1996, p. 8). The material foundation of patriarchy rests on men’s control over women’s labour power through excluding women’s access to economically productive resources (for example, jobs that pay living wages) and by restricting women’s sexuality (Hartmann, 2010). Since men are privileged within patriarchy, there is a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. This maintenance

occurs through institutions, such as schools, churches and the media, which teach patriarchal behaviours and reinforce the inferior position of women (Hartmann, 2010).

Arguing that Canada is a patriarchal state, as many feminists contend, Hamilton (2005) reminds us that “the vast majority of those with formal power in all aspects of state relations – from members of Parliament to primary school principals – have been men” (p. 90). While men’s dominance in positions of power has certainly been true historically, this remains a reality in contemporary Canadian society, despite some notable progress which has allowed some women access to certain positions of power and decision-making. In terms of Canadian legislation – the laws and policies that dictate society’s functioning – this continues to be gendered in ways that disadvantage women politically, socially and economically (Hamilton, 2005). Furthermore, the notion of patriarchy is rendered less abstract when one acknowledges that men in positions of power (politicians, for instance) respond to the world in ways that protect the interests of men (Hamilton, 2005) through the allocation of societal resources to areas which they value. This is made clear through the allocation of nearly unlimited resources for the military and war and few if any resources for childcare, a patriarchal funding priority challenged in a clever 1970s feminist peace poster which is sadly as true today as it was over 40 years ago: “What if there was child care for every child and the military had to have bake sales to buy their bombers?” (Hamilton, 2005, p. 92).

It is important to recognize that while patriarchal social relations operate hierarchically, where the gender hierarchy privileges men over women, particular people have more or less power than others based on other social divisions such as class and race. In this way, as Hartmann (2010) explains, “women of different class, race, national, marital status, or sexual orientation groups are subjected to different degrees of patriarchal power” (p. 177). This

acknowledgement is particularly critical given my study's exploration of the leisure experiences of adolescent girls from diverse races and ethnicities. Indeed, as Henderson et al. (1996) argue "women's leisure is often a reflection of their oppression in patriarchy" (p. 8). This oppression is seen, for instance, in the perpetuation of gender ideologies which restrict and constrain girls and women's leisure. However, as we have seen, leisure can also be a site of resistance to gender oppressions.

3.2 Feminist Theories

The meanings of feminism have varied in different times and places and have often been the topic of passionate debates. Despite the personal and often varied meanings of 'feminism' it can be generally understood as a term that "signals an emancipatory politics on behalf of women" (McCann & Kim, 2010, p. 1). Like feminisms and feminists themselves, feminist theories are diverse. At their core, feminist theories provide intellectual tools to examine injustices and construct arguments to support particular demands for change (McCann & Kim, 2010). As Freysinger, Shaw, Henderson and Bialeschki (2013b) explain, "while each theory centers girls/women and/or gender in research and practice, they vary in *what* they see as the core reason(s) for gender inequality, *if* gender inequality is the sole focus, and *how* best to address or change such inequality" (p. 3). In response to early feminist theories (such as liberal feminism), which often ignored crucial differences between groups of women, such as race and ethnicity, feminist researchers were faced with the challenge of "how to theorize difference without losing the analytic force of gender analysis (Raey, 2007, p. 606). This challenge required new theoretical frameworks which recognized that "identities or subjectivities are relational and multiple, enduring but fluid, more important in some contexts than others but always present"

(Freysinger et al., 2013b, p. 9). Intersectionality is one feminist theory which takes up this challenge.

3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality describes the notion that “people live in multiple, layered identities and can simultaneously experience oppression and privilege” (Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2007, p. 629). This critical theory focuses on how social divisions are constructed and interconnected. The layered identities considered are numerous, including gender, able-bodiedness, sexuality, class, race and ethnicity. While there is generally agreement that “categories are not additive but interactive and mutually constructed”, there are debates about which combinations to employ (Oleson, 2011, p. 134). In response to this, Warner (2008) suggests that researchers must be clear and explicit about which categories are chosen. To this end, my own project explored the intersectionality of gender with race and ethnicity as they applied to the adolescent girls that participated in my study. I acknowledged that my participants may hold other identities, such as their class or sexual orientation, which inevitably impact their selves and experiences of leisure. However, my focus was on gender with race and ethnicity given the intercategorical complexity that arises across analytical categories, rendering unmanageable the handling of *all* categories simultaneously (Collins, 2008). Despite challenges in intersectional analyses, it is useful in “revealing the complexities and multidimensionality of experience” (Dill et al., 2007, p. 629). Additionally, intersectionality was a relevant theoretical framework for my project considering that “intersectional work is about identity” (Dill et al., 2007, p. 631). Given the centrality of identity in adolescence, intersectionality provides a critical framework for examining the multidimensionality of identities in girls as they navigate their developing selves and experiences of leisure.

Chapter Four: Methods

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Research Questions

My research sought to explore the experiences of diverse adolescent girls through two main research questions:

- 1) What are the constraints to leisure participation and enjoyment experienced by adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities?
- 2) How do adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities negotiate constraints to their leisure participation and enjoyment?

Through these two main questions, I also hoped to answer a third question:

- 3) How can leisure be effective and inclusive where adolescent girls can gain a sense of identity and empowerment?

My approach to addressing these research questions involved a feminist methodology and two distinct methods within my research design: conversational interviews and photo elicitation. I describe my methodology and methods below and articulate my rationale for their inclusion in my study.

4.1.2 Feminist Research and Methodology

As a feminist researcher, I recognize participants as the experts of their own experiences (DeVault & Gross, 2012) and the importance of building knowledge by listening to these perspectives. As such, my study takes up the feminist aim of placing a critical focus on females in society and culture (Freysinger, Shaw, Henderson & Bialeschki, 2013a) by highlighting the diverse voices of adolescent girls as they articulate their experiences of leisure constraints as well as their own negotiations and resistances. Traditional ways of knowing and knowledge building

have ignored the perspectives of women and have employed positivistic, quantitative research methods which place women's experiences outside the purview of 'legitimate' inquiry (Hesse-Biber, 2007). In contrast, feminist research's epistemological and methodological focus seeks to "recognize the importance of women's lived experiences with the goal of unearthing subjugated knowledge" (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 3). To this end, Henderson et al. (1996) offer the aims of critique, correction and transformation as a useful framework for the feminist analysis of research concerning women's leisure. In my own study, this framework was applied through a focus on the individual leisure experiences of adolescent girls, which were then critically contextualized within broader society. This approach of moving from the personal (or individual level) to the political (or societal level) is significant for feminist research which deeply values individual women's experiences and seeks to transform gender inequality at all levels.

While feminism is often conceptualized as a theoretical framework, as explored in the previous chapter, it can also be viewed as a methodology, or way of building knowledge, in that it compels distinct principles and practices for research (Hawkesworth, 2012). Some of these principles and practices within a feminist methodology include recognizing and privileging power dynamics, positionality, reflexivity, and social change (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Each of these methodological principles are also connected to varied methods since there is a close interplay between all components of the research process – epistemology, methodology, and method (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Two such methods were used in this research and are described below.

4.1.3 Conversational Interviews

Much qualitative and feminist research has been committed to collecting and representing the perspectives of informants, or participants, and these projects have had powerfully liberatory impacts (DeVault & Gross, 2007). Indeed, the practice of open-ended interviewing used by

feminist researchers is discussed in many qualitative research method texts (DeVault & Gross, 2007). The conversational interview is a form of flexible interviewing, which encourages an interaction between the researcher and participant where questions and feedback are exchanged and clarified (Currihan, 2008). Within this kind of interview, interviewers express interest (rather than remaining detached), invite participants to reflect, and encourage them to articulate their own meanings (Charmaz, 2006). DeVault and Gross (2007) suggest that researchers should openly share with interviewees the concerns that inspire and animate the research “so that the conversation can unfold as a collaborative moment of making knowledge” (p. 181). To encourage this collaborative production of knowledge, active listening is essential. Active listening involves being fully engaged not only in taking in information, but allowing that information to “affect you, baffle you, haunt you, make you uncomfortable and take you on unexpected detours” (Gordon, 1997, p. 40). To facilitate a collaborative, conversational style of interview guided by the participants’ experiences, I used an interview guide (see Appendix G) rather than structured interview questions. As Patton (2002) describes, developing an interview guide allows the interview “to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus of a particular subject that has been predetermined (p. 343).

Charmaz (2006) provides some guidance on addressing potentially difficult issues within an interview, which was important in my study because my research involved asking girls about constraining leisure experiences. Charmaz (2006) suggests paying close attention to when to probe for further details if the telling appears to be difficult for the participant. I was mindful of this important approach within my interviews, particularly when participants were describing clearly difficult and emotional experiences, such as the violence they witnessed during war or

while explaining some of the gender constraints they experienced back home. When participants shared difficult recollections such as these, I specifically asked them if they were comfortable continuing or elaborating. Charmaz (2006) also recommends trying to understand the experience from the participants' perspective and to validate the significance of what the participant is sharing. I followed this approach with my participants through asking questions to ensure that I had understood what they had shared and by asking them to explain why an experience or leisure activity was important to them. This approach also allows participants to "teach the interviewer how to interpret" what they are sharing (Charmaz, 2006, p. 27). Thus, conversational interviews are a feminist method in their valuing of participants' perspectives and in their acknowledgement of the co-creation of knowledge between the researcher and participant.

4.1.4 Photo Elicitation

In addition to the primary research method, conversational interviews, I also sought to include photo elicitation as a complementary research method. Photo elicitation is a qualitative research method which invites participants to take and share photographs on their own and then to discuss them with the researcher during an interview. This technique uses photographs as prompts to encourage a conversation between the participant and the researcher (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009; Harper, 2002). Photo-elicitation is increasingly being used in research with children and youth (Dean, 2007) since the presence of photographs can assist in eliciting responses from participants and can help researchers in building a rapport with younger participants (Smith, Gidlow, & Steel, 2012). As such, photo elicitation can be an effective method when working with adolescents since it enables them to visually share experiences that are important to them (Smith et al., 2012). In explaining the photographs to the researcher,

participants can provide interpretations which acknowledge the multiple influences and contexts that can be represented within images (Pink, 2001).

Photo elicitation was part of my research design in part because of its effectiveness with adolescent participants, but also because I thought this method was congruent with feminist research. I felt that photo-elicitation could set the stage for shifting participants' potential perception of imbalanced power dynamics between myself, as an adult and a researcher, and themselves, as an adolescent and a research participant. It was my hope that through explaining the photos they had chosen to take and share with me, the girls could gain a sense of the interview process where they were regarded and valued as the experts of their own experiences (DeVault & Gross, 2012). I also appreciated that photo-elicitation could contribute to methodological pluralism within my study, to recognize the multiplicity of knowledge and representations of knowledge (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

4.2 Research Process

4.2.1 Participant Recruitment

Eligible participants for my study were immigrant or minority adolescent girls (between the ages of fourteen and nineteen years old) from the Kitchener-Waterloo area. I was seeking sixteen participants in order to explore diverse experiences and to include participants with varied identities being considered within the research, including race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality. I recruited participants through two community organizations. One of these organizations specifically works with African-Canadian youth (both boys and girls). The other organization is a not-for-profit agency that offers programs and services for visible minority and immigrant women and girls.

I learned about the first organization through Dr. Troy Glover, who had worked with the organization for an African-Canadian leadership conference through the University of Waterloo. Through this connection, I contacted the organization's coordinator. I learned about the second organization in speaking with the director of the K-W Multicultural Centre. I contacted the organization and connected with their youth coordinator. Both contacts were sent a recruitment letter, which provided full details of the study, as well as a consent form to specify their organization's identification (or anonymity) within the research (see Appendix A).

Both organizations' coordinators invited me to attend a meeting with their members to tell them about my study. During both initial meetings, I informed potential participants about my research and answered any questions. From both meetings, a total of eleven individuals indicated they were interested in participating in my study. They were provided with an information letter for participants (see Appendix B). Potential participants were also asked to give their parents an information letter about their participation in the study (see Appendix C). Although the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) did not require a consent form from parents given that participants were over the age of fourteen, they did suggest that a parental consent form be given to participants in case individual parents wished to explicitly provide their consent for their daughter's involvement in the study (see Appendix C). The ORE also suggested that a short parent questionnaire should be included so that parents could indicate certain demographic information I was seeking, such as income, which participants may not know. I also included several other questions on the parent questionnaire which asked about their perceptions of their daughter's leisure and family leisure (see Appendix D).

At the aforementioned initial meeting, I obtained the contact information of the eleven girls who had indicated they were interested in participating in my study. We agreed that I would

contact them shortly after the meeting to see if they were still interested in participating and, if so, to arrange a time and place for an individual interview.

When I contacted the potential participants, nine indicated that they were still interested and available to participate in my study. I provided further details about the photograph component of the study, which was mentioned during the initial meetings. For participants who did not have e-mail, I explained the photo component over the phone. For participants who provided both phone and e-mail contact information, I explained the photograph component over the phone and also sent them a written guide with clear instructions (see Appendix F) before we met for our interview. This guide asked participants to share at least five photographs. These photographs could be existing photographs or could be taken specifically for this study, or a combination of both. I asked that photographs would hopefully depict three areas (ideally with at least one photograph per area): 1) What their leisure looks like now; 2) What their leisure used to look like (i.e., when they were younger and/or before they came to Canada); and 3) Whether there are things that they would like to do for leisure now, but do not. I suggested that photographs could include objects or accessories, activities, places, or people that were part of their leisure (or that they wished were part of their leisure). Three options were proposed to facilitate participants' photo-taking. Participants could use 1) their own digital camera; 2) their own smart phone camera; or 3) a disposable camera which I offered to provide, recognizing that participants may not have their own camera (or use of a family camera) or their own smart phone.

If participants chose one of the first two options, I asked that they e-mail me the images at least one day before we met for our interview so that I could print the photos to easily view and discuss them during the interview. If participants chose the third option of using a disposable

camera, I offered to make arrangements that were convenient for them to get them the disposable camera. All participants, except for one, indicated that they had their own cameras or would use the camera on their phone. For the one participant that did request a disposable camera, we agreed that we would meet twice, once for the interview, at the end of which I would give her the camera, and a second time to discuss her photographs. Lastly, I asked participants to bring any completed parental consent forms or parent questionnaires with them to the interview. No participant provided a completed parent questionnaire.

Convenient interview times and locations were arranged with each participant. I offered to interview participants in a location that was comfortable and convenient for them. Three participants who attended the same highschool asked whether the interviews could take place during the lunch period at their highschool. I contacted the highschool's vice principal and received permission to interview the three participants at the school if their parents agreed to their participation and signed the consent form. The parents of all three girls did agree to their participation and provided written consent. These interviews were conducted at the school in a private office. Since the school's lunch period was only 40 minutes, these interviews were conducted in two parts, over two lunch periods, for each of the three participants. Five other interviews took place in a research office at the University of Waterloo. One interview was held in a community meeting room in downtown Kitchener, upon the participant's request.

4.3. Research Strategies and Data Collection Techniques

4.3.1 Conversational Interviews

The primary method of data collection involved face-to-face conversational interviews, which lasted from between one to two hours, with the average length of an interview being 90 minutes. Interviews consisted of several open-ended questions about girls' leisure experiences

and meanings (e.g., “What do your leisure experiences mean to you?”), potential leisure constraints (e.g., “Are there things that get in the way of participating in the types of things you do for fun or would like to do?”), and constraint negotiations (e.g., “When you come up against something preventing you from leisure activities, do you try to work around them?”). Being mindful that participants were adolescents and that English was not their first language, all of the questions were specifically worded to be very understandable (i.e., I avoided the use of specialized language such as “constraints” and “negotiations”). Before we began, I also explained what I meant by the term ‘leisure’ (i.e., “Activities you do for fun or relaxation, or whenever you can choose what to do”). Follow-up questions were also asked depending on individual responses (see Appendix G).

The interviews were recorded with an audio recorder with participants’ permission. To thank participants for their time, I gave them a \$10 Tim Hortons gift card at the end of the interview. I also provided each participant with a personalized certificate of participation, which was a suggestion made by the coordinator of one of the organizations during the initial meeting. Participants were also given a letter of appreciation and feedback (see Appendix E). Additionally, participants who had travelled to the interview location (everyone except the participants interviewed at their highschool) were given two bus tickets to reimburse them for their travel to and from the interview location.

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word. I transcribed three of the interviews myself and the rest were transcribed by a professional transcriptionist due to time constraints.

4.3.2 Photo Elicitation

The photo elicitation largely did not proceed as intended. While I had asked participants using a digital camera or camera phone to e-mail me their photos at least a day before we met for our interview, only two participants e-mailed photos to me. They were both e-mailed only shortly before the interview, so I did not have time to print them. We viewed these photos on my phone during the interview. Another participant shared several photos with me directly on her own camera. She indicated she would later e-mail the photos (this did not occur). A fourth participant e-mailed several photos after the interview. Of the three participants who shared photos and provided me with a copy of their photos, only two gave permission for their photos to be used in the research. Only one of these two participants both shared and discussed her photos with me during the interview (since the other participant only shared photos after the interview).

For the three girls who participated in the photo-elicitation during the interview, they shared photos from only one of the three suggested areas: photos of their current leisure in Canada. For all three, sharing and explaining their photos seemed to be a comfortable experience that did indeed build rapport and encourage conversation (Smith, Gidlow, & Steel, 2012). For instance, one participant shared a photo of a shoe organizer and explained that she loves organization. I described that I too enjoy organization and we laughed together about our shared appreciation for this perhaps uncommon form of leisure. This exchange encouraged humour and reciprocity, which facilitated a comfortable rapport for the remainder of the interview. At other times, it was not immediately apparent what the photo was depicting or why it might be meaningful to the participant. For example, one participant shared a photo of an apartment balcony at night. The significance of this photo was understood when she explained that she enjoys spending quiet time alone on her balcony, admiring the city lights and feeling the night

breeze, in order to relax after a busy day surrounded by people. The balcony was a small, and perhaps unlikely, oasis that allowed her to temporarily be apart from the rest of her family inside their crowded apartment. This suggests that, at times, the significance of a seemingly unremarkable photo is only revealed through participants' own interpretation (Smith et al., 2012) and emphasizes the importance of listening to participants own telling of why they chose to share the photos they did. Other photos shared within the interview depicted girls' leisure in terms of family, friends, participation in cultural events, and settings where they enjoy leisure, such as a park. The participant who sent photos after the interview included photos depicting her art work, friends, and a favourite store.

Of the remaining five participants, only one person specifically indicated that she did not wish to take or share any photos. All of the other participants expressed that they wanted to share photos for the study and would send them to me after the interview. The participant who had requested the disposable camera was provided with the camera after the interview, along with a postage-paid self-addressed envelope for her to mail the camera back to me once she had taken her photos. I could then print them and we could meet to discuss them as we had arranged. However, the camera was not returned. Despite a follow-up e-mail, no other participant chose to share photos. Given that only two participants shared photos and also agreed for them to be used in the research, there were not enough photos, or photos from enough participants, to analyze the photos and include them as part of the data. Instead, photos from the two participants will be incorporated into the visual presentation of the thesis and potentially in other materials.

4.4 Data Analysis Procedures

Once the interviews had been transcribed, I read each transcript to gain a sense of the whole (Charmaz, 2006). As I read each transcript initially, I created memos that captured some

of my initial impressions, questions those arose for me, and other notes to myself about what I was reading. Memo-writing is a method that involves taking informal analytic notes throughout the research process in order to document evolving thoughts, comparisons and connections (Charmaz, 2006).

After reading each transcript for a sense of the whole, I read each transcript again and began coding. Coding is a process to select, separate and sort the data to begin making analytic interpretations (Charmaz, 2006). As Charmaz describes, “coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and . . . explain[ing] these data. Through coding, you *define* what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). I began with initial coding, which aimed to describe small sections of data while remaining open, close to the data, and preserving actions (Charmaz, 2006). Through my initial coding of the transcripts, I created broad categories into which many codes, or smaller units of data, were represented (e.g., “Immigration experiences”, “Leisure and culture”, and “Leisure and identity”). The advantage of initial coding was that studying the data closely allowed me to “make fundamental processes explicit, render hidden assumptions visible, and give participants new insights” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 55).

Through my initial coding, I added new broad categories as they emerged within the data (e.g., “Benefits of leisure”). I also began coding the data into more specific sub-categories within the broadest categories (e.g., within “Leisure and culture”, the sub-category of “Leisure in home country”). As they emerged, I added new sub-categories and more refined categories within sub-categories (e.g., “Traditions” within the sub-category of “Leisure in home country”). My analysis was iterative in the sense that codes and analysis that emerged within one transcript influenced interpretations for subsequent transcripts. Throughout all levels of coding, I used the constant

comparative method of analysis, which compares “data with data to find similarities and differences” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 54). This approach recognized that understanding the breadth of female experience involves acknowledging and positioning both similarities and differences between women and girls (Hesse-Biber, 2012) as well as the intersections of experiences and identities within each individual (Dill & Kohlman, 2012). To elucidate this breadth and complexity in part by using the constant comparative method, I compared data within each interview and also data between interviews to interpret the data individually and holistically. Once all transcripts had been analyzed with initial and more focused coding (broad categories and sub-categories), I had a preliminary framework with six main broad categories (each with many sub-categories): 1) Leisure and culture; 2) Gender; 3) Constraints to leisure; 4) Leisure constraint negotiations; 5) Immigration experiences; and 6) Leisure and identity.

I then took this initial framework entirely apart and began explicitly articulating relationships between the broadest categories with each other and between the sub-categories with each other and with the broadest categories. I asked (and wrote out) questions such as “How is leisure and culture related to gender?” (broad category to broad category comparison) and “How does the intersection of culture and religion affect interpersonal constraints?” (sub-category to sub-category comparison). I also explored the relationships between existing broad categories with sub-categories, for instance “How does adjusting to a new country (sub-category) connect with leisure and identity (broad category)?” This process specifies the properties of a category or theme and “reassembles the data you have fractured during initial coding to give coherence to the emerging analysis” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 60). This level of coding, or analysis, essentially sought to connect categories and subcategories and to determine how they were related (Charmaz, 2006). This process was also assisted through considering memos I had begun

during my initial analysis and continued throughout the entire process of analysis. These memos were useful in helping to crystallize ideas and keep track of concepts, categories and thoughts (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009).

From this process, several key relationships or organizing principles became apparent, such as the notion of polarity or separation (e.g., back home or here), intersection, sense of place and sense of self. From these key organizing relationships or principles, I developed the main themes, which each incorporated relevant data within the initial broad categories and sub-categories. That is, previous broad categories around gender, constraints and negotiations were integrated within each theme.

4.5 Challenges with Adolescent Participants

This research was largely motivated by my interest in adolescents, specifically diverse adolescent girls. Through my own experiences, including those with my two adolescent sisters, I appreciated that adolescents have valuable, and often thought-provoking, experiences and perceptions. As such, it was a distinct privilege to work with each of my participants. In addition to recognizing the opportunities of working with adolescents, I feel it is also important to reflect on some of the challenges. Acknowledging these challenges and the particular ways I negotiated them, may inform future research efforts to include adolescents as participants. I will briefly discuss five challenges I encountered in working with adolescent participants.

The first challenge involved participant recruitment. This process became complicated by an organizational ‘gatekeeper’ who initially did not want to allow the members of his organization to hear about my research and to decide for themselves if they wanted to participate. This challenge reflects certain power dynamics between adults and adolescents, whereby an adult mentor may feel compelled to ‘protect’ adolescents from people they do not know.

Fortunately, the organizational gatekeeper later changed his mind and did allow me to speak with the members of his organization about my research. However, once I had connected with the members of his organization who expressed interest in participating in my research, the organizational leader then asked to be privy to knowing who ultimately decided to participate in the research and to any subsequent e-mails between myself and participants. In consultation with my supervisor as well as with the University of Waterloo Office of Ethics Research, I was advised to explain to the organizational leader that his requests were not possible given my ethical requirement to maintain participants' confidentiality.

A second challenge involved initially contacting participants, in order to arrange interview times and locations. Contacting participants was difficult given that some did not have e-mail, cell phones, and/or reliable home phones. All participants provided some form of contact, however, and I persisted with the contact information they had provided. Fortunately, I was able to eventually connect with participants.

Arranging interview locations presented a third challenge. It was important that the interview location was convenient and accessible for participants, but also that it was a quiet, private space. I offered participants the option of a university research office. All participants, except for one, agreed to this location. One participant was uncomfortable coming to the university and I booked a community room that was in an area that was more comfortable and accessible for her. For the other participants, I provided them with specific directions to the university building of the research office as well as bus route information, since all participants were traveling by bus. We also arranged where I would meet them, depending on their familiarity (or unfamiliarity) with the university. Despite these efforts, a number of participants had difficulty finding the location, which resulted in some delayed or re-scheduled interviews.

A fourth challenge was sending participants the transcripts and findings for their review. After each of the interviews, I asked participants how I could send them materials. Most participants indicated that they could be sent materials through their e-mail. Two participants, however, did not have e-mail and suggested instead that I could send them materials through Facebook, which they did have. I had some reservations about ‘friending’ participants on Facebook in order to send them materials. Ultimately, however, I decided to pursue this approach since participants had provided their permission and conveyed that this was the only way for them to receive digital materials (sending materials via mail did not seem realistic).

Lastly, a fifth challenge involved discrepancies between what participants expressed they wanted to do and intended to do, and what actually occurred. This was most evident with the photo elicitation, where most participants did not end up sharing photos either during the interview or afterwards, despite stating that they intended to do so. Although this also did not occur, some participants expressed that they would ask their parents to complete the questionnaires and bring them with them to their interview.

These challenges provide some insights into potential difficulties that should be considered when working with adolescent participants.

4.6 Researcher’s Role

The aim of this feminist research was three-fold. Firstly, it sought to explore girls’ varied experiences from their own perspectives, valuing them as the experts of their own stories, which contribute to understanding the breadth of female experience (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Secondly, I hoped that this research could facilitate the personal empowerment of participants through having their voices heard (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012). Thirdly, this research aimed to encourage collective empowerment and a contribution to social justice and change (Hesse-Biber,

2012). In keeping with these feminist research aims, I saw my researcher role as a facilitator and co-creator of the research, rather than an expert or authority. This personal feminist methodology manifested in two distinct, but related, ways within my research: reciprocity and reflexivity.

4.6.1 Reciprocity

The research method of in-depth, face-to-face interviews facilitated a dynamic reciprocity between myself and participants (Dupuis, 1999). This reciprocity was important for building rapport with participants and creating an environment where they could feel comfortable sharing their perspectives. This was particularly important for my participants as adolescent girls who may not have readily trusted an adult or who may not have had many experiences where their voices were truly valued and heard. My own reciprocal interactions with participants also assisted in verifying my understandings of what was being expressed. For instance, after a participant shared an experience with me, I asked questions to ensure that I had accurately understood what they had shared (Charmaz, 2006). I not only sought to ensure that I had understood the content of participants' experiences, but also, and perhaps more significantly, the significance of participants' experiences. Indeed, following a key characteristic of qualitative research, I focused on learning the *meanings* that participants held about their experiences with leisure constraints and negotiations, rather than the understandings I brought from my own experiences or from my review of previous research (Creswell, 2009).

4.6.2 Reflexivity

I recognized that the qualitative research I conducted involved interpretive inquiry, where, as the researcher, I made interpretations of what I saw, heard, and understood from participants (Creswell, 2009). Indeed, as Creswell (2009) discussed, these interpretations “cannot be separated from [my] own backgrounds, history, contexts, and prior understandings” (p. 176).

Given that a crucial aim of my study was to explore the perspectives of adolescent girls from diverse races and ethnicities, it was particularly important for me to be mindful and reflexive about my own position as a young White woman who has experienced many privileges, including belonging to a racial and ethnic majority and having been born and raised in an educated, upper middle-class family in a developed country (Canada). I remained reflexive throughout the research process by documenting my reactions, thoughts, tensions and questions in the form of personal memos.

The two memos below provide examples of the kinds of questions and observations that were part of my continual reflexivity, particularly around my own standpoint in relation to those of my participants:

In transcribing my question, ‘Does your family encourage or discourage certain kinds of behaviour or activities because you’re a Muslim girl or just because you’re a girl?’ it occurred to me that I really need to be careful about what stereotypes, biases, impressions etc. I might hold or implicitly express relating to Islam’s treatment of women and girls. I feel like there is an impression (or stronger) in North America that Islam and the Middle East oppress women; that women and girls are subjugated. I need to be aware of this ethnocentric bias and try to hold it in check as I listen to the girls describe their own reality, sometimes as it connects to being Muslim, or having lived in a Muslim country.

As I began analysing the interview transcript for Amira [pseudonym], I came across our exchange where she explains her culture’s expectation for women to typically stay home (rather than having paid employment). I asked her, “How do you feel about that?” She replied that she felt it was unfair – for the men. As I read this exchange, Diana’s question from my proposal defence came vividly back to me: What would I do if my participants don’t embrace feminism (or the kind of feminism I embrace)? This exchange seems to highlight a distinct clashing of perspectives, with mine as that of a Western feminist. As I was talking with Amira, it became clear to me that we viewed women’s work (and not working outside the home) very differently. I tried to carefully listen to her perspective during the interview. In re-reading the interview, I feel like I hopefully did this, except in one instance where I shared my own view: “But, women are still at home doing a lot of stuff. They’re still working, but they’re just not being paid.” However, apart from this, I simply listened to, and ensured I understood, her views. It occurs to me that it is important to acknowledge the tension I felt in this part of the interview and in its initial

analysis. I also wonder if something can be considered a constraint or oppression if the person experiencing it does not perceive it as such...

4.7 Ethical Considerations

To ensure that my research was ethical, I obtained ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) prior to beginning participant recruitment. This process involved ensuring participants' informed consent, confidentiality, and their right to withdraw from the study. I carefully reviewed the consent form with each participant before their interview to ensure they understood the interview process, their right to not answer any question, and that any information they shared would be confidential and remain anonymous through the use of a pseudonym. I felt this was important since participants were unfamiliar with research and the research process.

Participants' anonymity was preserved through the use of pseudonyms, which participants were asked to choose for themselves. Several participants did not choose their own pseudonym, so one was chosen for them. To ensure participants' anonymity within photographs which might depict themselves or others, faces and any other uniquely identifying markers were digitally blurred for any photograph used within the research or any presentation. This was also approved by the ORE and conveyed in both the participant and parent information letters, as well as the participant and parent consent forms.

I was also aware that this study might raise sensitive issues for participants. If participants appeared distressed or expressed a desire to speak further with someone following the interview, I was prepared to direct them to speak with a school guidance counsellor who could connect them with further resources if desired. No participant appeared distressed or expressed that they wished to speak further with someone.

4.8 Credibility

Since the research process itself sought to facilitate the personal empowerment and positive social change of participants, they were given the opportunity to provide feedback on the accuracy of their transcripts as well as their comfortability with what they had shared during the interview. Two participants provided several revisions to their transcript to clarify their meanings or to correct specific details mentioned. Other participants simply indicated that they were comfortable with the transcript as it was. Only one participant did not in some way reply. In addition to verifying the transcripts, participants were also sent their personal profile, a three-page outline of the findings, and the full findings. All nine participants responded and provided their approval of the findings. This respondent validation, or member checks, enhanced the credibility of the research (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009). In addition, findings were reported using ‘rich, thick description’ in order to offer readers detail and context and to improve the research validity (Creswell, 2009).

Chapter Five: Findings

Before exploring the findings, it is important to situate each participant within the context of some of the key factors which have shaped her experiences. As adolescent girls, gender and age were central components of identity for participants. As diverse adolescent girls, additional components of identity included race, ethnicity, and religion. Below, I provide an overview of all participants as well as individual profiles for each participant (identified by their pseudonym).

5.1 Participant Profiles

The nine participants in this study were between the ages of 14-19 years of age. All participants were highschool students in the Kitchener-Waterloo area (in grades ranging from nine to twelve). Five participants were African-Canadians who originated from several countries in Africa. Four participants were Arab-Canadians, from two countries in the Middle East (Iraq and Afghanistan). Five participants identified as Muslim and four participants identified as Christian (several denominations). All participants were immigrants to Canada, whose length of time in Canada ranged from one to ten years. No family income information was available given that no parental questionnaire was returned.

Rose (17 years old)

Rose was born in Baghdad, Iraq, where she lived until she was eight years old. She and her family left Baghdad because of the war and went to Syria, where they lived for five years. Rose and her family came to Canada, first briefly to Winnipeg, and then to Kitchener. They have lived in Canada for about three years. Rose lives with her mother and father and is the middle child between two brothers. She is a Muslim. Rose's leisure includes her favourite activity, art, as well as playing soccer and tennis. She also enjoys reading and is currently writing her own novel.

Noora (15 years old)

Noora was born in Baghdad, Iraq, and lived there until she and her family went to Syria, when she was seven years old. She and her family lived in Syria for six years until coming to Canada a year ago. Noora lives with her mother and father and has a younger brother and sister. She is a Muslim. Her leisure includes reading, photography, soccer and badminton. She also enjoys helping others.

Amira (14 years old)

Amira was born in Baghdad, Iraq, and lived there for seven years. She and her mother, father, and younger sister then went to Syria where they lived for about six years. Amira and her family came to Canada just over a year ago. She is a Muslim. Amira's leisure includes reading, writing (fictional stories and journaling), drawing and cooking. She also plays basketball, soccer, and badminton.

Salima (18 years old)

Salima was born in Afghanistan. She and her family left Afghanistan because of the war and went to Pakistan as refugees, where they lived for four years. Salima's family then returned to Afghanistan, but she left on a scholarship as part of an exchange program. Through this program, she studied in the United States for almost a year. She then came to Canada by herself about two years ago and lives here with a host family. Salima's mother, father, sister and two brothers are back in Afghanistan. She is a Muslim. Salima's leisure includes watching movies and television and spending time with friends.

Hana (19 years old)

Hana is from Ethiopia, Africa. She was raised there by her maternal grandparents after her mother left when she was about one a half years old to pursue education in the United States

and then come to Canada. Hana joined her mother and younger half-sister in Canada about two and half years ago. She is a Muslim. Hana's leisure includes reading, baking, volunteering and supporting environmental causes.

Nia (16 years old)

Nia is from Ghana, Africa, where she lived until she was seven years old. Nia has lived in Canada for about ten years, residing in several southern Ontario cities. She currently lives with her mother, and previously also with her older brother. She is a Christian. Nia loves fashion, listening to music and social media sites. Her leisure also includes reading, watching movies, cooking and baking. She also enjoys active leisure such as dancing, playing basketball, and working out.

Murungi (18 years old)

Murungi was born in Rwanda, Africa, where she was raised with one brother by her grandmother after she became separated from her mother during the Rwandan genocide. Murungi lived in Rwanda until she was twelve and moved to Uganda to attend a boarding school there for three years. She then came to Canada about three years ago and joined her mother and the rest of her family for the first time. She now lives with her large family of nine people, including her mother, step-father, five younger brothers and one younger sister. She is a Protestant Christian. Murungi's leisure includes dancing, watching movies, reading, and playing badminton.

Decontee (16 years old)

Decontee is from Liberia, Africa. She came to Canada seven years ago. She lives with her mother and younger brother. While her father is Muslim and her mother is Catholic, she has devoted herself in Canada to becoming a Jehovah's Witness. Decontee's leisure includes

reading, listening to music and watching television. She also draws and paints, plays the flute, and is learning the violin and ballet.

Sanura (18 years old)

Sanura was born Sudan, Africa, but only lived there for one year. She grew up in Kenya, where she lived until she was fifteen years old. She came to Canada about three years ago, first to New Brunswick, where she lived for a year. She then came to southern Ontario and lives with her mother and two younger sisters. She is a Catholic Christian. Sanura's leisure includes dancing, reading, singing and babysitting. She also speaks five languages!

Findings

Data analysis of the interviews with participants revealed four themes that described girls' leisure experiences, constraints, negotiations and resistances. Each theme is further classified into several sub-themes to reflect their complexity. Collectively, the themes speak to the journeys that each girl has undertaken and continues to experience. One pivotal journey for girls was clearly their immigration from their home country to Canada. In addition to this physical journey, girls are also travelling to and from interior landscapes in their continuing journeys to assert an evolving sense of self, or identity. While this often difficult quest is particular to adolescence, it becomes more circuitous for immigrant adolescents as they navigate changes both within their self and their environment. As immigrant adolescent girls, participants often faced additional challenges in charting their own course. These themes explore the challenges – or constraints – to leisure that girls experienced both back home and in Canada. Significantly, the themes also elucidate the many ways girls negotiated leisure constraints and also resisted limiting societal norms, including gender ideologies. Crucially, girls' constraints, negotiations, and resistances often existed within their multiple intersections of gender, race,

ethnicity, and religion. Specifically, the first theme, *Points of departure: Mapping life “back home”*, charts where girls’ journeys began, back home. *“A different world”*: *Encountering leisure constraints in Canada* is the second theme, which discusses the constraints girls experienced in Canada. The third theme, *“You have to try new things”*: *Navigating constraints and resistances in Canada*, describes girls’ constraint negotiations in Canada as well as their resistance to various forms of societal prejudice. Lastly, the fourth theme, *“This is what I brought from home”*: *Unpacking cultural intersections through leisure*, deconstructs some of girls’ experiences of cultural intersections and their continuing influences in Canada on girls’ leisure and identities.

5.2 Points of departure: Mapping life “back home”

Each participant spoke often about her experiences “back home.” For some girls, “back home” referred specifically to the country where they were born and where they lived until coming to Canada. For many girls, however, “back home” referred more generally to their larger geographical area of origin – Africa or the Middle East – if they lived in multiple countries, each for a number of years. It became clear that girls’ experiences “back home” were indeed crucial points of departure for their navigations of leisure and their developing identities. The landscape of girls’ lives back home included structural constraints as well as gender constraints and resistances. Girls’ points of departure conclude with some of their experiences of leaving home to embark on a new journey to Canada.

5.2.1 Structural constraints

Mapping girls’ life back home begins by exploring some of the structural constraints they encountered. That is, constraints that arose from external conditions within their environment. One area of structural constraints several girls discussed involved their education system and

schools back home. School is typically a central context for adolescents, where they can develop important life skills and interests, both personally and socially. However, the constraints participants experienced with their schools and education back home affected their opportunities for leisure in several ways. For instance, one participant did not learn a key skill at school, how to read, which meant she could not develop leisure interests that involved reading. Sanura explained how the education she received in Kenya, where she lived until she was fifteen, left her unable to read:

Education wasn't good [back home]. You don't understand a lot 'cause your classes take only 35 minutes . . . There, the teachers are so rude. You don't learn anything at all. You can't even read, you can't write . . . It doesn't matter if you're eighteen or if you're in grade seven, they just mix up [different grades together] 'cause there's just a few classes in the school . . . I didn't learn how to read, [but] I kept going [to school] . . . [because] I could just do class work. (Sanura)

Another way in which educational constraints could affect girls' leisure was by limiting their access to school and thereby to potential personal and social benefits with leisure implications, such as developing interests and making friends. Access to school could be limited, or prevented entirely, when school was an unsafe place. Amira discussed the unfairness and fear she experienced in the school system in Syria, where her family moved from Iraq when she was in grade two:

School [was bad]. [The] teacher was . . . allowed to hit people . . . like students . . . I was very surprised when I went to school and I saw that. I was in grade two when I went to Syria. I couldn't go to school when I saw that. I stayed at home for one year. I lost a year . . . Lots of [students] . . . lost their year because they're just afraid of the teacher. They couldn't study . . . Like, teachers don't listen to you. If [they] say, 'Did you do your homework?' they don't listen, they just hit you or . . . send you home . . . Teachers [there] don't respect students . . . [It's] just the students [that] should respect teachers and teachers can do whatever they want. (Amira)

While some girls' experiences with school back home limited what they were able to learn, either because instruction was lacking or because they were too afraid to even attend, other

girls described quite a different structural constraint related to education – a lack of free time, which was directly due to rigorous schools systems. For instance, Noora explained that she had very little free time for leisure in Syria, where she lived from age seven to thirteen, given the expectations for even elementary school students to have about seven hours of daily homework:

In Syria and Iraq, we used to study a lot. I had a lot of homework . . . like three times [the homework in Canada] . . . So we don't have lots of time . . . And you don't have time there for reading, or [to] enjoy yourself . . . [In a typical day], I wake up, go to school . . . from 7:30[am] to 2[pm] . . . When I get home, I just eat and go to my room and study. [I would] study [until] ten o'clock . . . [So from] three to ten . . . [That's what students need to do] if they want to do [well in school] . . . [For] students [back home, schoolwork is] too much . . . [But,] that's life. (Noora)

Hana shared a similar sentiment about the difficulty of school back home and the lack of free time for leisure that resulted:

[In Ethiopia,] school was really hard. What I used to learn in grade seven [back home], I finished in grade ten when I came here . . . So [back home], you don't really have the time to actually hang out with your friends because it's a lot of [studying] . . . So we didn't have the time to actually have fun. (Hana)

Sanura conveyed how the structural constraint of a lacking educational system, described above, could lead to the interpersonal constraint of being teased and even shunned by others for not being able to read, which could clearly affect opportunities for developing friendships:

[Back home, in school,] some students don't know [how] to read [like me] . . . I [saw] there [that] if you don't know how to read, some people [are] teasing you. [They would say,] 'You don't know how to read. She's so lazy, she's not very educated.' They don't talk to [you]. But, when people help you, you can learn. But, if they do not help you, you don't learn anything . . . [So] instead of helping you, they tease you. They're like, 'Don't sit with her; she doesn't know how to read. She will take your knowledge; don't stay with her [and] don't share anything with her.' (Sanura)

Another significant area of structural constraints girls discussed was dangerous environments. The hazards, and frequently widespread lack of safety, many girls experienced back home had clear implications for leisure. Namely, that leisure was often severely constrained

in terms of the freedom and sense of security that are necessary precursors to leisure. For example, Sanura commented on the vigilance required to simply walk around outside, in order to avoid stepping on items which may be infected with HIV:

There [in Africa], people walk barefoot; [with] no shoes . . . [But, you need to] be careful of yourself [about] HIV . . . because maybe you will step on [something] and then spread a disease . . . You can get sick, like [through] the thing that [people] cut themselves [with], [razors], . . . or [through] injection things. So when you're walking, [you need to] be careful [and] look at the floor 'cause people use it and they just want to infect others; they don't care. Instead of putting it away; they don't care. (Sanura)

Most of the girls have survived a war, or even multiple wars, back home. They candidly described the often extreme lack of safety they and their families experienced:

In my country, [in Iraq], after the war, it was really unsafe. Like, they can just take you and that's it. Like, your parents call and they say, 'Give us a million dollars' and we'll give your daughter back. But, when you give them [the money], they just kill your daughter and give her to you. They were like, 'We give [you] your daughter; she's dead.' . . . So this left something in us . . . Like, the school was in front of my home, but I can't go by myself . . . it was not safe. Even with my father or mom, they can kill them in front of me . . . I saw lots of dead people in front of my eyes . . . I'm standing and there is a man [who] just got shot in front of me. I was in the school . . . That happened a lot . . . Even at home, you don't feel safe. (Amira)

Back home, the safety is very bad . . . Baghdad and Syria now have really bad conditions and too many people are killed every day . . . Like, if you are working or something, if you are asking for rights or freedom, . . . they might fire you or kill you . . . If you say that the president is not a fair person, they kill you . . . And that's what happened in Syria. [People were] just asking for their freedom, and the Assad just killed them . . . I escaped from Syria to [Canada], [but] I don't know what happened to my friends. (Noora)

For some girls, their experiences of war not only impacted their safety during the time of war, but also sometimes had more lasting impacts, which involved their families being separated, either temporarily or for years. Since adolescents lives are largely influenced by their family, major changes or disruptions in their family structure would also likely impact their leisure. Murungi explained that she became separated from her mother during the Rwandan genocide, and ended up being raised by her grandmother:

There was a war, so I got split with my mom . . . The [war] that happened in Rwanda, the genocide . . . So that happened and then my mom [and] I went separate ways . . . I'm not sure about [how] that [happened], all I know is [I ended up in] . . . my grandmother's arms . . . I don't know about my dad. (Murungi)

Amira described how her father needed to leave Iraq for Syria because his safety was in jeopardy, which left Amira's mother alone with her and her younger sister:

My dad went to Syria because . . . they were after him . . . They were always watching him . . . sometimes the American soldiers and sometimes Iraqi . . . I don't know [why] he was [being watched]. They just do that . . . After that, [they] will shoot you . . . [for] no reason . . . [So] he decided to go to Syria. But, we can't go with him . . . [So] my mom was alone with [my sister and I]. My [grandparents] . . . were [also] in Iraq . . . [but] most of the time, we can't go to see my grandpa and my grandma because of the [war] . . . My mother faced a hard time . . . She had to go shopping [and do everything by herself] . . . It was very hard for a woman in a war. (Amira)

Participants encountered significant structural constraints to leisure back home, including their education systems and dangerous environments. Educational constraints affected girls' opportunities for leisure by impeding their development of skills, interests, and friendships, as well as limiting free time for leisure. Constraints related to dangerous environments restricted girls' movements and their sense of security and freedom, which are central to experiencing leisure. While these structural constraints were likely also experienced by many other individuals in participants' environments back home, they also faced unique constraints as girls.

5.2.2 Gender constraints

In addition to structural constraints, girls' experiences back home were often limited by gender constraints. These constraints involved varying intersections of gender, religion, and ethnicity, or culture, more broadly. One major area of gender constraints concerns societal expectations which functioned to restrict what girls were able to do and where they could go. These restrictions often meant that girls were required to remain largely at home, performing a litany of domestic responsibilities and other gendered expectations. These gender expectations

impacted their free time, often leaving little time for personal leisure. This is evident in Decontee's description of a typical day back home, where chores started early in the morning and were required before being allowed to go to school:

I woke up early in the mornings, like [at] six . . . My school starts at 7:30 . . . but I have to go do house chores before I go to school or I wasn't going to school . . . I go to school and school ends [at] probably 1 or 2 or so. [I] come home, do the chores . . . Like, wash dishes for sure, get some water [from the well], go to the market . . . [Then I would] sweep the house, clean [the] yard . . . [And then I would] study. (Decontee)

For some girls, such as Decontee, gender expectations around domestic chores impacted not only their free time, but potentially their education as well given that certain chores needed to be completed before they could go to school. For other girls, their domestic responsibilities could impact their education if they were too exhausted from doing chores to meet strict school rules, such as prompt attendance and wearing a uniform. As Sanura explained, the repercussions for not adhering to school rules (regardless of the reasons) meant 'choosing' between being beaten or missing classes to clean the school:

When you come late to class, they take the stick, [and] beat you up [or] you have to clean the whole school . . . I did that myself 'cause I [was] late. [Also,] they have uniforms you [have to] wear. I remember one day, I forgot [to wear my uniform]. I came from school, I took my uniform [off] and then I put it in my room. I went to fetch water for my family, I came out [and] I was so tired, I fell asleep. Then, I got up in the morning, I thought, 'Omigod, my uniform is dirty, [but] I don't want to miss school today.' So, I just put [on] my [regular] clothes and I went like [that] . . . [The] teacher [said there's] 'No excuse.' [So he hit me] with a stick. They hit you five times [and] your hand becomes really red . . . Sometimes they say, 'Choose your punishment. Do you want to clean [or get hit]?' Then I was like, 'Okay, I'm going to take the [hitting] punishment . . . [because cleaning is] going to take a long day. I have to go to class, just beat me. I don't care' . . . Most people do that . . . Some people who are really sick of the beating thing, they go, 'I'm going to clean' . . . So if you're late [for school], you get a punishment, no excuse . . . [So there are] just hard rules. (Sanura)

Murungi was raised by her grandmother in Rwanda, who had taken care of all of the domestic responsibilities. When Murungi came to Uganda for two years to attend boarding school there, she was only then confronted with the expectations for girls to cook and clean. She commented

that she did not have the expected proficiency in cooking, and was particularly frustrated with the difficulty of peeling a Ugandan fruit:

[Back home, in Rwanda,] girls [are expected to cook] once they get to know how to cook . . . [But my grandma] did everything for me . . . Girls [in Uganda] were [also] expected to know how to cook, which I didn't know. And they were expected to peel this [Ugandan fruit]. It's really hard [to peel] without cutting any piece of it . . . So if I wanted to cook, I don't want [people] to see how I'm peeling, so I have to lock myself inside and peel it . . . It was really frustrating . . . [Girls] are expected to know how to do it . . . They were expected to stay home . . . or, according to my neighbours, [because] most of the time I lived in school. But then whenever I come home, I see girls staying at home cooking and cleaning. (Murungi)

Rose voiced her indignation with the discrepancies in treatment and expectations between boys and girls that she perceived back home. These gender disparities meant restrictions for girls' freedom to do and go where they wanted and suggested differential treatment for Rose and her brothers:

I fight with my mother, I told her, 'Okay, if I was a boy, I can do everything I want easily' . . . Because, in our country, girls should be at home and [should] do the [domestic] stuff and this kind of thing. And boys can go everywhere. My dad wants all of my brothers to do that too. (Rose)

Societal expectations for girls to stay at home were sometimes extreme, maintained by social surveillance and sanctioning, and could result in dire repercussions. Amira discussed the view held by some people back home, in the Middle East, that girls should never leave the house:

Some people back home . . . in my country, they're just crazy. They just think that girls should not go outside. I thank God it's not my family . . . Some people think like that . . . [that girls should] stay home, just doing home stuff . . . I don't like [that]. Especially in my country, like people, when you do something, they just talk. Like, 'Did you see what she did?' or something like that. I hate this . . . And sometimes [girls] can throw themselves out the window or something. They just get [to that point]. I just heard [about this happening]. And some girls [are] satisfied with [only staying inside]. They feel that's a good way. They think we're bad girls who go out. (Amira)

Adding to restrictions around girls and women leaving the house, Amira further explained that many women back home do not work outside the home. She specifically commented on how she felt this was unfair – for men:

Most women over there [in Iraq], they don't work . . . We think work is only for men; women don't have to work . . . Sometimes I feel like it's not fair . . . because [men] work and work and work. [It's not fair] for the men . . . Women just sit and just talk to each other. And men work all the time and all the worry. This is unfair. (Amira)

Societal emphasis on women's domestic responsibilities and roles, coupled with lacking educational opportunities, meant that 'a lot' of girls could not envision lives for themselves outside of the domestic sphere. Sanura explained how girls are not allowed to date, but that many do because they have negative experiences with school, which lead them to quit school, marry young, and become mothers:

In Africa, [our society] doesn't want us [girls] to [have sex] at all . . . There, they say you're not even allowed to have a boyfriend. Girls and boys just normally don't do [that], but some of them do; they date secretly . . . Some people are doing it because they already focused enough [on school] and they didn't get what they want so they just go and get married. Some people get married at the age of fourteen . . . [or] fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen . . . [But,] mostly fourteen . . . There are a lot of people out there that say, 'I don't want to go to school.' Most of the girls, they don't go to school anymore; they just quit. [They think], 'I want to be a mom. I don't want to go to school, 'cause even if I keep going every day, I learn nothing.' [They can't get a good] education [and there's] bullying . . . [People] look at you, [and say], 'You're not smart.' [There's] bullying by both] students [and teachers], because the teachers are really mean. (Sanura)

A second major area of gender constraints concerns societal proscriptions for girls' interactions with males. These constraints can limit leisure opportunities because they dictate with whom and how girls can interact. These gendered proscriptions for girls' interactions with males also can compel strict monitoring of girls' behaviour, and sometimes incur harsh consequences when they are not followed. Rose discussed how, for her, being a Muslim girl means that she cannot share certain 'nice' attributes of herself in settings with boys, such as singing on stage in front of a (mixed gender) audience:

I would never go and stand on a stage and sing in front of many people with my hijab. I won't do that. Because, in our country and since you are Muslims, you don't have to give your voice to every single boy to hear how you sing or how you change your voice and make it nice. Because they say that would let the boy chase you at the end. I won't do that. (Rose)

Salima explained Afghanistan society's 'more strict' treatment of girls and women, which meant that girls could not date, or even go somewhere with a guy, whereas guys could more freely interact with girls:

I am a woman, obviously, so there are things that women should do or can do or whatever . . . [especially] back home in Afghanistan. It's not my family [that says this], but the society is a little more strict on women than men . . . Like, if a man want[s] to go somewhere and then just have fun with friends, it's not a big deal. But then, if a girl want[s] to go with a guy, then it's a problem, not for the guy but for the girl. Because, as part of being Muslim, you're not allowed to date. At least in Afghanistan, it's part of the culture. It's not the same in every country . . . I never thought of dating because I was pretty young when I was in Afghanistan. But, that is something [that] women can't do in Afghanistan. (Salima)

Sanura discussed Kenyan society's restrictions for girls and boys interacting, which included gender segregation in schools and not being allowed to date. Although these restrictions apply to both girls and boys, defying them, by dating for instance, carried a disproportionately harsher punishment for girls, which could even be fatal:

[In school], boys don't stay with girls. In class, you don't talk . . . There [are] girls in the same room as boys, but the middle [of the classroom] is empty. [It's like] boys [are on] that side, girls [are on] that side . . . 'Cause we're not allowed [to date]. But [there are] people [that] want to, like girls they want to, [so] they date secretly. [But, if someone finds out], I know in other regions, they kill their daughters. Sometimes, some parents they just would do [that]. Sometimes they say no, it's not necessary, [so they] don't follow the region [rules] . . . [It's really] depending on the parent . . . [But,] sometimes a lot of people [receive that] punishment. (Sanura)

Sanura further explained that sometimes girls who are caught in a relationship could avoid the death 'punishment' by marrying the man they are in a relationship with, even if this 'relationship' involves statutory rape, as she described in a situation which happened to a young friend of hers:

I had this one friend who was fourteen and then she had this relationship and then she was pregnant. The next day, she had a baby, [and] I was like, ‘What?!’ She was fourteen and she got married. I was like, ‘Omigod.’ There was an old man who impregnated her. So he went to the girl’s parents and gave them money . . . He was rich. [He gave the money] and took the girl. (Sanura)

A third, and last, major area of gender constraints for girls back home are constraints around girls and physical activity, including sports. Physical activity often highlights, and even exaggerates, limiting societal views about girls’ bodies, their sexuality, and accompanying restrictions for clothing and movement. As Noora explained, “It’s not common [back home for girls to play sports] . . . like in teams, no. But if you play in the courtyard with your family, it’s okay . . . [But playing on a team] there, I didn’t hear those things for girls.” Hana explained that she was not allowed to play soccer back home in Ethiopia, despite her interest, because her grandfather, with whom she lived, held certain views (which she felt were representative of her culture) about Muslim girls playing active sports such as soccer:

Back home, I really wanted to play soccer . . . My grandpa wasn’t that religious [of a] person, [but] he still wants you to be like the [rest of the] family. [Like be] how his uncles’ daughters [are] like, [with] how they dress or how they act or where they go. So, if I wanted to go join the soccer team, or if I wanted to play soccer [in a] pro league, that’s not what a girl does. That’s not what you were supposed to do. [He] just [wanted me to] stay home and play with the other girls or whatever, [and not do] active sports. [So] I did not [play soccer because of] my grandpa. I didn’t want to push him too much. He started [objecting] just from how you dress when you play soccer. [He said,] ‘You’re not going to dress like that, you’re not going to wear shorts’ . . . and ‘That’s not what girls do.’ No, that’s too masculine, I guess . . . [He wanted me] to choose something that girls usually do . . . I think he was really worried about what the people would think if he [let me play soccer] . . . [because I’m] a Muslim woman. (Hana)

Murungi commented on her frustrations with the physical activity restrictions for girls she encountered when she came to live in Uganda for two years. As she learned from her schoolmates (after much confusion and bewilderment), these cultural restrictions involved notions of keeping girls’ hymens intact by forbidding any overt physical activity. As such, these

restrictions on girls' physical activity are directly connected to beliefs about (and attempts to control) girls' sexuality:

In Uganda, 'cause I lived there for two years, girls weren't allowed to do certain things. They weren't allowed to play in certain sports, like soccer . . . 'Cause the girls [are] not strong enough like boys . . . And girls can't bike . . . Same thing [with] climbing trees . . . [because they say they change your body] in certain ways. [So] I just couldn't [do them, even though] I love doing all of those [things] . . . [So] I got really frustrated, especially [because] Uganda is a country that has many fruits. You see fruit in the trees, you can't climb it [to] get your own fruit. You have a bike, you can't bike it; you can't ride it. (Murungi)

When I asked what would happen if someone saw a girl ride a bike or climb a tree, for instance, Murungi vividly explained the powerful social sanctions that would occur:

The reactions [would be that] people [are] going to get disappointed at you saying, 'You're spoiled. You're that kind of girl who doesn't listen' . . . [And] they think you're cursed or something . . . They treat you differently, like you've been cursed by something. It's like, 'Come on, I just climbed the tree.' [But] they [say], 'Oh you're never going to get married. You're never going to do this' . . . The look they give you is not really good . . . And also, the way they talk to you there, it's like they feel they have power on you. They want to show what you did was really wrong. (Murungi)

The gender constraints that girls faced back home all impinged on their personal freedom, which greatly impacted their opportunities for leisure. Girls experienced gendered expectations that kept them at home, proscriptions for interactions with males, and restrictions on physical activities. These gender constraints limited their leisure opportunities by affecting their free time, options for leisure settings, and the kinds of leisure they could experience. Despite these challenging gender constraints, girls found meaningful ways to resist limiting gender ideologies.

5.2.3 Gender resistances

Girls encountered a number of both structural and gender constraints back home. They did not discuss negotiating any structural constraints, perhaps because these often involved widespread conditions of their environment, such as a lack of safety due to war. Girls did, however, share some of the ways they were able to sometimes resist gender constraints and the

limiting cultural gender ideologies they represent. For instance, Rose explained how she decided she did not need to wear her hijab, or head covering, in front of her male cousins. This small personal resistance suggests her questioning of her religion's expectation that the hijab be worn in front of all male extended family members:

I usually don't wear my hijab in front of my cousins because these are my cousins, I was just born with them . . . We [are supposed to] have to wear it [around male family members], but since I feel like they are my brothers and they already got married, so why should I care? (Rose)

Murungi had the experience of contrasting the cultures of two African countries, Rwanda and Uganda. As with other things, she discovered that the expectations and customs were quite different in Uganda than what she was used to in Rwanda. She explained how she questioned and would not participate in one such different custom, which only applied to girls and women:

It's really different [in different African countries] . . . [Like, in] Uganda, [when you're] greeting a person, if it's an older person, you have to kneel down, which I hate . . . You kneel down [for] anybody older. You kneel down and you greet the person [every time you see them]. [But] I never did it . . . It wasn't challenging [society deliberately], it was just [that] I didn't really like kneeling down all the time for who[ever] you don't even know . . . [People] knew I wasn't a Ugandan, 'cause you can easily tell. So they don't really mind, but they mind a little bit so [they would say,] 'Oh you have to learn our culture' and all that . . . [With this custom,] guys don't kneel, but girls do . . . [I was like,] 'Why are the girls [having] to kneel down? Boys don't have to kneel down' . . . They didn't tell me [why] . . . [At first,] I didn't even know what to do when you kneel down or what to say. There are certain words you say . . . I [eventually] learn[ed], but I never did it anyway . . . It made me feel bad a little bit . . . [because people would] think that you don't want to listen; you're that kind of person . . . [But,] in my belief, I thought you shouldn't kneel [for] anyone unless you're praying. That's [what] I believe . . . When I was kneeling down, I felt like I was worshipping a person, like that person is higher . . . I never really [thought it made sense]. (Murungi)

Amira described how both she and her family did not care what others said, in terms of some people back home who believe that girls should not leave the house at all. Amira insisted that these views were not a reflection of what is required within her religion or her culture. Her firm

rejection of these views, and the people who hold them, is one way of resisting cultural gender oppression:

I'm not doing something bad. I'm not doing something against my religion or my culture. It's not a part of my culture to stay inside . . . It doesn't matter. People said to me, 'You're wrong.' But they're wrong; there is nothing that says that [girls and women have to stay inside the house] . . . I had a friend [and told her] I was hanging out with another friend, like I was just going to her home. She was like, 'How can you go to her home, she has a brother?' . . . My friend [said this]. I was like, 'Why do you care?' She said, 'People are going to say you're a bad girl.' I was like, 'I don't care!' We're not doing something bad. We're respecting our culture. There is nothing bad. And then she said, 'My parents said that.' And I was like, 'I don't care.' . . . [Saying that] made me feel better. I said what's inside of me. (Amira)

Murungi described how she played co-ed handball in Uganda. She and some of her other female team mates excelled at this game, and were respected for their skill by their male team mates.

This seems to be one way of resisting a very patriarchal culture:

It was a little hard because [the guys] push you around, but it was [also] really good . . . because most of the time we [girls] were good. We were better than [the guys]. [We were better than] some of them because we could jump higher than them. And [handball] needs jumping and shooting. So [the guys] respect you because you were better . . . I like [handball] because I found it was the only sport that I can really, really like. And it was just amazing . . . [to] know that you can do something. (Murungi)

Sanura described how she and other adolescent girls (and sometimes their mothers) wrote and performed annual drama productions for Women's Rights Day to educate other girls and women about their rights. These dramas are a powerful example of resisting various forms of gender

oppression:

[Back home], we have [an] organization called Care, and then the United Nations . . . [and] they ask teens to participate [in] Women's Rights Day . . . [So, I was part of this] big production that [was] made by students in Africa . . . We [were] doing drama [for] people to see what [Women's Rights Day] is based on. So, for example, we [would have] someone play a man [and] someone play a woman. The man [would be] bad; [he would] beat the woman. Then we [would] say the woman would have a right to run away; to leave the man . . . Mostly, we share with women [what to do] if your husband doesn't treat you right. 'Cause, in Africa, [some] husbands are bad. If they tell you do this [and] you don't, [then] they beat you and they chase you out of the house. So we [are] just telling all the women, 'You have rights! If your husband doesn't treat you right, you have

to go to report to someone.’ [Because] some people there, they kill their wife. So if you don’t follow their rules, they will murder you. So then we tell [women], ‘If your husband is starting [to] act badly, just stand up for yourself and go report to [a] big organization or go to the police.’ So we just say that we women, we have [the] right to do anything we want . . . So that [is] what we’re doing for women, and even girls too . . . [Because] of course, I saw a lot [of domestic] violence [in Africa]. (Sanura)

Sanura also explained that these dramas share important messages about women controlling their own bodies, in terms of wearing what they want and protecting themselves from HIV/AIDS:

Some women’s husbands say that women are not allowed to wear shorts . . . They say, ‘You don’t have to wear pants; you just have to wear a skirt’ . . . They say, ‘Don’t show your body too much’ . . . But we say women have the right to wear anything they want . . . [We say] women should not have to follow [any]one. We’re like, ‘You have [the] right to wear what you want. No one can bother you; it’s your body! . . . [We also say] ‘Girls, protect yourself . . . [from] HIV/AIDS’ . . . If someone [is] paying too much attention to you, [if they’re] like, ‘Oh, I want that person’ don’t do that. Just protect yourself, ‘cause mostly people just spread diseases. (Sanura)

Public forms of gender resistance, such as these Women’s Rights Day dramas, have an important potential to educate women, to connect them with understanding and support, and to begin to break the cycles of gender oppression. Sanura shared how some women in the audience reacted when they saw these performances:

Some of [the women] cry. [They said,] ‘Oh, that’s a beautiful drama.’ They love it, it’s amazing. Because some of them, they don’t even know what to do . . . They never heard that message [before]. [So] we would just tell them [and] we just encourage them . . . Then later, [after the performance], they come [talk to us and] ask us [questions]. We’re telling them [if any of] this happened to you, stand up [for yourself]. We say women have rights to do everything they want to do. (Sanura)

Participants enacted various forms of gender resistance, sometimes specifically through leisure. Some of these gender resistances were collective efforts and occurred in public leisure contexts, such as co-ed sports or community dramas. Other gender resistances by participants were more personal and impacted their own sense of empowerment, even in subtle ways. These more personal resistances involved challenging restrictive religious or cultural gender norms.

These gender resistances, and all of the girls' experiences back home, formed the contours of their personal maps, which expanded as they prepared to leave home for Canada.

5.2.4 Leaving home for Canada

Girls' particular experiences back home often varied immensely as they were uniquely influenced by different structural and gender constraints as well as their own resistances to limiting cultural gender ideologies and oppressions. All girls in this study, however, experienced leaving their homes to immigrate to Canada. Their reasons for leaving home and for choosing Canada were also varied. For many girls, they and their families left home because it was no longer safe because of war. For instance, Amira and her family had already left Iraq, their country of origin, because of war, and came to Syria. They then needed to leave Syria when it also became too dangerous. Amira explained, "It was safer [in Syria than in Iraq], until the strike . . . started there. And it started to get bad and bad and bad. Then we came here [to Canada]." Rose and her family also experienced leaving Iraq for Syria, and then leaving Syria for Canada. Rose expressed the difficulty of realizing, and accepting, that she needed to leave behind again everything she knew:

I [had] spent about three-four years [in Syria]. I like[d] it [there] . . . And then suddenly, my dad said, 'We have to move to Canada' . . . because we knew that the same thing that happened in my country [in Iraq], can happen in Syria because they are so close. We [had] started to hear about some problems from the people. And then my brother has autism. So the people told us that there is nothing that can help him in Arabic countries because [of] all the technology and the wars that had happened. So you have to move to another country, like America or Canada, they might help him . . . So, we came by the United Nations and then they [agreed to] move us. And then I got kind of cracked again 'cause like, 'Why do we have to move? I just like it [here].' [But, my dad] said, 'No, there is no other choice anymore' . . . [Then I agreed that] the setting is not safe enough, I've got to leave . . . [and] I felt I don't have to get selfish, just [thinking about] myself, because my brother needs help. And the future can't be that huge future, like [Canada] . . . I went and said goodbye to all the girls [at school who were my friends] . . . [and] I said goodbye to my teachers. Some people from our family came to visit us because we

[were] going a long distance . . . I was just crying, because I'm [going] so far from my country; there's no hope. After a month, we got ready and then we went to the airplane at night . . . I was so, so mad. (Rose)

Salima had participated in a one-year scholarship exchange program, where she had studied in the United States. When her program ended, she was supposed to return back home to Afghanistan. Instead, she made the bold decision that she wanted to continue studying and to receive a good education, which she felt was not possible as a woman in Afghanistan. She decided to immigrate to Canada on her own, at the age of only sixteen. Her brave decision resisted the more limited options and notions of women and education in her home country as she actively sought to create new opportunities for herself by coming to Canada.

When my program was over, I had to [go] back [home], [but] then it suddenly hit me that I wanted to study more. I wanted to go to university . . . You can go to university [back home] but the education opportunity in the schooling is not as great because they just recently started the schools and stuff for women and all after [the] war. So it's improving, but it's not as great . . . [It's] probably [only been] ten, fifteen years [that women could go to university in Afghanistan] . . . There are separate schools for boys, separate schools for girls . . . I [would] like to get a job and I just . . . wanted to have some options. So I decided to come [to Canada] because that's the only place I knew that I could go. (Salima)

Participants' points of departure from their life back home included experiences of both constraints and resistances. The structural and gender constraints girls encountered limited the kinds of leisure they could access, their availability of free time for leisure, and ultimately their freedom to explore their environment and themselves. Gender constraints presented additional restrictions on girls' freedom to enjoy leisure of their own choosing, often with harsh repercussions for not adhering to cultural gender norms. Participants' resistances to gender constraints, however, demonstrate powerful possibilities for personal and collective empowerment. When it became clear that girls needed to leave their home, they embarked on their journey to Canada, unsure of what they would discover and who they would become.

5.3 “A different world”: Encountering leisure constraints in Canada

Girls travelled across the world to their Canadian destination. Here, they encountered many challenges adjusting to life in Canada, which often felt like “a different world” from their lives back home. These challenges included structural, intrapersonal, and interpersonal constraints to leisure. Girls also contended with racism and gender constraints in their new Canadian home.

5.3.1 *Structural constraints*

The cold Canadian winter often struck girls when they came to Canada. This was especially true for girls who had immigrated from the hot climate of Africa. Sanura explained that she had seen pictures of Canada in a book back home, but these pictures only showed Canada in the summer, so she was very surprised when she arrived in Canada during winter, “I came in February, when it was snowing. So, I put my boots on and my big jacket on. I’m like, ‘Omigod, this is not how I imagined Canada would be!’ Because I saw it in [pictures during] the summer and I was like, ‘Oh this is beautiful.’” Nia explained that during summer, her leisure activities in Canada and back home were largely the same. However, during winter, the weather could be a significant factor in constraining her leisure:

Here [in Canada], in summer time, the activities were almost the same as Ghana, ‘cause it’s hot 24/7 and I’m outside 24/7, so it kind of felt like home. But then when winter comes, I’m just like, ‘Ugh, no.’ It’s not really the same as [back] home. . . [For] one, the weather [is different] . . . It snows here! . . . [Often,] it’s cold outside . . . [So] the weather is a big thing . . . If I wake up and I’m like, ‘Ooh, I want to go to a friend’s today’ and I look outside and then there’s snow or it’s cold [I may not want to go] . . . Or [even] going to school, [there’s all the] bundling up. (Nia)

In addition to weather, another environmental factor which constrained some girls’ leisure was the physical environment. Decontee described how her leisure was adversely affected by a very different physical environment in Canada compared to her environment back home:

[Here], when I go [outside], there are cars everywhere and . . . buildings are everywhere . . . [But, back home] there's more open space and people don't drive a lot . . . I would spend all of my time outside doing physical activities with friends. Like, we don't play video games . . . We would walk for [whatever] distance; we don't [have all this] driving time [like here]. And so you walk with friends [and] talk and do things together . . . [In Canada,] it's like you have to drive everywhere . . . I just feel like I have nothing else to do here, so I watch TV . . . I'm much more tired than I would have been back home . . . I get tired and I just sit there . . . Back home, I'll be outside and I'm not worrying about it . . . I miss my country. (Decontee)

Another structural constraint that arose for some girls in Canada was a lack of money, which affected what they could afford to buy and the kind of leisure they could or could not do. Several girls spoke about shopping, a popular leisure activity, and how it was difficult for them to buy the items they needed or wanted. For instance, Sanura needed to purchase some clothes that were suitable for Canadian winters, but found they were expensive, "In Africa, I didn't wear pants . . . I was wearing just skirts and dresses, that's all . . . [But], when I got here [to Canada], it was like, 'It's cold! I have to wear pants' . . . [But], I couldn't afford to buy a ton of pants. You guys [in Canada] have pants that are expensive." Similarly, Nia stated, "Money [is] sometimes [an issue, like] if my friends are going shopping and I don't have the money, it doesn't work out; sometimes I can't go." Decontee highlighted how a lack of money constrains her leisure in Canada, "I just feel like I have nothing else to do here, so I watch TV 'cause everything is costly . . . Money does get in the way, of course. Like, I would totally like to go shopping, but I totally don't have money . . . [and] stuff is so expensive . . . It's hard to buy what you want."

Other girls discussed how a lack of money could affect their participation in school activities. These financial constraints particularly highlighted how as adolescents, girls were often reliant on their parents for money. If their parents were not willing or able to pay for the various costs of certain elective school activities, then usually girls could not participate. For example, Murungi explained that the transportation costs for school field trips were often

prohibitive for her family, especially since her parents have five children in highschool, so they either pay for everyone to participate or for no one, “[If] I’m [wanting to] go on a trip, [like a school] field trip, most of the time, the transportation may be sixty dollars. So that kind of thing stops me [from] going where I want to go. Because, really [with] five people, you need to pay for and it’s all 60 dollars. That’s a lot of money.” The cost of school activities also prevented Nia from participating. She described how she wanted to continue playing on sports teams as she had in elementary school, but that it was too expensive to be on a high school sports team:

I used to play football and volleyball in elementary school . . . [I played on] all girls teams. . . [But] after gym in grade nine, I kind of didn’t do much [in terms of sports]. I want to, but . . . to participate in highschool activities, you have to buy a student card, which is like \$30-35 . . . So probably my mom wouldn’t buy that, so I just didn’t [even try] . . . My friend was in rugby and it was like \$700 to get her whole uniform, like the socks and the pants and the shirt. It costs a lot . . . Everything’s getting so expensive at my school . . . Last year, [my friend] wanted me to join rugby, [but the cost got in the way] mostly . . . [Like], if you’re going somewhere [with a team], everyone has to pitch in [for the costs] . . . [and] probably [if I] asked [my mom], she’d be like, ‘I won’t have it’ . . . [Basically, without money, there’s] no sports, nothing. [I] just go to school and that’s it. (Nia)

In addition to the environment and money, a third structural constraint involves some of the leisure activities girls enjoyed back home not being available, or as readily accessible, in Canada. For example, Hana explained that she can’t easily access books here in her first language, which is her preference for reading, “[I don’t read] as much as I used to read back home because I don’t [have the same] access [to books]. I don’t [have a lot of books in] my language.” Murungi commented that no one had even heard of the sport she played back home, and would have liked to continue playing here:

I liked sports a lot [in Uganda]. I liked playing this game called handball. It’s like basketball but not really. You have to throw [the ball] to another person and you have to shoot the way you shoot for basketball. I was really good at it too. But when I got here [to Canada], they don’t have it . . . I didn’t even have the heart to play basketball. I started searching for handball, but they didn’t have it. They didn’t even know what it was

. . . I asked teachers . . . [but they] didn't know about it, and then I just [gave up on playing] handball [in Canada]. (Murungi)

Not being able to play handball, particularly at school, led Murungi to reflect on the sports that were offered at her school and the emphasis she perceived on certain sports. She offered the suggestion that schools should provide a greater variety of sports:

I feel like sports in school should be added, not just hockey . . . [like a] different variety of sports. Because most of the time, it's all about hockey and basketball. So [people] get lost in [only those sports] . . . So I think they should add more sports [and] . . . different sports in the school. (Murungi)

Finally, a fourth structural constraint for a number of girls in Canada was a lack of time. One factor which contributed to a lack of time, and which is itself another structural constraint, was transportation. Specifically, taking the bus often required a lot of time in order for girls to get to where they wanted to be. Nia lamented, "Sometimes it takes forever just bussing around. I'm just like, 'Ugh, can I just get a ride?' . . . [But] my mom will sometimes be working or sometimes she just won't drive me . . . because she doesn't feel like it or she has better things to do, right? So then bussing takes forever." Salima commented that the time and hassle of taking the bus sometimes discouraged her from wanting to go out, "Sometimes, I don't want to go [out to something] . . . [because of] the hassle of taking the bus places . . . It [takes so] long [to get anywhere] . . . because [the bus] goes around and around and it almost feels like the bus is knocking on everyone's door, 'Do you want to go? No. Okay.'"

Girls' time was also constrained by school work requirements and expectations to do well, both from themselves and parents. These time constraints meant that girls did not always have much time for the activities they "want to do". Rose described her determination to do well in school and the time she devotes each day to studying, "School is getting harder, so I have to work more. Last week, I lowered my mark a bit, [so] I have to work on it harder. I can't just take

care of my hobbies or the things that I want to do; I have to study. [Every day], I study, [and] sometimes I'm [only] done at 9 o'clock." Salima shared her frustration with her school workload, which comes before any "fun stuff". Her description suggests how a structural constraint, such as a lack of time, can be influenced by other forms of constraints. This is evident in Salima conveying how the high expectations of her family back home, an interpersonal constraint, leads to her intrapersonal constraint of sometimes feeling an overwhelming pressure to do well in school:

Sometimes I get really frustrated with all the work and I completely forget about the fun stuff . . . School comes [first] because my parents expect [me to go to] university . . . If I don't do something right, then [my family] are like, 'What happened?' because they have no idea . . . about how life [is] here or anything, 'cause they have never been here . . . So [with] school [there's a lot of pressure and expectations]. Sometimes it feels like it's too much. (Salima)

Salima further explained her sense that in Canada, people "don't have time for anything" in part because of what she astutely observed as a culture of competition and busyness, in contrast to her culture back home:

You just don't have time for anything, almost. It's different here [in Canada] than Afghan culture . . . [In Afghanistan], you enjoy every moment of your life. Even with all the problems, you still enjoy every minute. You know where every minute goes. And here, you don't. It's just like time goes by and then you look back and [it's like], 'What happened?' . . . [I think the difference is because of] competition. Everyone wants to have a lot of money and have a career and have this and that. [People] have a lot of expectations here. There are some expectations that parents have, but your own expectations are really high too. And it's mostly not about yourself, you know? You try to get this many things and then you forget about yourself . . . It's not that I'm not doing that; I am doing it too. Everyone does it almost. But, it is a cultural thing [here]. . . It's just like everyone is running all the time . . . everyone is so busy; no one has time. It's almost like for having dinner together, you need to get appointment. And I'm part of it. I'm not saying I'm not busy too. But, it feels like that's part of [the] culture here; you're always busy, you don't have time for anything. (Salima)

A number of structural constraints impacted participants' leisure in Canada. Girls experienced environmental constraints, which were often disincentives for seeking outdoor

leisure or for accessing leisure locations. Financial constraints limited the activities girls could afford, including extra-curricular activities. Additionally, girls discovered that some of the leisure they enjoyed back home was unavailable here, or not readily accessible. Finally, time constraints restricted girls' available free time for leisure. While leisure constraints certainly existed externally, girls also faced internal constraints within themselves.

5.3.2 Intrapersonal constraints

For all of the girls in this study, leaving the life they knew back home and immigrating to a new country, Canada, meant struggling with the unfamiliar. These personal struggles were intrapersonal constraints, which took various forms and were experienced uniquely by each girl. However, there were significant common threads between some of the intrapersonal constraints girls shared. For some girls, struggling with the unfamiliar led them to feel homesick and depressed for a period of time and yearning to return home to the familiar. As Noora succinctly conveyed, "Being immigrants, we [have] a very difficult experience . . . [to] deal with living here. Like, [at] first, I was very depressed; I want[ed] to get home." For Rose, struggling with the unfamiliarity of life in Canada was exacerbated by discovering the changes in the one person she thought would be familiar, a friend now living in Kitchener that she had known in Syria:

Even the girl that I know, she's totally changed. She's not the same person that I had met in Syria. I think she got more mature or something. I don't know. I said, 'Okay, this won't work with me, like at all.' Then, I got in a fight with my family. I was crying, 'I don't want this country. I want to go back and there's no hope for that.' I was like this [for] a month and I never want[ed] to do anything. (Rose)

Decontee shared her intrapersonal struggle to remain an individual and still adapt to a new Canadian community:

For an African immigrant like myself, or any immigrant youth for that matter, [it] can be difficult [to stay] an individual . . . because we come to a new country like Canada, [and we] have to adapt and do certain things to fit in . . . We have to adapt to this new

community . . . It is a struggle when we come here . . . So I'm not completely at that independent stage yet, but I'm working towards it. (Decontee)

Most girls also described struggling with the unfamiliar in terms of the difficulties of learning to speak a new language. Some girls described how they felt very self-conscious about speaking English. This affected their confidence to speak in front of others, especially in school, which limited their participation in class and in extra-curricular activities, and could also affect the development of friendships. As Noora explained, "When I came to Canada, I was very shy. In class, I was afraid to raise my hand . . . I was very shy [because] it's new people . . . [and a] new language. [I only spoke English] a little bit . . . I was afraid to speak about something [because I thought people] will make fun of me." Murungi described that she did not feel confident participating in class or even speaking to anyone outside of class:

[When] teachers ask questions or they create a discussion, you feel like your English is not good enough to start some discussion, or to raise your hand [to] start the conversation. Even outside [of class], speaking with people, you don't feel confident. Before, I never really felt confident. I couldn't even talk to [anyone]. (Murungi)

Rose explained how her self-consciousness about her English affected her enjoyment of a book club she joined at school, and ultimately led to her leaving the book club:

I wanted to enter a book club at school. It was regular [not ESL]. I had heard about it and read about it. I love books, but I didn't enjoy it. I wished that I would enjoy it, but I didn't . . . I just felt that they are regular and they understand more than me about this book and the vocabulary thing. So it was hard for me to go. [I know] they're not going to laugh at me, but just feeling that [way]. So, [I thought], 'Oh no, I won't do [a book club] with the Canadian people or regular people. I won't do it at all' . . . I just feel scared or something. They're not going to do anything, I know that for sure, but I just don't want it . . . I only have two years [of speaking English] . . . [so] I still have some trouble with my language. So I just don't want to go [to the book club], because it's a language issue. (Rose)

Participants' intrapersonal constraints involved struggling with the unfamiliarity of a new country, culture and language. Some girls experienced the emotional difficulties of feeling homesick and sometimes depressed, which left them not wanting to do anything, including

leisure. The language constraints many girls experienced affected their leisure by making some girls reluctant to join certain extra-curricular activities and by also potentially limiting the development of friendships. Indeed, girls' friendships, and their connections to others more broadly, was another area of constraints experienced in Canada.

5.3.3 Interpersonal constraints

Many girls experienced interpersonal constraints connected to friends, which included missing friends back home and having difficulty making new friends in Canada. Amira described how her leisure is affected by having few friends here compared to the friends she had back home, "I had more [leisure] things in Syria . . . Here, I have just one real friend and my cousin. But in Syria, I have more friends. I feel more comfortable there . . . [Here,] it's hard to find someone who likes [to] do the things that you like to do." Salima shared a similar sentiment, "When I was back home in Afghanistan, I had my group of friends and I was more comfortable with [them] since I knew them since I was little and we grew up together. But here [in Canada], I'm [just] getting to know everyone." Hana expressed how she misses having the close group of friends she grew up with back home, to just talk about familiar things and places. This emphasizes the importance of having people who understand you and with whom you have a shared history, such as longtime friends:

I don't have my people that I used to have back home. [I don't have] the same people that might [join me in] doing things that I used to do back home for fun or whatever. . . I had my friends [from age] two or three; at a very young age. We have been together until I was ten . . . I don't make friends that easily, [so] I don't have a lot of friends [here] as much as I did back home [Sometimes,] I'm so homesick just [to] talk about back home and what it used to look like. (Hana)

Hana further explained her sense that part of the challenge of making new friends in Canada can stem from cultural differences, such as having different cultural references like popular books:

Our background and how we were raised [makes a difference]. For example, [an immigrant friend of mine] was actually talking to one of her Canadian friends. And he was talking about the Harry Potter books . . . And [my friend] told me that she said, ‘I never even read one of Harry Potter’s books’ and [the Canadian friend] actually laughed his pants off . . . I guess that’s why everybody chooses [their] own groups. Even if I don’t really have my own group because I’m actually the only Ethiopian in my school . . . I don’t make a lot of Canadian friends . . . [It’s hard] if you don’t have any common things to talk about . . . [with] that background difference. Upbringing difference makes a lot of [difference] . . . Sometimes, you feel left out, [because] maybe [people] are talking about things that you don’t really know or can’t really say anything [about or] relate to . . . In high school, [I sometimes have] that excluded feeling. (Hana)

In addition to missing friends back home and having difficulty making new friends here, another interpersonal constraint some girls discussed was their sense that people in Canada live more “separate” lives, often in stark contrast to their experiences back home, which emphasized people’s connections to one another through family and community. Salima explained that back home, she got together regularly with her immediate and extended families:

In Afghanistan, we have a lot of getting together with family . . . [We would get together] with my uncles and stuff at least once a week and [with] extended family at least once a month. So, since we have a lot of get-togethers, then we were pretty close with each other . . . [But], here [in Canada] . . . people are kind of separate. (Salima)

Decontee spoke strongly about her sense of people in Canada being disconnected in asserting, “Here, I feel like everyone is trapped into separate lives. [In] Africa we work together and it’s different.” Nia echoed a similar observation, “I’ve noticed the people over here are kind of more keeping to themselves and they won’t be out. [They are] more in their own house and care about themselves. When you’re in Ghana, everyone cares about you. Everyone talks to you and will talk to everyone.” When asked what factors she felt might be contributing to the differences she noticed between people’s connections with one another here and back home, Nia emphasized the sense of community she experienced back home that is reflected in their traditions, which she felt are largely “missing” in Canada:

[Traditions] are missing [in Canada] . . . Back home, [traditions were] pretty much my life and being with people; that was me . . . [Like], on Christmas [back home] we'll walk around the neighbourhood and have our bags, almost like Halloween for us. We'll go door-to-door and they'll give us money or food or pops, that kind of stuff . . . Everyone knew everyone . . . We can't do [here] . . . Like, even on Easter, they give out chocolates here. In Ghana, there will be adults with hard-boiled eggs and they bury [them] under the ground . . . And the kids would dig them up and eat it . . . [For Easter,] it's supposed to be eggs, not chocolate! . . . [So] it was just different [back home] . . . We just understood each other. (Nia)

Given the centrality of peers and friends for adolescents, participants' interpersonal constraints were particularly salient. Girls missed their friends back home and found that their fewer and newer friends here meant they did not have the same comfortable leisure they had back home with longtime friends. It was also difficult for girls to make new friends in Canada, in part because they did not share the same cultural references as their Canadian peers. In addition, participants struggled with their perception of Canada's individualistic culture, which limited their family and community leisure. Girls' connections with other people in Canada were also sometimes immensely constrained by experiences of racism.

5.3.4 Experiencing racism

One particular, and powerful, form of interpersonal constraints is racial discrimination, or racism. Several girls candidly shared their experiences in Canada with overt racism. Girls encountered racism towards them in various settings of their everyday lives, including on the bus, at school, in the media, and while shopping. For instance, Murungi described the racism she experienced from a bus driver:

One time, when I went to the bus stop, the [bus driver] lady was like, 'There's a yellow line that you can't pass, in front of me.' And then the [bus driver] lady said, 'You, Black girl, go to the back.' [So I said to] the bus driver, 'What do you mean 'Go at the back'? I'm not the only person here.' And then she's like, 'You, go to [the] back or I'm going to push you out of the bus' . . . [Then she said to me again], 'Yeah, you, go at the back . . . or get out, or you're getting off the bus.' (Murungi)

Decontee articulated the stark shift in self-consciousness she experienced in Canada because of racist bullying. This bullying deeply impacted her sense of self and her connection with others:

I do not think people realize how hard it is for immigrants when we come to this country. For example, we go from not labeling ourselves, to people telling us that we are black. I went from not paying attention to how I look, to people describing how I look in a negative way . . . Everything was dark in my eyes. It took me many years to find myself. I became depressed for many years. I saw people bullying other people for stupid reasons. And I was one of those victims . . . I began to suffer from loneliness . . . But these are things about the society that happens so often. (Decontee)

Hana experienced racism from a teacher at school, which led her to drop a science course she was enrolled in and take one at a less advanced level:

When I first came here, my guidance counselor saw my report card and she saw my chemistry, all my sciences, and she thought, ‘Let’s see if you can try the AP chemistry’ . . . That’s advanced chemistry . . . [So] I found my chemistry room . . . If you’re a new student, [the teachers] usually check your timetable . . . just to help you with that. And [the chemistry teacher] asked me [for] my timetable and I gave it to him and he looked at my timetable and asked ‘Are you sure you’re in this class?’ So I’m like, ‘Yeah, isn’t this [advanced chemistry]?’ So I went in [to the class]. I got called on [by my guidance counselor] the next day. I didn’t do anything. It’s not like I failed his test or anything. [But], he went to talk to my counselor and he thought I don’t deserve to be in that class just because it’s an AP course . . . I don’t want to go more to [a] racial thing, but he just didn’t think I should be in his AP class. That was really the most excluding moment I’ve ever felt . . . [so] I dropped the course. I did not want to go back there again after [the guidance counselor] told me [what he said]. That was the only block that he was teaching, the AP one. So there [was] not another block that another teacher was teaching. So I just dropped [to] a mainstream academic chemistry. (Hana)

Decontee articulated how she feels the media in Canada (or North America, more broadly) conveys stereotyped and inaccurate images and perceptions of Africa and African people. This misrepresentation, Decontee explained, leads some people in Canada to ‘look down’ on Africans and to behave in sometimes presumptuous and patronizing ways:

In terms of race, as an African, when you come here [to Canada], everyone just looks down at you. They think you probably don’t know how to read [or you’re not good at] school. And [they think] you just live a poor life. It’s frustrating because [those things aren’t true, like], back home, people drive cars in my country. There are rich people down there too. People go to school. The media [here] puts that [perception] out there and it’s frustrating because they don’t think that as Africans we have good life in Africa and it’s just inaccurate. Because not everywhere in Africa is like that . . . It’s like when

you just watch commercials for like the Christian [sponsor child campaigns] . . . and you see all these [starving] Africans. Of course, there are people in Africa [like that], but they make it sound like that's just the way everywhere in Africa is. It's not and that's what's frustrating . . . People have the wrong idea about Africa. A lot of people do because the media puts that out there. [So] when you come here, people look down at you . . . It's frustrating 'cause even when teachers try to talk to you when [you] come here, they try to talk to you like you don't know how to speak English . . . It's so annoying. (Decontee)

Decontee further discussed one of the impacts of North America's skewed notion of African people, which includes ideas about crime that affect leisure activities such as shopping:

When you go to the store and you're trying to buy something, there's people staring at you like you're going to steal . . . And it's like . . . I've never stolen anything out of a store in my life, and I'm not going to do it . . . It's just annoying . . . People are going to stare because you just take something to look at it, but then they think you're going to steal it . . . Some of them will just stand there just looking at you like . . . When it's happening, you can tell . . . You just know it's happening. (Decontee)

Some participants experienced racism in Canada, which seriously affected their leisure in several significant ways. The impact of racism could undermine girls' sense of self and lead them to feel self-conscious, lonely and depressed, which all adversely affect engagement with leisure. Racism also impacted girls' relationships with others, including teachers and peers. Furthermore, girls' enjoyment of leisure was severely compromised when they experienced racism specifically in leisure settings. Along with racism, another societal constraint included gender constraints.

5.3.5 Gender constraints

The societal focus on girls' appearance became a prevalent gender constraint for girls. These gender constraints were distinctly experienced in Canada largely through girls' greater *exposure* to media here as well as the *content* of media here with its particularly detrimental gender messages. As such, girls' consumption of media, such as television and advertising, as part of their leisure may be seen as a form of leisure as constraint.

Comparing some of her experiences with media back home and here, Decontee articulated the media influence in Canada, commenting that she watches more television here and sees more troubling – and highly gendered – content:

Sex is exploited everywhere on TV [here]. It's everywhere; it's crazy. [Like,] there is a football team in the U.S. called . . . fantasy football . . . [where] girls have to wear bikinis [to play] football . . . They're all just [basically] naked . . . It's always girls [who] have to be the ones [to] be naked. [And] they want to look skinny . . . and they want to get fake breasts . . . Females . . . have to sell everything, like products . . . It's hard 'cause in my country, people don't just put stuff out there; I'm a lot more able to stay away from those things 'cause they're not out there . . . [Also], in my country, not everyone had TV in the house, which I'm thankful for . . . I didn't have TV [back home] . . . [so] I would spend all of my time outside. I just feel like I have nothing else to do here, so I watch TV . . . [And] here, everybody thinks the violence and stuff on TV is okay . . . They're just used to it; that's how they grew up . . . [But] back home, my life was different. Sometimes, I wish I was back home 'cause I just feel like there is so much stuff here that people are exposed to [that] I wish I was not. (Decontee)

The impacts of the societal focus on girls' appearance is that girls often learn that how they look really matters and this belief, a gendered cultural norm, influences what they do, including the leisure they pursue. A number of girls discussed how their leisure emphasizes their appearance, making these pursuits another form of leisure as constraint. For instance, Salima described what she and her friends like to do, "We usually just hang out at the mall . . . or we go to [someone's] home and just do crazy stuff. We [have] makeup sessions . . . [and] put a lot of makeup on . . . and then dress up and take a lot of pictures . . . There are people that are really good at makeup or doing hair, so they do that sometimes." Consumerism, in the forms of shopping and advertising, certainly seemed prevalent in girls' leisure. Decontee commented on the impact of commercials for her and her sense of feeling conflicted, "Sometimes, I'm eager to get that [certain] product. . . [It's like], 'I want to get that' . . . I'm not going to lie, like I know it's bad." Nia expressed how she loves clothes and how the mall is a leisure spot for her and is even part of a co-op position for school:

I love clothes and matching and colours and shoes. I'm a big shoe person. I have lots of high heels, like my closet's full. I have suitcases full of stuff. My shoes are pretty much everywhere . . . I enjoy how the clothes look on you when you wear them and the colours. I just like clothes. I like to look nice . . . I like to shop with my friends . . . We'll walk into the mall, go to a store . . . We'll go to certain ones and then see something and be like, 'Okay, that's cute' . . . Sometimes my mom comes with me 'cause I'm so indecisive . . . And she's like, 'Pick this, pick this' . . . She tells me what's good . . . I [also have a] co-op at the mall. For four hours a day, I go to Sirens, which is a clothing store. I work there for school . . . [for my] fashion class this term. It's pretty fun. (Nia)

In addition to buying into the societal focus on girls' appearance, often literally through shopping and other forms of consumerism, gender constraints also reinforce narrow ideals about how girls should look. As mentioned earlier when Decontee discussed the media's circulation of gender messages, one such ideal is that girls "want to look skinny." This gender constraint for one participant became apparent when I commented that she was welcome to eat her lunch during our interview over her lunch hour. Amira remarked simply, "I always don't like to eat my lunch; I'm too fat." Nia described how another body ideal, that girls should not be "all muscles", was reinforced by her peers and conflicted with her desire to work out, especially since she felt she needed to convince *others* that *she* should or can work out. This gender constraint reproduces the notion that the only appropriate reason for girls to be working out is to lose weight. This is conveyed in Nia's friends' assertion that because she is "so skinny", she does not "need to work out", making her personal desire to work out simply because she likes it, literally laughable:

Girls [doing] workouts . . . [like], lifting weights [and having] all muscles, [people say] that's a guy thing . . . I wanted to go to the gym with my friend this summer. I wanted to go and work out and everyone was like, 'What are you working out for?' I'll just joke around, like, 'I want to build my muscles up' or whatever, [but really] I would just like to work out, 'cause I like it. But everyone will be like, 'You don't need to work out.' And I'll be trying to convince everyone 'cause they don't think I need to work out 'cause I'm so skinny, that's what they say. They'll be like, 'Why do you need to work out? You're not fat'. . . I'm like, 'Guys, I want to work out' and they'll be like, 'Ha, ha, ha, really?' (Nia)

While some girls may be discouraged by their peers' 'jokes' when they attempt to pursue activities that conflict with certain appearance ideals, other girls may actually be bullied by their peers who feel they do not fit a particular appearance ideal. Decontee described how she had never experienced bullying until she came to Canada, where she was bullied by people at school because they felt she did not "look pretty." She shared the experience and impact of her bullying:

When I came here, I got bullied 'cause of the way I look . . . [from] people who were at school, 'cause they just don't think I look pretty. It's hurtful 'cause I didn't talk to anybody. It was hard and it was bad 'cause I just felt like I wasn't good enough . . . When I was back home, I didn't get bullied . . . My friends [would] sometimes make fun of each other, but it wasn't as extreme as here . . . When I came here, it was so different. It was like a different world. . . And here, it's when people start[ed] to bully me . . . I came here, and all these people tell me that I'm not good enough . . . I was depressed for some years. . . I criticize myself a lot, sometimes [for] the way I look, for sure. I mean, I put myself down . . . It's definitely [affected] my confidence in how I feel about myself [and prevented activities, like] joining sports teams. (Decontee)

Participants discovered that Canada was "a different world" from their world back home and navigating this unfamiliar terrain involved contending with different leisure constraints. Structural constraints involving the environment, money, and time discouraged girls' outdoor leisure, limited the activities they could afford, and restricted their free time available for leisure. Intrapersonal constraints included emotional difficulties and language constraints, which affected girls' motivation and confidence to pursue leisure activities. Interpersonal constraints left girls' missing their friends back home and having difficulty making new friends in Canada, which was compounded by perceptions of an individualistic culture. Participants' experiences with racism in a number of contexts, including leisure, crucially undermined their sense of self and their engagement with leisure and others. Lastly, participants encountered gender constraints (and leisure as constraint) due to societal focus on girls' appearance, largely circulated through the media. Despite experiencing numerous constraints in Canada, however, participants also critically negotiated constraints and enacted various forms of resistance.

5.4 “You have to try new things”: Navigating constraints and resistances in Canada

While girls encountered numerous constraints in Canada, they also actively navigated all three major forms of constraints: structural, intrapersonal, and interpersonal. These navigations significantly involved leisure as a means of adjusting to life in Canada and helping girls with the challenges of immigration. Girls also forged new paths for themselves in resisting racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice.

5.4.1 *Structural constraint negotiations*

Although girls were often dependent on their parents as a source of spending money, some girls mentioned how they took addressing money constraints into their own hands. Nia commented on how she uses a skill to earn some money, “I braid hair. So people come to my house and I’ll braid their hair and they’ll pay me \$60 or whatever.” Deontee explained how she conserved her limited money by spending wisely, “[I’m] not buying stuff that I don’t want . . . It’s being selective about what you spend money on.” Another way of getting around financial constraints involved finding and using free resources. Nia shared her savvy solution to working out at a gym while avoiding membership costs, “[At] the gym they’ll have “7 days free tryouts” and I’ll go work out.” Rose described how she uses a program on her iPhone to train herself to sing, avoiding the necessity of expensive resources that are typically part of voice training, such as a music teacher and a piano:

I like to train myself [to sing]. On my iPhone, I have some programs to train you how to sing or how to play on a piano. So [the program] is playing on a piano, then I have to sing . . . It teaches you how to play on a piano and how to sing. And then you can record for yourself how to do that. And it tells you if you made a mistake, this is your mistake, try again, or this kind of stuff . . . I don’t [have a piano at home]. (Rose)

Girls were also able to negotiate some of their time constraints through employing various time management strategies. The first strategy involved planning their time to balance

commitments, such as school, with the other activities they would like to do. Salima explained that she tries to plan ahead with her school work:

I [do] work around [some constraints], especially when the barrier is school work. I just try to do it ahead of time or find time after . . . I usually do things last minute, which is not good. I have been trying to change it . . . I want to be a little more organized and to plan fun stuff and also work stuff . . . [It's important] to have a balance . . . If I have time to plan ahead, then [I do try] for sure. (Salima)

A second time management strategy was prioritizing the leisure that was the most important to them. Girls acknowledged that with limited time, they needed to be selective about how they spend their leisure, which often meant giving up some activities to focus on others. For instance, Deontee described her prioritization of church, "I decided not to [participate in sports] . . . I have other stuff to focus on . . . like church . . . I don't want to miss church because of sports . . . It's a lot [of time for] after school sports, [so they] just don't work for me." Salima succinctly explained her approach to prioritization, which also suggests a certain logical compromise, "Sometimes, you have to give up something to get something else. So sometimes, if it's between two things, then I do give up something." To focus on her ambitious goal of writing a book, Rose suggested that during the summer, she would stop playing tennis and soccer:

I have many things I want to do and [that] I'm working on . . . Like, I want to be a writer, to write a book . . . I'm writing a story and I keep it in my journal . . . I have it and I write every day . . . But I have found that I need more time to work on [it] and I can't do everything in one time . . . [So], in the summer, I [want to] be busy thinking about [my] book. So I will stop soccer and tennis and this kind of fun stuff . . . for a period of time . . . and pay attention more on the book. (Rose)

Participants negotiated structural constraints involving a lack of money and time.

Financial constraints were negotiated by girls optimizing limited money by spending wisely, supplementing limited money from parents by making some of their own money, and using free or inexpensive resources. Girls also negotiated their constrained time by using time management strategies such as planning ahead and prioritizing selective commitments and leisure activities.

5.4.2 Intrapersonal constraint negotiations

The intrapersonal constraint of language difficulties that result from learning a new language was mitigated for a number of girls by reading. Reading books was not only a “good hobby”, but it also helped girls to learn and improve their English (which could also minimize some of the associated effects of language difficulties such as confidence speaking with others and participating in verbal activities). Rose explained how she used her summer to do a lot of reading, “I have done fifty books [last summer]. My ESL teacher gave me the books in the summer . . . and then she said, ‘These books can help you to learn English.’” Hana also commented on how books were a good way of learning, linguistically as well as culturally, “That’s how I view books – you learn a lot of things, especially if you’re new to the country . . . [If you want to] try to improve your English or comprehension, I think books are really a good way of [doing that].” Finally, when asked what advice she might give another new immigrant girl, given her own experience adjusting to Canada, Noora readily suggested, “I will advise her to read . . . Reading will help in her learning more English. Also, it’s a good hobby.”

Another way of improving English is writing in a journal. Rose described how she used her journal to strengthen her writing in English and to track of the evolution (and improvement) of her language learning. Her journal was also a place to document, remember and even share, the experiences and changes that have occurred for her since coming to Canada:

I just like to write these things because I like to read them later. I brought one diary when I came to Canada . . . And my language was not really strong; it’s weak. So, I started to write in English . . . so I said I can teach myself. And I can see what’s going on. Last time I was reading my diary, I was laughing because I was like, ‘What’s this? This is wrong.’ Sometimes, I like to read them with my mom . . . and she was laughing also ‘cause she told me, ‘See now we have totally changed’ . . . And it’s a long time, so it’s hard to remember many things. I can remember it by that . . . So, it’s cool to keep your journal ‘cause later, you can see what you have done in your life . . . I have seen [that] there are many things in my life that have changed [since I’ve come to Canada] . . . like eating the [different] food or playing soccer. (Rose)

Negotiating language constraints that can impede activities that are heavily verbal, such as a book club, can involve choosing activities where language disadvantages are absent or minimized. Rose insightfully explained how she enjoys leisure activities such as sports and art, which she feels are equalized, or more ‘fair’, since they are not centered on language skills:

Just the book club [I didn’t enjoy]. This is the only thing. Other things I can enjoy, like sports . . . If it’s physical stuff, like playing or things, I won’t care. It will just be about how you’re going play . . . You don’t have to talk. You just have to listen to what the main person on the team is going to say and you just do it . . . Even art. I think that art is the more fair one ‘cause it depends on how you’re going to draw. You just know what the subject is and you just draw it . . . I don’t like to [just give up on doing activities] even though I have an issue with the language. (Rose)

In response to the language constraints they encountered, participants actively sought to negotiate or reduce these constraints by engaging in certain leisure activities, such as reading and journaling, which specifically helped them to improve their English skills. Girls also chose leisure activities that minimized language constraints through their focus on physical or creative leisure rather than leisure that required language skills in a group setting.

5.4.3 Interpersonal constraint negotiations

As many girls expressed, they struggled with the interpersonal constraint of missing friends and family back home. Through the power of the internet and its associated social media and communication sites, girls were able to connect here in Canada with friends and family back home. For example, Noora commented, “Here [in Canada], I’m on the laptop [on] Skype and Facebook . . . just chatting with friends . . . and watching their [Facebook] reports . . . Also, my relatives in Jordan, I talk with them by Skype.” Amira shared a similar sentiment, “I love Facebook . . . Like, all my family is in different countries, Iran, Iraq . . . I always talk with them, check with them [and post messages and share photos] . . . They all live [far away] . . . I’ll Skype with my aunt, my grandpa and grandma.” Hana was able to stay in touch with her close group of

friends from back home, some of whom have also left, “I have my [close group of] friends [from back home] . . . It was five of us . . . Two of them actually are in the U.S. right now . . . [We stay in touch] with Facebook, Skype.”

In addition to connecting with friends and family back home, some girls described their technological connections to a personal ‘global village’ of people with shared interests. These connections to a broader group of like-minded individuals could also help alleviate some of the struggles to connect with others in coming to a new country. For instance, Rose shared how she enjoys interacting on Facebook with a favourite tennis player and other fans:

I chat with Rafael Nadal, the [tennis] player . . . because he has Facebook too. And he’s the kind of person who answers you if you send something . . . I posted messages to this player . . . On Facebook, he’s available . . . He posts a picture and if we write, he can answer. . . It’s many people on there [from] all different cultures. They’re all saying things and it’s really fun . . . [It’s a] whole [bunch of] people in one place and they’re all chatting about one thing. (Rose)

Nia conveyed her enthusiasm for connecting on Twitter with people from all over the world.

Using Twitter seemed to not only be an important way of connecting with others, but also a way to broadly share and exchange thoughts, feelings and inspirations. In this way, Twitter became a kind of virtual, and interactive, journal:

I like Twitter. Like, I think I’m addicted . . . On Twitter, you can meet people from everywhere . . . so I just like that and like my followers . . . my peeps. They’re all different people . . . [from] around the world . . . So it’s really interesting . . . If I tweet something or they like something, they’ll start following me. Then I’ll start following them back. We’ll talk and we have [common] interests. [I have] 693 [followers on Twitter] . . . I can go on there and tweet as much as I want, [about] anything I want . . . [I tweet] my thoughts, quotes sometimes, lyrics maybe. I’ll re-tweet something that I can relate to and talk about feelings and stuff like that. (Nia)

While girls were able to connect with friends and family back home through technology, and some even connected to a much broader network, it was still important for girls to have

friends here in Canada. However, some girls discussed that they found it difficult making new friends here, sometimes especially with Canadians because there were significant linguistic and cultural differences that could make it challenging to relate and connect. When girls did make friends, however, these friendships could help them to feel that they were not alone in their experiences, which could ease some of the unfamiliarity of adjusting to life in a new country. For Salima, whose family is back home, the friends she has made here provide her with a sense of being with people who understand her. As she commented, “I feel like sometimes my friends are the only ones [who] understand what I’m going through. Or they go through the same thing.” Making friends with other ESL students, and fellow immigrants, helped some girls to feel they were not alone in their struggles with the unfamiliar, including learning a new language. Noora explained how she felt alone in the senior elementary school she attended when she first came to Canada and where she was the only Arabic girl. When she started high school the next year, there were many other immigrants and specifically other Arabic girls, which made her feel better about the challenge of learning a new language and adjusting to a new culture:

[I] made friends [in my new high school], like there are so many Arabic girls . . . That’s what made me [feel] better . . . [In my senior elementary school,] there is no Arab [students] . . . [So] you feel like just the only person that [immigration] happened to. But here [in high school], you feel like there’s many people like you [and] if you speak something wrong, they won’t laugh at you. They [are] all the same; we don’t know English. (Noora)

Participants negotiated constraints related to missing family and friends back home by using technology to connect with them as well as connecting with a broader global community through social media sites. Girls also reduced their interpersonal struggles with a new culture and unfamiliar people by making new friends in Canada, particularly with peers who shared and understood their experiences of immigration and learning a new language.

5.4.4 Racism resistances

When girls encountered racism in Canada, some found ways to subtly or overtly resist the assumptions and impacts of racism. For example, Decontee described her more recent approach when she becomes aware (on an ongoing basis) of being stared at in stores because of retailers' racist assumptions that she might steal something. She also resists the sometimes isolating effects of racism by talking about shared similar experiences with other African friends:

Now, I'm trying [to challenge that racism] 'cause now it's like I don't even care what you think, so whatever. I will stay for five minutes if I want to stare at this thing . . . and look at every detail I want to look at and it doesn't matter. But, it's still hard . . . Ignoring doesn't always help though . . . It happens way more than it should . . . We talk about it [amongst my African friends]. I'm not the only person that it happens to. (Decontee)

Murungi conveyed how joining a group of other African youth, mentored by an adult African community leader, helped her to work through her confidence issues and to learn to stand up for herself. She put this into practice when she directly confronted a racist bus driver. She also shared how the supportive reactions of others bolstered her confidence in people and confirmed her own sense that she can challenge any person that makes racist, or other, assumptions:

When I joined the African leadership [group], [my confidence issues] really got better . . . The African Leadership [group] really helped a lot . . . It made me feel I can stand up for myself. So I can talk to people. Like, when . . . the [bus driver] lady said, 'You Black girl, go to the back . . . or you're getting off the bus' I'm like 'You can't do it . . . You really don't know what you're doing; you shouldn't be a bus driver!' And the people at the back, they came [and said,] 'That's not right!' . . . People were madder than I was. Like, this person wanted to call the police . . . It made me feel great about people having to stand up for me when they don't even know me . . . People are really kind . . . I was so happy to see the reaction of other people. Other people [are] not really the same [as the bus driver] . . . When it gets to a point where you feel like people are over predicting you, or they see you, they think, 'Oh this person can't speak' . . . it's where you have to step in and take that [belief away from them] . . . Right now, I'm really comfortable. I can challenge any person when I know what they're doing is not right. (Murungi)

Girls engaged in several ways of resisting racism and its impacts. Some girls chose to ignore racist behaviour and to consciously continue doing what they intended, for instance in a

leisure setting. Other girls confronted racism directly by speaking up for themselves. While participants resisted racism in personal ways they also engaged in more collective resistance by talking about their experiences of racism with others who had similar experiences. Sharing their experiences of racism, and learning to ‘stand up’ for themselves, occurred informally between friends, and also more formally in a leadership group among same-race peers.

5.4.5 Gender resistances

In response to the media’s bombardment of detrimental gender messages and its impacts, some girls are actively resisting the media’s influence, and transforming contexts of leisure as gender constraint into leisure as gender resistance. For instance, Decontee’s insightful awareness and questioning of the media’s portrayal of girls and women is a significant form of media literacy and gender resistance. She shared what upsets her about what she’s seeing in Canadian media, her awareness of its gendered impacts, and her own effort to be mindful of her media exposure:

Why is it that [the] female is always the focus? . . . That’s one thing [that upsets me] . . . Why do girls always have to be the ones [who are] naked . . . [and showing] skin? [Like], for that fantasy football, why can’t the girls wear a jersey just like guys? They’re all just naked . . . it’s so stupid . . . Why is it we always have to be portrayed as sex symbols all the time? And all these celebrities getting fake boobs and these girls look at them, and they want to get fake breasts. And I’m like, ‘Don’t get fake breasts. What are you doing?’ . . . [Media shows the same] body types . . . [which are] skinny obviously [and then] everyone wants to look skinny or look like the picture-perfect girl on television. Regular girls start hating their bodies and their self and they start doing unhealthy things to themselves I think everything affects us more with our body. I’m not saying they do not affect boys, but there are differences; the effects [are different]. I think that . . . females are the main target [and] girls are affected more . . . [Most people] are just used to [these things]. That’s how they grew up . . . [But, for me], it’s like, I don’t need this exposure . . . [So] I’m just careful about what I watch because I do know that it affects me. (Decontee)

In addition to an awareness of, and selective exposure to, visual media, such as television, girls are also aware of the gendered content of audio media, including music. Instead of listening

to music where artists sing about “cars and girls” or the number of “chicks” they have slept with, some girls are choosing to listen to more meaningful music:

[I like to] listen to music. I have like 766 songs on my phone right now and I’m downloading music every day. Sometimes, I listen to anything, but my favourites are R & B and hip hop. [I] like lyrics that I can actually relate to, not just listening to them. [Like,] Hopsin, lots of his songs I relate to. I like what he talks about. He’s real and doesn’t just talk about what most rappers do . . . Like, he won’t talk about cars and girls. He talks about what’s going on in his life. Like life, how people feel; the real things. (Nia)

I like music from the 80s and 90s [because] they tell stories and what they’re saying actually means something. [With] music . . . these days, [it’s like], ‘What makes me care about how much money you have?’ I want you to influence me in a positive way, not rap about how much money [you] have, or how many chicks you have slept [with] . . . I mean, they just talk about stupid stuff. I’m like, ‘I don’t want to hear it’ . . . because these things affect the type of person that I will become . . . [So] it doesn’t matter what specific type of music it is, just sing about something meaningful. (Decontee)

Another form of gender resistance by girls included challenging societal appearance expectations for girls. Sanura described how she ultimately resisted the body scrutiny or negativity which can occur for girls as a result of society’s focus on appearance. She explained how she went from feeling shy about her body and wanting to hide it, back home, to becoming more comfortable with her body in Canada and asserting her own beauty:

In Africa, I didn’t wear pants because I was shy [about] my body. I didn’t like that . . . I was like, ‘[Pants are] too tight’ . . . It’s not like someone told me not to [wear pants], [but] I just like wearing skirts and dresses . . . [But], when I got here, it was like, ‘It’s cold! I have to wear pants, so I’m just going to deal with it’ . . . You have to try new things . . . The first time I put [pants] on I was like, ‘Oh this is so tight.’ [That’s how] girls wear them . . . And then I look at my butt and I was like, ‘Oooh, I look beautiful in jeans.’ So then I was like, ‘Okay, I’ll wear jeans now’ . . . I felt good! (Sanura)

Decontee described another gender constraint involving societal appearance expectations for girls. This constraint compels girls to feel they need to invest much time and effort to looking ‘presentable.’ Girls spending a great deal of time to ‘get ready’ is in sharp contrast to boys who, as Decontee insisted, do not really have to worry about their appearance. While this gender disparity and constraint is certainly evident (as is her frustration), Decontee asserted her

resistance to it by not caring about an appearance focus and by simply *not* spending hours to get ready:

I just think in general it's hard being a girl . . . It's hard, we have so much stuff to deal with, omigod . . . Boys just wear stupid baggy pants and a shirt and just go outside, with their hair messed up. It's fine. [But], girls spend hours trying to just [get ready]. I don't spend hours 'cause I don't care. [Like, girls] spend one hour just to wear pants and a shirt. I don't understand it, but people do. (Decontee)

Society's focus on girls' appearance can lead them to make appearances a central concern and value. Hana resists this gender constraint through recognizing and asserting her own values, which are not focused on "outside things", such as appearance. This form of resistance, however, can be challenging since it can be difficult to find like-minded friends, as Hana expressed of her difficulty to become friends with other girls:

Sometimes my English teacher says [to me], 'You really don't let people becomes friends with you.' I'm really not doing that intentionally . . . [but] that's what she says [I do]. I guess it's because, I don't want to generalize and I don't want to be stereotyping, but I found some people, especially teenagers, I found them a little bit shallow. I'm not that kind of person . . . What they value and what I value is totally different . . . Most of the time [it's other girls] . . . I get along with boys more than I get along with girls . . . Probably [because I find girls more shallow] . . . What they care about is not what I really care [about]. [For] example, [they care about] mostly appearance. I'm not saying I don't, but it's not that [important to me]. You know, [they care about] just outside things, just celebrities or whatever. I'm just not [that interested]. (Hana)

Another way girls' resisted gender constraints, particularly those that focus on appearance, was to simply, but powerfully, affirm their own worth by disregarding individual or societal insistences that they change themselves. Salima confidently asserted, "I don't really take people that seriously . . . to think about what they say all the time, and change myself. I don't change myself for anyone. So they have to accept me the way I am." In reflecting on the narrow female body ideals depicted in the media, Decontee resisted these limited portrayals in affirming her awareness of the actual body diversity that exists and the need to love yourself, "We are all different. If you don't love yourself, then who will?" Decontee attributed her initial gender

awareness and resistance to an elementary school teacher who was an influential and positive role model for resisting some of society's gender constraints, such as expectations for girls and women to wear makeup and please people:

Mrs. Johnson [pseudonym] was my grade 5 and 6 teacher . . . [She] was probably one of the most influential people. She understood what teens are going through. She would say, 'You don't have to wear makeup and stuff to look pretty, 'cause you are pretty and you don't have to please everyone' . . . It was great 'cause she didn't wear the makeup and stuff . . . [So] she said it, but she also lived by it, so it was easier to believe her. (Decontee)

Gender resistance is complex. At times, it occurs simultaneously with gender reproduction, or gender constraints. For instance, when discussing media influences, Decontee asserted her awareness that media can have "bad", or gender-negative, content and influences. While her awareness can be a form of resistance, she acknowledged that she will still sometimes "put the stuff on" despite this awareness, "There's some days I like to put the stuff on, I know it's bad and I still listen to it . . . I go and do it anyways [because there's no other] stuff to do." Salima explained how she has "makeup sessions" with friends, which as mentioned, can be seen as a form of gender constraint, which reproduces or reinforces society's focus on girls' appearance. However, there is also something somewhat resistant about her participation in these sessions since she describes herself as actually not being "girly" and that part of the reason she enjoys these sessions is because they provide her with photos to share with her family who have not seen her in a long time:

I actually don't like to be girly . . . Usually when we do the makeup sessions and all that, it's mostly to take pictures . . . [We] take a lot of pictures and I usually send them back home to my parents . . . so they have a sense of how I look like. 'Cause they haven't seen me for three years, so, it has been a long time. So that's part of [why I like these sessions]. (Salima)

Nia expresses her individuality, in part, through her unique style. She achieves this by shopping in different places than others and by making her own clothes. In this way, she resists simply

following the trends of conspicuous consumption through not buying what other girls are buying, and not looking like everyone else. There is also reproduction, or gender constraint, since she is, at least in part, expressing her individuality through fashion, which is focused on appearance:

[I] like wearing [my] own things. Like, I won't shop at the mall 'cause if you go to the mall, everyone buys [the same things]. So, I go shopping in Cambridge or somewhere. I get different stuff and I like to wear different stuff than other people . . . [Like], I'll be wearing high heels . . . and my friends will be in flats . . . [I'll] just represent fashion . . . I love clothes . . . All my life, I've been sewing stuff . . . I used to make clothes for my Barbies. Then I grew up and started making my own size . . . I have fabric from the store and I'm sewing my own stuff . . . [It] is important to me to be your own person. (Nia)

Participants resisted constraining gender ideologies in meaningful ways often involving leisure. Detrimental gender ideologies circulated through media were resisted by girls' awareness and active questioning of gendered media content, which compelled their selective media exposure. Girls also resisted narrow female appearance ideals and the associated emphasis on 'shallow' interests by asserting their own beauty, self-worth, and deeper values, which were encouraged by positive female role models. The complexity of gender resistance was also evident in that it sometimes occurred for girls along with gender reproduction, or gender constraints.

5.4.6 Other resistances

While girls resisted both racism and sexism, they also expressed other kinds of resistance which were not explicitly connected to race or gender. For instance, some girls resisted homophobic views, which were held by some people from their home culture and expressed in Canada towards other people from their home culture. Significantly, girls felt that homophobic views were also often cultural views held by their communities here, and even members of their own family. Nia described how a lesbian woman from her childhood was disliked by her Black

community. Nia subtly resists homophobia through asserting that she does not agree with the people who hold those views and, at times, is able to speak up against them:

[My mom] doesn't like gay people; she's very homophobic. Like, there's this one girl from my country and she was gay . . . [She was] a friend of the family kind of thing. They really didn't like her 'cause she was like that . . . This is here [in Canada]. This was when I was younger. I didn't really understand it much. But, she was nice. Like, she'll buy me things and my aunt won't give them to me . . . The whole community, the Black community, didn't like her . . . and then she left. So now she's gone . . . I don't agree with them. Sometimes I do [speak up]. (Nia)

Hana shared how she too does not agree with her home country's overt homophobia or with the homophobic views she heard expressed here by a woman from her country. She resisted these views by directly questioning them:

I don't want to be stereotyping, but most people back home are really religious and closed-minded. So they're not really open to new things . . . I think what anybody does in their bedroom is not really a big issue, like homosexuality . . . Here [in Canada], now, if you say you're gay or lesbian, it's like what's for dinner, next thing . . . [Whereas] back home . . . [homosexuality is] not at all [allowed] . . . It is illegal . . . For me, just judging people based on that fact, it's just not enough. So I [said] things when [I was] back home, and even here [in Canada], [to] whoever is talking against this kind of thing . . . I can just give you an example actually. My mom's friend lives in Toronto . . . I think there was a gay or a lesbian bar where she lives. And she saw Ethiopian people going there and she was talking about that with my mom . . . So she was saying that [gay and lesbian people] are ruining our culture, they're ruining our reputation, our religion, tradition, and this stuff . . . Sometimes what they say is really hurtful [towards] gay or lesbian [people] . . . So I said something back. I asked her, 'How are these people ruining your tradition or your culture?' She didn't answer, [she just] kind of made a sarcastic comment about it . . . which I didn't think was funny at all. (Hana)

Racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of prejudice and oppression all involve the attribution of simplistic labels to someone deemed an 'other.' Within the 'cultural mosaic' Canada prides itself on embracing, one seemingly innocuous label, that of 'refugee' or 'newcomer', may inadvertently challenge a person's sense of belonging and identity. Salima resisted being defined as a refugee and instead claimed identities of her own choosing:

I'm proud of my background, I'm proud of who I am, but I still don't want to be [defined as] the newcomer, [a] refugee and all that . . . I do want to be defined as [an] Afghan,

because I am . . . So, that is part of me, that's my identity, that's my home. So I'm okay with being [called an Afghan], but just the name refugee [I don't like] . . . since I have been living here and I'm in a school here . . . [so this] is part of my life too . . . [My new life here is] as much [a part of] my identity and everything [as my life back home] is part of my life. [But] this is a part of my life too. So, I don't want to always keep thinking about this is not who I am. Once you are labelled 'refugee', then it's like you don't really belong . . . [So] I do not want to be defined as a refugee . . . [I am] just a person; just a human being . . . I'm just a normal teenager . . . That's who I am. (Salima)

In Canada, participants negotiated all three forms of constraints and engaged in various resistances to claim leisure for themselves. Structural constraints were negotiated largely through optimizing limited money and time. Girls negotiated the intrapersonal constraint of learning a new language by choosing leisure which improved or minimized English skills. The interpersonal constraint of missing friends and family back home was negotiated by using communication technology and making new friends. Participants resisted racism by ignoring, confronting, and sharing experiences of racism with others. Gender constraints were resisted by girls limiting their own exposure to them, in part through media literacy. Sometimes with the encouragement of positive female role models, participants also affirmed their own self-worth, resisting gendered practices of self-scrutiny. In addition to resisting racism and sexism, participants also resisted homophobia directed at others by challenging homophobic views. Lastly, the marginalizing label of refugee was resisted by asserting the multiplicity of identity and recognizing a common humanity that transcends differences. This multiplicity of identity is further explored through unpacking the influences of cultural intersections on leisure experiences and identities in Canada.

5.5 “This is what I brought from home”: Unpacking cultural intersections through leisure

As any traveler can attest, when you travel to a new destination, you bring things with you from home. These are the things you have packed and carry with you in your suitcase: clothes, money, identification. . . . While girls likely brought these kinds of physical items with

them in coming to Canada, they certainly “brought from home” the cultural influences that shaped their lives there and continue to influence them here in Canada. These cultural influences emerge at various points of intersection, including the continual intersections girls experience in balancing their two cultures – back home and in Canada. Girls’ lives and leisure experiences in Canada are affected by cultural influences, including religion and specifically the intersection of gender and religion. Girls also brought with them from home their leisure pursuits and associated leisure identities, which often continued in Canada. Some girls discovered new leisure and emerging identities. Finally, some of leisure girls enjoyed in Canada served as a way of connecting to their culture back home. Unpacking these cultural intersections revealed that many exist outside of the framework of leisure constraints, negotiations, and resistances. As such, they are explored here as meaningful influences and experiences that cross the multiple borders of girls’ sense of place and self.

5.5.1 Influences of religion

For many girls, religion was often at the intersection of their lives back home and here in Canada. In coming to Canada, girls were no longer in the environment and cultures back home, where their religion, and its norms, was frequently shared and understood by many others. Here in Canada, girls sometimes found that their religious values and practices were incongruent with secular Canadian culture, and particularly adolescent culture. However they chose to navigate these cultural intersections, the influences of girls’ religion often significantly shaped their experiences and the leisure they or avoided or pursued.

Salima explained her choice to continue following Muslim ‘rules’, “Here [in Canada], it’s not my family who’s stopping me; it’s myself. So because I am Muslim, I don’t drink or eat pork, or all these [other] rules that we have. And it’s not because my family are expecting that

from me, it's myself . . . It's my choice that I don't want to do it." Salima's comment suggests that religious values and practices can influence what is avoided, such as drinking alcohol, which becomes part of a leisure context since some activities that are avoided by some, because of religion, are pursued by other adolescents. Such incongruities require religious adolescents to negotiate these possible tensions within leisure settings, such as parties, where their peers may be drinking, for instance, and they are not. This was evident for Hana when she described how some of the leisure activities of a "typical teenager" in Canada could be at odds with her cultural and religious upbringing, as well as simply with her own personal preferences and personality:

[My family is] a really cultural, traditional-oriented family, so . . . [there are things that] I can't [do]. I don't want to say I can't, because I actually can, but I just don't want to do it and I don't do it. I think it's based on my upbringing, my culture, my religion. I don't do things that any typical teenager might do . . . [like] maybe going to a party. [Also,] I do not [drink because I'm Muslim] . . . [But] honestly, it's not just the religious faith that [stops me], I just don't have fun . . . I'll just be maybe panicking when I was supposed to be having fun in a party or whatever . . . It's not a place where I can have fun I guess . . . I found [parties to be] really bad. (Hana)

In addition to influencing what activities should be avoided, participants' religion also influenced what activities should be encouraged, often connected to leisure contexts. Several girls discussed how they were affected by their religion's value of helping others. Noora shared how her religion taught her to "think about others" and to be helpful in her daily life:

[I enjoy] helping people. [This] is a very good thing that I learned from my religion. It's like helping when you see someone in trouble, like two people in trouble, broken up or something, you [help] make them back [to being] friends. It's very good to see people happy. It's not thinking always about yourself. Think about others . . . Like, I'm helping my friend [who] has struggles with math. I'm helping her [because] I'm good at math. [I] also [help] my brother and sister. [When] they have trouble with something, I like to help them . . . I'm the oldest . . . If my mom asks me to help her, I will help her. I learned [this] from my religion . . . [When I help people, I feel] very happy. If other people [are] happy, I'm happy. (Noora)

Hana explained how her culture back home does not have the same mentality of helping others as she feels exists in Canada. Her desire to help others was limited to volunteering through her

mosque back home, as encouraged by her religion. In Canada, however, she has had many more opportunities to help others and volunteering has become an important part of her leisure and her identity:

[Back home,] the opportunity [to help others] is really rare. I hate this part of [my culture] . . . It's like most people back home believe [mostly in helping themselves] . . . It's like you've got to get yourself [taken care of] . . . That's how they think . . . Part [of this mentality] is not being able to have the time or the effort to help another person. [So] unless they are your immediate family, you just don't give that hand to each other. So we don't really do a lot of volunteering . . . unless it's in the church or a mosque. [Back home,] I used to actually help in [what would] here [be] called [a] soup kitchen [through my mosque] . . . [because] that's the only [place back home] you can actually help. [So, back home,] we don't really have a lot of opportunities to help one another . . . and I thought, 'I wish I could do that more' . . . [because] I have always been interested in helping anybody in any way I can . . . [Whereas, here in Canada,] I volunteer a lot . . . Volunteering is always a part of me; just helping in any way I can . . . I have like two hundred and seventy hours of volunteering . . . [I] even got the K-W award . . . [for] excellence in volunteering. (Hana)

Religion also influenced girls in serving as a moral guide. For instance, for Noora, her religion prompted her to spend her time with "good" activities and to avoid "bad" ones:

[With] my religion . . . if I do something not good, like against my religion . . . [like] hanging out [at] night [with] some bad people, being friends with bad people is not good, [then this will have an] affect on you . . . [And] that's bad . . . [My religion] tells me to choose the right things . . . [like] spending my time in good things. (Noora)

Murungi described how she used to go to church with her grandmother back home and continues to go to church in Canada, by herself, because she feels it provides her with important moral guidance in being the person she wants to be:

I used to go to church in Rwanda every Sunday with my grandma . . . [Now, here,] I go by myself 'cause most of the time, nobody wants to get up and go . . . If I don't go to church, [I] feel like I'm missing something . . . I feel like [going to church] keeps me away from the bad side of [life] . . . [Like, I learn what] is not acceptable . . . or maybe [what] is against God's will . . . So, it gives me that kind of good side of who you want to be. (Murungi)

In following their religion as a moral guide, some girls were encouraged in their efforts to avoid various forms of peer pressure, including friends' 'recreational' use of drugs. Nia asserted

that her religion, and her morals, help her to question and resist the peer pressure she encounters around smoking and marijuana:

Because of the religious thing, I won't do something 'cause it's bad; it will be wrong . . . [Like] smoking's bad. I don't smoke, though . . . [but] other people do. [I don't smoke because of who I am] and [my] morals. I think religion plays a part in everything about me. [With smoking, I think,] 'Why would you want to take that and put it in your body?' So I don't do that. And even with the weed thing, like lots of my friends smoke weed. And they're like, 'Come out for a joint' or whatever and I'm like, 'No, I don't smoke.' And they're like, 'You don't smoke? You never tried one?' Like, 'Just try one, it will make you feel so good' and stuff like that, but I never did it. I just resist. It's not something I want to do, so I'm not interested in it. (Nia)

Decontee conveyed how reading the Bible helps her to re-affirm her beliefs and her individuality in not following the crowd, which, she acknowledged, can be difficult when you want to fit in:

Humans are humans. They don't do anything for me. You know, like emotional-wise and moral-wise, they don't really help as much as the Bible does. And I do know that when I decide to just follow humans, like my friends, and all this stuff that they're doing that I know is not okay and I do it, I'm not happy. I get very emotional and I feel stupid 'cause I know [I shouldn't do] this, but why am I doing it? But, it's hard 'cause it's everywhere and you want to fit in 'cause everybody else is doing it. But, then it's like being [an] individual and just being independent is not always a bad thing. So I'm not there yet; I'm just working towards that. So I'm trying to be more focused on Bible study 'cause I find more happiness with Bible study. I feel much happier with myself as a person . . . I just want to be who I am and just stick to what I believe in. I don't really want to worry about what people think. (Decontee)

For many participants, religion significantly affected their leisure pursuits, either through discouraging or encouraging certain activities. Incongruities could result when girls' religion discouraged some forms of leisure commonly enjoyed by other adolescents. Religion also influenced participants to help others, which could make activities such as volunteering important forms of leisure. Pursuing 'good' activities and avoiding 'bad' ones were part of the moral guidance religion provided some participants, which also encouraged them to resist peer pressure. Girls' religious values were often connected to their current identity and developing

identity in shaping who they want to become. Religious influences could also be particularly gendered and impact participants' leisure as religious girls.

5.5.2 Gender and religion

In addition to general influences of religion in girl's lives, the specific intersection of gender and religion can often significantly shape their experiences, including their leisure. For instance, one particular religious practice is observed by many Muslim women – the wearing of the hijab, or head scarf covering. While many girls 'carry' their religion with them often inconspicuously, for girls wearing the hijab, their religious observance is distinctly visible to others. Rose described her views on wearing the hijab and how she feels it protects her:

[When] you are a Muslim . . . you have to wear the [hijab around males]. Some people don't care if they wear a hijab or not. They choose [to wear it or not]. But, I think if I'm wearing a hijab and these are the rules of the hijab, I should follow them . . . [I feel] this [hijab] can protect you from everything that will hurt you . . . You know how boys and girls are like. Boys . . . they want to do everything they want. And when I wear this [hijab], I feel I am safe, because they can't see what I look like from the inside, like what my hair is . . . Some boys I have seen in my classes, they just look at the girl and [they see] her face looks like this, her hair is like this, but I think I'm fine . . . I feel [the hijab protects me]. (Rose)

In contrast to Rose, Salima described that she chooses not to wear the hijab. This decision may be seen as gender resistance given that some people think that she should be wearing a hijab.

Salima resists these cultural views by asserting and defending her own choices:

I am religious, but I'm not wearing a hijab or anything, and some people think that I should . . . Not my friends [and] usually not my family, but usually it is [people] back home . . . [They think] I should wear the hijab and all, you know, the whole thing . . . [I think] It's more your choice . . . and what you feel comfortable [with]. And what you want to do. I feel it's not what's on the outside that matters; [it's] what's inside. So, I have my own choices and I made my own choices. Sometimes when someone tells me that I am not supposed to do this or that, it just frustrates me. I almost have a fight with them, and I have. (Salima)

Another area where the intersection of gender and religion becomes prominent is Muslim views of mixed-gender interactions, and specifically dating. Amira explained some of the views

and restrictions on gender interactions back home and clarified that these views are not only particular to Muslims, but also more broadly to Arabic countries. She discussed how she and her family have continued to observe these views in Canada and how she intends to continue even when she is older:

[My parents say I can hang out with a group] if it's guys and girls together . . . a mix is okay. But, only guys, nooo! . . . In my country, we're all like that. So it's not a new thing for me . . . In my country, we don't have boyfriend and girlfriend. This is not a thing . . . [It's] not just a Muslim [restriction], like all the cultures in my country, an Arabic country, we can't do that in Arabic [countries] . . . People don't say why or something . . . Now, they're changing [things in] some [Arabic countries], but the people who do that, all the people think like, 'He's a bad guy. He has a girlfriend and he can't marry' . . . It's like [if] you had a girlfriend, you still love her or something like that . . . And always the boy leaves [the girl]. They just leave the girl and the girl gets in trouble . . . Parents don't like that . . . [So] I don't want to [date, even when I'm older]. (Amira)

Similar to her view of wearing the hijab, Rose expressed how another aspect of her religion – restrictions on dating and sex – also serves to protect her:

We [Muslims] don't do the sexy stuff. Like, you know, how the girls and the boys and the kisses and the dresses . . . [We] never [date] . . . You can't do anything like that before marriage . . . I feel healthy with it and I feel very happy. 'Cause I don't do those things. I'm sure those things might hurt [people], like [causing] many diseases such as AIDS. I have seen many students at other schools who have AIDS because of that thing . . . What's the point of doing that thing and you didn't grow very well yet. They do these kinds of things for fun. They said it's fun and I'm surprised when they say it's fun 'cause this thing is more than fun, but you just do it for no reason. And they sometimes hurt others because of that thing, so I don't like it. I think I'm saving myself. (Rose)

The intersection of gender and religion influenced some participants' leisure in terms of their dress and interactions with boys. While clothes and accessories can be forms of consumptive leisure, one particular accessory, the hijab, acquires a very different meaning as an outward signifier of girls' religious devotion. Gendered religious influences also impacted a typical area of adolescent exploration within a leisure context – dating and sexuality. While these areas are perceived as 'fun' by many adolescents, some participants firmly resolved to continue adhering to their religion's proscription of dating and sex before marriage. Along with girls'

continuing influences of religion in Canada, many also pursued other continuing identities through leisure.

5.5.3 Continuing leisure identities

In addition to ‘bringing’ their religion with them to Canada, many girls also brought with them the leisure interests they had back home. In the unfamiliarity and differences of Canadian culture, girls connected to familiar leisure pursuits. This continuing leisure spanned both temporal and geographic distances, and was often transformed by both time and place. Some of the leisure girls continued to enjoy in Canada was strongly connected to their sense of self, or identity.

Some girls shared how they regularly use their journals as a safe place to confide their feelings, thoughts and experiences. Their journals even become like a trusted friend:

I’ve always [had a journal] . . . Usually, I write in Arabic . . . I’m a quiet person . . . so I don’t like to talk, to tell everything I feel to all the people, so I just write [in my journal] . . . I tell my feelings to the book. I feel like I’m talking to someone and they can’t judge me . . . Especially [with] my best friends, sometimes I get mad at them. So I can’t tell them, ‘I’m mad at you.’ I don’t like to judge people or make them feel sad. (Amira)

Rose shared how in addition to documenting her daily experiences and feelings, she also uses her journal as a place to explore her creativity by writing stories and poems and recording her thoughts on books she has read:

I’ve been [journaling] since I was a child . . . I have diary books. I write to tell what’s happened with me every day . . . I write a journal [entry] . . . [in] my bedroom [before I] sleep. It’s like my book is my imaginary friend, so I can tell her everything . . . So I have written many things . . . I like to write stories [and] I like to write poetry too . . . I like to tell [my diary] what I feel. Sometimes, I write about what I have read in some books. I like to discuss things by myself. Some people tell me that I’m selfish because I do that with a book, because I think that he’s like understanding me, but it’s just a book. I just like to write these things because I like to read them later. (Rose)

Reading was a leisure activity that a number of girls had enjoyed since they learned to read. As Amira stated, “I [have] liked [reading since] I was [in] grade one . . . When I read, I can

imagine everything happening so it's [a good mental escape] . . . When I get angry or something, I read [and] this makes me feel better." Rose described how reading is part of her daily life and how she too enjoys imagining what she is reading, "I was always a reader, even in Syria. I like to hear the stories [and to] close my eyes and imagine the pictures. I think I spend the most time on books . . . When I go back to my bedroom to get ready to sleep, I go take [out] the books that I want [to read before bed]." Hana commented that she loves reading and continues to do so in Canada, in her first language as well as now in English. Some of what she chooses to read is connected to her identity as a "science-minded student":

I love reading . . . I actually [prefer to read] in my [first] language, [but] I do [also read in English]. I actually don't mind reading any book. I just finished reading *The Color Purple* . . . I don't like reading when it's for school, but I don't mind reading anything [else] . . . I'm a science-minded student, so I can actually read any scientific stuff [like journal articles], [that] some people find really boring. (Hana)

While many girls expressed that they continued to enjoy leisure such as journaling and reading, which provided mental benefits, one participant emphasized the importance of physically active leisure for keeping her body healthy. Her commitment to regular physical activity has remained constant and seems to be connected to valuing her health as part of her identity. The form of her continued physical activity in Canada, however, has changed from physical activity outside with others, back home, to physical activity by herself at home here:

[Back home, I would] spend time doing physical activities with friends . . . I would spend all of my time outside . . . [Here], I work out every day . . . [at] home . . . I use my phone to get the video [from YouTube] to copy exercise routines . . . I just watch them [on my phone] while I workout . . . I take my health really seriously . . . It's important because I want to feel healthy. (Decontee)

Food is often a powerful cultural connection. Preparing and sharing food is traditionally something that women and girls in a family have undertaken. Some girls fondly described how

they learned to cook or bake from their mothers or grandmothers and now consider cooking and baking part of their leisure:

I [have been cooking since] I was eight-years-old. I help my mother a lot . . . The first thing I did was a cake, it was horrible. Instead of the sugar, I put salt . . . [My mom] encouraged me to [cook] . . . When you do [a] cake, you can do art on them . . . Sometimes, when I'm very sad or something, I just go and cook . . . Sometimes I know [what I'm doing], sometimes I follow a [cook]book. (Amira)

My grandmother, she's always [in the kitchen]. I would say [she's spent] half of her life in the kitchen, like cooking, baking . . . And I was always with her. So, I always see her cooking [and] baking. So I end up [not] taking [up] the cooking, [but] the baking part. [When I bake], it always reminds me of her . . . I love baking . . . It was [recently] my little sister's birthday, [so] I baked cupcakes and cake for her. (Hana)

Girls' continuing leisure and leisure identities also includes various creative forms of leisure. Creative leisure seems to be a particular context where girls can embrace their culture and express their talents and individuality. Murungi described how she has always loved dancing. In Canada, she has continuing to dance, but is learning and teaching new dances so that dance, for her, truly spans two places and cultures:

I love [dancing] . . . I started dancing when I was little, back home. I used to perform in the church. I used to dance. So that's how I grew up thinking . . . [Now,] I'm learning entirely different dances. Because the dances I used to do back home, I don't remember them . . . [So I'm learning] new things [and] I teach them [to others] . . . It feels great [to dance]. I feel [like] it's the thing I wanted to do for a long time . . . Now, this is really good. (Murungi)

Rose conveyed that she has liked doing art since she was a child. She described her progression over the years of experiences with art back home, which led her to know that art had an important place in her life. As she moved from doing art to being "an artist", art became part of her identity, which continues to evolve in Canada:

I [have] liked art [since] I was a child, like [since] I was about five, six years [old] . . . There's many people from my family that are artists. My dad is an artist. I liked to draw pictures [of] animals before, or [of] little toys or Barbie stuff. But then I got better and better. Then in Syria, I started to know that, 'Oh yeah, I'm going with art' . . . I took two [art courses] in Syria and I did one here [in Canada] with the school. And I'm applying

for another program to have it for the summer . . . I'm an artist . . . Art is my favourite thing . . . I go to my room to do art . . . I like to do it by myself. (Rose)

Rose further explained that art is central to her identity because it allows her to freely express herself – what is “inside.” She offered an insightful mind/body contrast in asserting her interior experience of art with the exterior experience of sports:

The only thing that I would never stop is art. Because, you know, if I play tennis or soccer, this thing is at the front of me, like trees, grass, colours, this kind of stuff. [But] art is totally different ‘cause it depends on *you*. Like your inside, what you like to make on the pictures . . . I can build it freely . . . I feel like I'm swimming in space and I'm free to do whatever I want . . . Art is the very special thing ‘cause you make what you want. At the end, you see it in front of you. And then you close your eyes and think about what the picture looks like and when you're done, the picture's in front of you. So that's why I like this more because that one [sports] is physical and healthy, like for your body. But, this one [art] is the imaginary stuff. I can think about it. (Rose)

Sanura conveyed that her singing has become inextricable from her identity, as she asserted, “This is who I am.” Her love of singing began back home in her church and has continued here in Canada, but with a newfound sense of possibilities and ambitions:

In Africa, I used to sing in church . . . [I would] sing in church and every day [people would say] I have this beautiful voice [and] all the church would get up and clap . . . I really like singing in front of people, just making people happy . . . I discovered that this is what I love to do; I like to sing . . . This is who I am. I'm going to sing! . . . [So] when I was in Africa, I was like, ‘If I go to Canada, I'm going to sing.’ So when I got here, I saw a lot of Black people singing on TV. I didn't [think] that the Black people are going to be on TV . . . I mean like Beyonce. I want to be like Queen Beyonce . . . [When I see her on TV] singing on the stage, [I see her] do her moves, [and] I just try it. [I try] everything she does, every time I see her . . . I just sing in the house every day . . . My dream is one day to sing in front of all those people. Like, they have *The Voice* . . . Last year, I was like, ‘I'm going to go!’ So, I filled the form and then I sent it in, but someone told me you can't audition because it's in America. I was like, ‘Omigod, why not?’ . . . My dream is to sing. I'm not going to give up. (Sanura)

Participants continued in Canada many of their leisure interests from back home. This continuing leisure was often an important context for both personal and social identities, which continued to evolve in Canada. In addition to continuing leisure and associated identities, girls also discovered new leisure pursuits and emerging identities in Canada.

5.5.4 New leisure and emerging identities

Just as many girls continued to pursue in Canada the leisure they enjoyed back home, girls also experienced new forms of leisure in Canada and emerging leisure identities. This new leisure was often connected to experiences and limitations that girls brought with them from home that made certain leisure previously inaccessible or unlikely. For some girls, it was only in coming to Canada that they fully recognized certain leisure limitations back home through experiencing a contrast in Canada. For other girls, they were well aware of leisure limitations and appreciated the opportunities they discovered in Canada to transform them and experience new forms of leisure as a result. For instance, Salima explained how leaving her family back home and being exposed to different people in Canada transformed her shyness and has given her a new confidence in simply doing what she wants to do (leisure or otherwise): “I used to be really shy, but I’m not any more . . . Since I left my family, I have been exposed to different people [and] living with different people. So, [I] almost have to deal with all kinds of different people, so [I’m not shy any more] . . . And if I want to do something, then I do it.” While not being around familiar people compelled Salima to become less shy, for Murungi, not having friends when she first came to Canada meant she sought out some solitary leisure, reading, which is now something she really enjoys:

I really never liked to read back home. I never even touched a book that I’m going to read . . . [But] I started liking it when I got here and I didn’t have any friends at the beginning . . . So I started reading just to waste time [and now I like reading] . . . I get books from the library. I read mostly in my free time . . . [I like] real [stories] . . . I kind of relate to it or relate to other things . . . You can understand what is going on . . . I can visualize what [is happening in books]. I can create my own picture [in my mind] . . . I usually read before bed, or whenever I wake up in the morning . . . [I like reading because] I feel like I’m in a different world. It’s really good. My house is really, really loud, [so] I just go in my room and lose all that stress. (Murungi)

Sanura described her excitement about learning to read in Canada and being able to make reading a part of her leisure:

I wasn't able to read [back home] 'cause education wasn't good there . . . So when I got to Canada, I couldn't even read. I [could] speak English, but my English wasn't good . . . [Then], I started to read [here]. In Canada, they help [you and] you understand . . . Like, they take you to the library, they give you books, they teach you words. You [learn to] read. I was like, 'Omgod, this is awesome! Now I can read. I'm going to read books [and] text books. I can answer questions [from] the teacher. I can read!' . . . So now I just keep going . . . Now reading is part of my leisure . . . I'm now reading a book called *The Bite of the Mango*, and then I am reading a book by Ellen DeGeneres called *Seriously...I'm Kidding*. I like real stories and fiction too. (Sanura)

For Sanura, the education she received in Canada not only opened up the possibilities of reading for her leisure, but also of reading as a requirement of her future career aspiration:

Reading is something I wanted to do for a long time because I want to be a nurse [and they] have to read a lot. I went to the [school] library [to see if] they have some nursing [books]. [They said], 'Wow, you're really serious about [being a] nurse . . . Nobody's ever asked for [that].' I was like, 'Yeah, I'm really serious . . . I want to be a nurse so badly' . . . One day, I want to go back to Africa and help people when they're suffering there. (Sanura)

Noora discovered photography as a new form of leisure in Canada, which was inspired by the changing seasons and beautiful natural scenery she saw around her, in contrast to her surroundings back home:

[Photography is a] new [hobby for me]. Because here [in Canada], it's beautiful. Like, there [is] the nature . . . The nature is not very good [back home] . . . [Back home,] I don't see the orange leaves on the ground . . . And also, [here in] the spring, you see the flowers. There [back home], so much [of the year] is winter . . . [I love photography because] if you [are] sitting alone and you open the pictures, [you can] remember the good times with your friends [and] family . . . I love photographing. When I go with my family to the park, I always take my camera and [take] pictures . . . I'm trying [to learn more about photography]. I will take courses . . . They have [a] photography course [at my school]. (Noora)

Just as there were certain leisure activities that girls enjoyed back home, but could not readily find here, such as the handball Murungi described earlier, there are activities in Canada that girls did not really have back home. Decontee described one such activity, ballet, which she discovered in Canada and became interested in pursuing. She also conveyed the intrapersonal constraint that arose for her in feeling inexperienced with ballet, compared to Canadian peers

who may have been dancing since they were much younger. Decontee suggested two ways in which she felt she could negotiate this constraint:

Back home, we don't do ballet, [or if people do], the number is very low. . . . When I came to Canada, that was when I gained interest. [The appeal for me was] the art of ballet; the movement and the stories that are portrayed in the movement . . . I was going to Eastwood [an arts high school], 'cause I got into the art program . . . They have [dance] classes [there and] the teacher actually teaches you dance . . . [But] I was so inexperienced out of almost everybody when I went there. I just wish I had experience [with ballet] at an earlier age, instead of now . . . [So] I don't want to [learn ballet] at school. I can do it somewhere else, just not at school . . . I want to go somewhere else where people don't know me . . . I've tried [to] . . . use my phone to learn ballet [using YouTube videos]. (Decontee)

Finally, another new leisure area that opened up for girls in Canada involved playing sports. This area emphasizes the intersection of gender and culture given that girls often experienced restrictions back home around physical activity, particularly for very active sports and team sports. For instance, as Noora explained, playing sports in general back home was “not common” for girls. When asked about girls specifically playing team sports back home, she replied, “I didn't hear [about] those things for girls.” In Canada, however, Noora succinctly described her gender resistance in asserting that she will play soccer, despite the view she acknowledged others hold about soccer being “for boys”: “Many people say girls don't play soccer; soccer [is] for boys. [But, I say], ‘Who cares?’ I like soccer. I will play soccer . . . I think it's something [that's] good, why don't I do it? . . . [Girls] have to believe in themselves to do things they want to do.” Rose shared a similar cultural environment back home as Noora given that they both lived in Baghdad and then in Syria. Although Rose does not specifically describe cultural views back home restricting girls from playing sports, such as soccer, she does explain that at least within her family, soccer was an activity for “especially boys” and was associated with the males in her family and their leisure. She expressed that it was only in coming to

Canada and seeing girls playing soccer here that she experienced a significant shift and began to view, and enjoy, soccer as a leisure activity for her and her female friends:

When I was a child, you can't imagine how I hated soccer . . . My family likes to watch soccer, especially boys . . . So, I [used to] hate that because they take the whole TV and they keep watching and watching; it never ends. Even in Syria, I didn't like it. My brother liked to watch this kind of sport. I'm like, 'Oh no, I hate it.' But, then when I came here [to Canada], I have seen the girls playing soccer and [things] changed for me . . . I start to like it . . . And then I suddenly just like it . . . I said [to my girlfriends], 'I know how to play soccer, why don't we *enjoy* [it]?' And then, I did the application [to play soccer on our high school team], so they agreed. I played for one year. It was awesome! I just have found that I have another hobby that's new . . . Especially in the summer time, it's fun. I like [to play] outside . . . In the summer, I usually go to the garden with my friends and just play with just the girls. (Rose)

Rose further explained how she and her teacher negotiated the initial constraint of the school soccer team uniform conflicting with her Muslim dress code:

When I got [the soccer uniform] in the beginning, the dress they gave me was short. So I just told the main teacher, 'If I want to be a player, I can't play with this dress. I have to wear something long and I will be just normal like the others.' Then she said, 'You can do that' . . . My teacher made me a long shirt and I'm wearing long pants . . . They respect what I'm wearing and then I just did [played soccer] . . . [So] it's not a problem with my leisure since I'm a Muslim girl . . . We can even play sports by wearing something long and wearing your hijab. (Rose)

Many participants explored new forms of leisure and emerging identities in Canada.

Compared to their experiences back home, particular differences in Canada often facilitated girls' explorations of new leisure. These differences included being exposed to new people and not having familiar friendships. In addition, girls discovered new leisure in Canada given differences related to scenery, availability, and gender ideologies. While participants engaged in leisure that was distinctly different from what they experienced back home, they also pursued leisure as a significant connection to their culture and its continuing influence on their lives in Canada.

5.5.5 Leisure as a cultural connection

While leisure was often a way for girls to continue existing activities and identities from back home here in Canada, leisure was also a way of connecting to their home country and culture. Leisure as a cultural connection took several forms, including remembering, celebrating and sharing their culture. For instance, Hana explained one of the photographs she had taken and shared with me in our interview, “I took a picture of my album . . . This is what I brought from back home . . . The pictures in it are from my country.” Decontee commented that she watches African movies to see and be reminded of her home country, “[I watch] movies from Africa ‘cause you can see like, ‘Omigod, I used to do that.’” She also expressed, “[I] listen to music from home.” Rose stated that she too incorporates music from back home into her leisure here, “I like [to sing] Arabian songs [from] my country.”

Hana described how her mother balances their two cultures – Ethiopian and Canadian – for her and her younger sister, who was born in Canada. Through her mother’s efforts, Hana is reminded of, and celebrates, her culture and traditions in “simple ways” including language, music, décor, and food:

My mom’s really open-minded and she tries to balance two of the cultures we have . . . I am actually really impressed with the fact that [she does this given that] she had been here [for a] really long [time]. [She’s been] out of her country [for] almost nineteen years now. A lot people think that if you’re a teenager and you’re coming from different countries [to a] Western country, you forget your culture, you forget your language or religion, and then you become [assimilated] to the Western society. [But] she didn’t let us do that . . . [It’s] just in very simple ways. Like, my mom works in home child care, so her kids are speaking in English most of the time. So, she can’t speak with them in her language for sure. And her daughter . . . my little sister . . . is with them too, so she doesn’t really get to have time to speak with her in her language. But, still she taught her and she actually read a book in [our] Ethiopian language. So I was really impressed when I heard her saying the words in my language . . . And [we] listen to our music . . . That keeps our tradition . . . We [also] have a lot of Africanish [things in our house] . . . [And] my mom’s really a good cook [who cooks] both [Ethiopian and Canadian food]. (Hana)

Dance was another way that girls connected to their culture back home. This form of creative connection also seemed to be a way of celebrating their culture since it was often enjoyed with others. Nia shared that dancing is “a culture thing” for her and other Africans:

Me and my friends would dance all the time [back home]. Dancing is one of my things I love to do. It’s kind of like a culture thing, ‘cause when you’re African, you dance a lot. And I still just like to do it . . . There is kind of a style to follow, but it’s just anything you feel within the beat. It’s just whatever you feel. It’s just dancing. (Nia)

Murungi’s love of African dance led her to organize an African dance group at her school, which performed at the school’s multicultural show. She is also in a self-organized African dance troupe with some of her brothers and performs regularly for celebrations within her African community here in Canada. Murungi spoke about how she ‘carries’ her pride for her African culture through dance:

I started the African Group Dance at my school. [My school has an annual] multicultural show, [to showcase] different cultures, but Africa wasn’t included [originally] . . . I’m like, ‘Oh, where is the African group? I want to join.’ [They said,] ‘Oh, we don’t have that.’ I’m like, ‘Why not?’ . . . There’s like [an] Indian [group], there’s [a] Canadian [group], there’s [cultures from all] around the world [that have a group] . . . [So] then I asked my brothers if we can form a group and they said yes, so [we formed a group] two years ago, right after I came [to Canada] . . . [Then], some other [students] from Haiti [wanted] to join. So, [our group is now] both Africa and Haiti . . . [So, for the] multicultural show [this year] I was a leader and [taught] everybody [an] African dance . . . [The dance we did] is called azonta. That’s the most famous Kenyan dance . . . Me and my brother were [also] doing [a] Ugandan dance . . . [Outside of school], I’m [also] dancing ‘cause I participate in African parties. My brothers [and I get] invited to dance and go participate [at various] celebrations . . . [We dance for] mostly every celebration, [like] Easter, [and] Independence Day, [and] Christmas, [and] New Years, all those [celebrations] . . . [With] the [African] dance, you feel you can carry it somewhere else and bring it up. You feel like you’re proud of it; you can’t hide it. I think that’s really good. (Murungi)

While leisure activities such as cultural dance and music are clear ways for girls to connect to their culture, one leisure activity for a participant may seem unlikely as a cultural connection. When asked about what leisure she enjoys in Canada, one participant readily responded that she loves babysitting. The cultural connection of this leisure activity becomes

clear when she explains how it reminds her of her African community back home, where women and girls worked together to care for children:

I like babysitting . . . I just love kids. I just [like] playing [and] watching them doing crazy stuff . . . I choose to [babysit]. I want to do it . . . It reminds me [of back home] . . . [when] people used to babysit me. [It] reminds me of that. ‘Cause in Africa, we have a community . . . Mostly the women work in [a] group. [Like], they go shopping together, so it’s like ‘Let’s take our baby to your daughter [and] let her babysit.’ So, we have this big [group of kids] in this play [area] . . . [There would be] a lot of kids, like six, seven kids . . . [because people have] big families [back home]. (Sanura)

Another significant way in which leisure was a cultural connection was through family leisure. Some girls shared specifically cultural leisure with their families, such as Murungi and her brothers performing African dance or Hana’s mother incorporating their culture into their home through food and décor. Other girls, however, simply connected to their culture through spending time with their families who also share their culture. When girls spoke of their experiences back home, they often emphasized the importance of family. Family leisure in Canada, then, could be seen as a way for girls to not only connect to those who share their culture, but also to their cultural value of family itself, regardless of the particular leisure they enjoy as a family. For instance, Lina commented, “I actually go [to the park] with my family . . . [Sometimes, we] eat there . . . [and] me and my brother [play games], [like] we play soccer.” Chantal explained, “Most of the time, I’m with my family . . . Me and my brothers, we’re all close [in age] or [the] same age.” For some girls, they preferred spending time with their families even more than they did with friends. Aya described, “I like to be with my cousins and my family. Even my grandma and grandpa . . . I like to be with [family] more than even with my friends.” Shahad conveyed, “I have many friends, but I never go with them outside. I like to go with my family . . . It seems normal to me.”

Lastly, leisure as a cultural connection also involved girls sharing their culture and experiences to teach and inform others. For instance, in Canada, Salima has participated in conferences and presentations to teach and inform others about her experiences as a refugee. She explained, “[I] went to a conference mostly about refugees . . . They made a video and I was in the video talking about my experiences. And then we went a conference that was about refugees and the new laws about refugees and all that. And I have done a lot of presentations and stuff too.” Salima also described how she taught others about her Afghan culture through her involvement with an exchange program, which brought her to the United States:

[I got a scholarship as part of] an exchange program . . . [for] people to learn [and teach others] about their culture, language, people and all that. Obviously, there are stereotypes in [North America] about Afghans. So the purpose of the program was to eliminate these stereotypes . . . [So] part of [the program] was the school, but [another] part of it was culture, religion and all the other stuff . . . We had to do presentations and stuff about Afghanistan and Afghan culture. (Salima)

Murungi’s dancing in her school’s multicultural show was also a way of sharing part of her culture with others:

[My school’s] multicultural show [is] where you have to show your culture, to show that you can do something. It’s meant to expose your culture [to] students, parents, teachers and other visitors . . . I participated in dancing [this year and] last year too . . . Lots of people don’t know [we] could really have African dance. . . It was a good experience . . . The crowd loved [it]. When you’re up there dancing, it’s just a good feeling . . . Especially my teachers [were surprised]. They were all, ‘Oh wow, that was really incredible.’ (Murungi)

Finally, Sanura shared how she and other immigrant youth from her school participated in a YMCA drama production, which aimed to teach Canadian audiences about some of the experiences of immigrant youth. Sanura described her involvement in this creative venue for sharing some of her own stories:

I’m doing this drama thing. It’s awesome . . . It’s a YMCA program . . . We tell stories about our life . . . based on our lives in Africa [and] our lives in Canada. We tell the differences . . . Like, everybody tells a [story] about school experiences, growing up,

what our life was, like [was] it bad, was it good, all those kind of things . . . So we have this big production [with] immigrant people [who] are GCI [highschool] students . . . We have to do this big drama in front of people . . . We have to go the mall, to the cinema, [and] in our school, in front of all the students . . . It's good because Canadian people are really interested in hearing your story. (Sanura)

Participants' life journey began back home, where they experienced both structural and gender constraints to their leisure, but also enacted gender resistances to sometimes overtly patriarchal cultures. Leaving home, girls' embarked on a new journey to Canada. In this different world, they encountered structural, intrapersonal and interpersonal leisure constraints. Experiences of racism and gender constraints compounded participants' leisure challenges. Far from being passengers on their own journeys, girls actively navigated all three forms of constraints experienced in Canada and also resisted racism, sexism, and other forms of marginalizing prejudice. Finally, the cultural identities and intersections participants brought with them from home were unpacked in Canada through leisure. Leisure was a vital context for participants' continuing and emerging identities and a meaningful connection to remembering, celebrating and sharing their culture.

Chapter Six: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the constraints to leisure as well as the negotiations and resistances by adolescent girls of diverse races and ethnicities. Through interviews with immigrant adolescent girls, the findings from this research suggest that while girls encountered many leisure constraints both back home and in Canada, they also actively negotiated constraints and resisted sexism, racism, and other forms of prejudice. The findings also reveal the significance of leisure in developing and expressing girls' identity, which involved intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. The following discussion will elucidate the contributions of this research to a more complex and inclusive understanding of the leisure constraints, negotiations, and resistances of diverse adolescent girls, with a particular focus on gender. The discussion will also highlight the role of leisure in facilitating the exploration of girls' multifaceted selves.

6.1 “*This is who I am*” Discovering identities through leisure

One of the central tasks and challenges for adolescents is developing their identity, which includes considering the kind of roles they will adopt and determining who they are and want to become (Lerner et al., 2005). Previous research has indicated that leisure can play an important role in helping adolescents develop their identity. Participants discussed how their leisure was indeed part of discovering, affirming, and articulating their identity. Leisure research has suggested that leisure's role in adolescent identity development can occur in at least three distinct ways. The first way is through leisure offering adolescents the freedom to explore and “try on” different roles (Kelly, 1987). As Shannon (2007) contends, “leisure offers the opportunity to “present” ourselves to others and to gauge their reactions on our successes and failures. Through this process, individuals' identities emerge” (p. 25). Participants often described exploring

different leisure in terms of presenting themselves to others. For instance, one participant literally presented herself to others through her participation in drama productions both back home and in Canada. Her enthusiasm for drama was encouraged by the positive reactions she received from the women in the audience back home and from Canadians who were very interested in hearing her story. Girls' engagement with social media was another way in which they presented themselves to others and incorporated their reactions into how they felt about their involvement with this form of leisure and its connections to their identity. One participant's use of Twitter, for example, suggests how she enjoys virtually sharing with others her thoughts and feelings and viewing the exchanges that occur when others convey that they like what she has shared, either through responding comments or by simply 'following' her. Through such person-context interactions, girls can affirm parts of their identity (Grotevant, 1998).

In addition to "trying on" the fit of different roles through person-context interactions, participants also used leisure to explore different roles by developing skills associated with leisure, which was frequently a creative or active form of leisure. Participants' identities often became connected with leisure pursuits where they had dedicated themselves to honing certain skills. This was evident in girls' claiming identities connected to leisure. For instance, one participant asserted, "I'm an artist" and another insisted, "This is who I am" when she described her love of singing. This suggests that self-definitions can incorporate leisure participation (Jun & Kyle, 2012). Participants developed competencies and associated leisure identities through the process of learning and improving their skills. Indeed, leisure activities provide many opportunities for developing skills and competencies (Caldwell & Witt 2011). This occurred for participants in several ways, including taking classes, learning from family members, practicing

skills, and even using technological resources such as YouTube videos and smart phone applications. These pursuits all required girls' self-initiative to learn and improve their skills.

Participants' skills or initiative with leisure pursuits could also allow them to "try on" the role of leader. For instance, one participant proudly assumed a leadership role when she formed a dance group at her school and taught its members African dances to perform at the school's multicultural show. Improving skills and assuming leadership roles within leisure contexts requires self-initiative, which is usually developed within intrinsically motivated leisure (Caldwell & Witt, 2011). Intrinsically motivated leisure is internally rewarding and is pursued for its own sake, rather than for external rewards, such as winning a sports competition (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003). The development of initiative that participants demonstrated is particularly important in supporting the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Larson, 2000). Often, the desirable traits of a leisure identity, such as being a leader or being creative, can motivate individuals to participate and affirm who they are by what they do (Haggard & Williams, 1992).

A second way in which leisure can play an important role in helping adolescents develop their identity is through providing opportunities for them to differentiate themselves from others through individuation (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Kleiber, 1999). Several girls in this study emphasized their individuality through leisure by such means as wearing unique clothing, listening to non-mainstream music, and asserting their own values and sense of self, even when they went against the "typical" values and interests of other adolescent girls. Girls also differentiated themselves from others when they refused to 'follow the crowd' or succumb to peer pressure, at times through the moral guidance they found within their religions.

Finally, a third way that adolescents' identity development is assisted by leisure is through leisure as a means for adolescents to determine how they fit within the world by connecting with their peers, a process called integration (Caldwell & Darling, 1999). Indeed, for most adolescents, social activities are among the most frequently pursued forms of leisure (Kleiber, Caldwell, & Shaw, 1993). For many girls in this study, leisure promoted their connections to their peers. This occurred in numerous leisure contexts, including team sports, shopping, drama, and dance. Another commonly discussed way of connecting with friends occurred through participants' use of social media and communication sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Skype. Through these sites, girls connected with friends both in Canada and back home. The regular (and often enthusiastic) use of social media by most participants corresponds with research that indicates adolescents spend a large amount of time with social media and on the internet (Caldwell & Witt, 2011). A recent study revealed that over 90% of American adolescents use the internet and spend over six hours a day with some type of internet media, including social networking sites (Roberts, Foehr, & Rideout, 2005). Some studies suggest that through their use of media and technology, adolescents can gain social skills, feelings of belonging, and creativity, among other potential advantages (Greenhow & Robelia, 2009).

Participants' connections to peers certainly supports the accepted adolescent identity development process whereby there is a marked shift from spending time with family to spending time with peers (Larson et al., 1996). However, it is notable that this research also suggests that this accepted shift from family to peers does not occur for all adolescents. Several girls in the study emphasized the continued importance of family for them, and some even asserted their preference for spending time with family rather than friends. This suggests that the North American adolescent identity development model may only be applicable to certain groups

of adolescents. It may not represent the experiences of adolescents from cultures with a particular emphasis on family and family cohesion. As such, immigrant adolescents may follow a different path to identity development, which acknowledges their desire to remain close to their families, rather than separating from them to connect more with peers.

Another way in which identity development may be different for immigrant youth compared to their Canadian peers concerns a personal peer culture. Research suggests that adolescence is a time where a personal peer culture is formed through contact with peers at school and in leisure time. This peer culture includes the influence of the media and other shared cultural references, which create situational and generational bonds between adolescents (Zeijl et al., 2000). However, this research suggests that for immigrant youth, connecting with peers can be challenging specifically because they do not share the same peer culture or situational bonds that are shared by adolescents who have grown up in the same culture. This became evident for participants who found they could not relate to certain cultural references, such as popular books, and as a result, felt left out or excluded from conversations or other opportunities to relate and bond with Canadian peers. Language difficulties also challenged participants' connections to Canadian peers. Moreover, beyond language difficulties and not sharing certain cultural references, sometimes there was a deeper cultural incongruity between immigrant adolescent girls and their Canadian peers. This could involve a different set of values and interests. For instance, one participant's perception of the more "shallow" interests of her Canadian peers, particularly girls, meant that she had difficulty making friends since, as she commented, "what they value and what I value is totally different." Girls' efforts to connect with others were also impeded by their sense that Canadian culture is lacking in some of the ways in which they

connected with others back home, such as traditions and a mentality of working together, rather than being “trapped into separate lives” as one participant described.

Leisure can facilitate the important process of adolescent identity development through providing opportunities to explore different roles, differentiate themselves, and also integrate, or connect, with others. Participants experienced leisure which provided all three approaches to identity development. However, participants also experienced constraints, particularly gender constraints, which impacted their opportunities to discover and assert their own identities, both back home and in Canada.

6.2 “I don’t know what’s wrong with girls” Experiencing gender constraints back home

As Shaw (1994) suggests, one of the three approaches to the analysis of women’s – and girls’ – leisure constraints focuses on the constraints in the leisure lives of women and girls, which arise due to disadvantages or oppressions within patriarchal society that affect leisure access or enjoyment. Throughout the research, I specifically refer to ‘gender constraints’ to clearly identify constraints with gendered impacts (both in forming a constraint and in its implications). Within Crawford, Godbey & Jackson’s (1991) constraints conceptualization, however, gender constraints would be considered a form of interpersonal constraint since they involve interpersonal interactions (both on individual and societal levels). Participants reported many gender constraints both back home and in Canada. One of the gender constraints some girls experienced back home implicitly involved a commonly reported constraint – a lack of time. This kind of constraint is one of the most prevalent constraints, for both males and females (Kay & Jackson, 1991), and is considered a structural constraint (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford & Shen, 2010). However, a lack of time becomes a gender constraint

when it is largely the result of gendered expectations, which impact the availability of free time, or leisure time (Shaw & Henderson, 2005).

For some girls in this study, the gendered expectations they experienced frequently concerned domestic chores (which were not expected of men and boys). These regular chores involved tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and getting water from a well (which required a walk to and from the well). These daily domestic chores often began early in the morning and finished into the evening. While participants did not explicitly state that these gendered expectations left them little time for personal leisure, descriptions of a typical day back home made apparent that there were at least significant restrictions on their personal time that were experienced because they are girls. One participant, however, recounted that the domestic expectations required of her left her feeling so tired one evening that she fell asleep before she could wash her school uniform, which held its own repercussions.

Leisure research has rightly emphasized the lack of time for personal leisure given the “double shift” that many adult women experience as a result of responsibilities at work and at home, the latter of which often carries gendered expectations for household work and family care (Zuzanek, 2004). However, the current research suggests that adolescent girls are not exempt from similar time constraint pressures experienced by adult women. This gendered constraint may be culturally influenced in that the gendered expectations of adolescent girls in North America differ from gendered expectations of adolescent girls in other parts of the world, such as Africa and the Middle East. This is apparent, in part, by other gender constraints reported by participants, which suggest significant differences in the expectations and experiences of adolescent girls ‘back home’ compared to the typical experiences of adolescent girls in Canada.

One such gender constraint is the practice of child marriages. One African participant

discussed two observations of adolescent girls getting married. One comment regarded “a lot” of girls quitting school to get married and become mothers. Another comment by the same participant referred to the practice of child marriage in her explanation of a fourteen-year-old friend getting married to a wealthy older man after she became pregnant by him and he gave her parents a dowry to marry her. The custom of child marriage, marriage of a child under the age of eighteen years of age, disproportionately affects girls (Nour, 2006). While child marriage is a worldwide custom, its prevalence is highest in developing countries, and occurs most frequently in South Asia and Africa, where over 40% of women between the ages of 15-24 years have been married before the age of eighteen (United Nations, 2005). Girls in child marriages assume the roles of wives, mothers, and domestic workers (Nour, 2006). As such, they certainly experience major constraints to their free time and opportunities for personal leisure. Beyond the gendered expectations which impact free time, however, child marriage “truncates a girl’s childhood, creates grave physical and psychological health risks, and robs her of internationally recognized human rights” (Nour, 2006, p. 1647).

Another significant gender constraint back home that participants reported involved restrictions on girls’ physical activity, including participation in team sports, such as soccer. Leisure research (based in North America) has documented physical activity attrition in girls in part because of concerns about appropriate ‘feminine’ behaviours which can discourage exertion and physical activity, and as such participation in physical activity can be seen by girls as a threat to their gender identity (Davison, Schmalz & Downs, 2010). Girls in the current research reported their eagerness to participate in physical activities, such as soccer, biking and even simply climbing trees. They did not participate in certain physical activities not because of their own concerns about “non-conforming” gender behaviour, but because of these concerns by

others. These ‘others’ included specific individuals, such as family members, and also society at large, which held cultural norms about girls and physical activity. These norms could be enforced by social sanctioning, where individuals monitored girls’ behaviour and enacted social punishments for ‘transgressions’.

It is also notable that while a number of participants expressed their desire to participate in more gender-neutral physical activities, such as soccer, other girls’ physical activity of choice involved “gender-conforming” or “feminine” sports, such as dance, which emphasize aesthetics and body shape and are considered more socially acceptable for girls (Klomsten, Skaalvik & Espnes, 2004). It is unclear whether girls’ participation in dance corresponds with Wiley et al.’s (2000) suggestion that female participation in “feminine” sports may be connected to participants’ feeling comfortable expressing themselves in their sports in part because their participation confirms a “feminine image” (p. 28). An alternative consideration is that girls’ may have gravitated to dance as a physical activity not particularly because they *personally* felt comfortable with it as a “gender-conforming” activity, but simply because it was available to them as a form of physical activity, perhaps because it was “gender-conforming” activity. As Kleiber and Mannell (1997) assert in their discussion of adolescents and identity, adolescents are “literally creating themselves with whatever opportunities they have”. This is particularly the case for many of the girls in this study; specifically given the gender constraints to leisure they experienced back home.

Gender constraints in girls’ lives can be connected to patriarchal disadvantages, which affect their opportunities for leisure. Back home, participants’ gender constraints included gendered expectations which impacted their available free time, and which contextualizes a structural constraint as a gendered constraint. Girls in this study also experienced gender

constraints back home which literally restricted their movement, often through not being able to participate in certain physical activities and sports.

6.3 “*The picture-perfect girl on television*” Encountering gender constraints in Canada

The gender constraints participants experienced in Canada largely correspond to Shaw’s (1994) second approach to understanding women’s leisure constraints – leisure as constraint. This approach problematizes leisure itself and recognizes “the gendered nature of recreational participation and how traditional, stereotypical activities act to reinforce and reproduce oppressive gender relations” (Shaw, 1994, p. 8-9). This can occur through leisure reproducing dominant gender ideologies, such as those associated with traditional views of “femininity” (Shaw, 1994). One leisure context where gender ideologies and relations are often blatantly reproduced is mass media, including television, movies, music, and advertisements, among other forms of media. Participants discussed how their exposure to media in Canada as well as the content of media is different from what they experienced back home. In terms of exposure to media, one participant aptly remarked that she watches far more television, for instance, in Canada than she did back home in large part due to structural differences. Namely, she (and many others) did not have a television set back home and so she spent most of her leisure time outside with friends. Conversely, in Canada, she explained that she has nothing else to do and so she watches television. This participant’s high exposure to media through television certainly corresponds with the television viewing habits of many Canadian adolescents given that they spend an average of 12.9 hours a week watching television (Statistics Canada, 2004). For this participant, however, she watches so much television because she feels there is “nothing else to do here” as a result of significant structural differences between her experiences in Canada and those back home in Africa. Specifically, this participant observed that in Canada, there are less

open spaces to enjoy time outside. In addition, there are other structural constraints here such as the cost of many activities and the transportation required to access activities. As a result, this participant spends much of her leisure time watching television and is thus exposed to much more media than she was back home. This reflects how structural factors, or constraints, can impact interpersonal constraints. Structural constraints, such as less open spaces and more costly activities, changed this participant's leisure from mostly active, outdoor leisure back home to sedentary leisure here watching television, where she is more exposed to the media's often detrimental gender content – a gender, or interpersonal, constraint.

Indeed, the content of media in Canada (and North America, more generally) often portrays negative messages and images of women and girls. This gendered content, and its potential impacts, was distinctly noted by some participants. They remarked on several significant areas of concerning gender content on television, such as the prevalent exploitation of female bodies, by using women's bodies to sell products and appeal to the 'male gaze' with spectacles such as fantasy football, where women play televised football in lingerie. Participants were also aware of some of the gender content in music, where musicians, often rappers, objectify women and girls through singing about their sexual conquests. Participants observations of media content certainly correspond with existing research on gender roles depicted in the media across many media contexts. For instance, a recent extensive content analysis of a broad range of media forms found that women and girls are often portrayed negatively and in stereotyped, subordinated and sexualized roles (Collins, 2011). One participant openly acknowledged her awareness that media influences individuals. This awareness is congruent with research which affirms that media messages affect viewers and the socio-cultural climate by influencing ideas, values and beliefs, which shape individuals' perceptions of social

reality (Bryant & Oliver, 2009). One significant way in which the media shapes perceptions of social reality is through producing, and reproducing, gender ideologies which convey to women and girls that what matters most is their appearance (Kilbourne, 1999) and, as such, girls' self-worth often becomes bound up in how they look (Tiggemann, 2005).

One repercussion or impact of this societal focus on girls' appearance is girls' investment, often literally, in consumptive leisure, where consuming products accompanies leisure activities, or becomes the focus of leisure. Consumptive leisure was a common form of leisure for many girls in this study, often specifically shopping. Girls expressed that they enjoyed shopping with friends and sometimes with family members, such as mothers. The mall was a leisure "hang out" spot for a number girls, who enjoyed both browsing and buying items with a group of friends. One participant even sought out a school co-op term at a store in a mall for a fashion class. Through her co-op position, she spent four hours a day for several months at a favourite store, where she could "represent fashion." Another participant conveyed that the effect of advertising for her was that she was sometimes eager to buy certain products. This eagerness existed in tandem with this participant's awareness that girls are often the "main target" of advertising and can be negatively affected. Indeed, research asserts that adolescent girls are targeted as a lucrative marketing and merchandising category by powerful consumer industries, which encourage adolescent girls to become a "female consuming subject" (Cook & Kaiser, 2004, p. 203). The encouragement for girls to consume is difficult to avoid given the bombardment of advertisements found nearly everywhere, including television, magazines, and the internet. Through this bombardment of advertisements, often targeted at them specifically, adolescent girls receive the message that they should focus on their appearance and that this can be achieved through accessorizing themselves with such consumer items as clothes and makeup.

Participants expressed that they not only enjoyed the process of acquiring items through shopping, but also that they loved the outcome – having clothes and other accessories to wear. In addition to clothes and other physical accessories, one participant also described how she and her friends enjoy “makeup sessions” where they put on makeup, dress up, do their hair and take pictures of themselves. This activity is also a form of consumptive leisure given the physical products, such as makeup, that are involved. It is also certainly a form of leisure that emphasizes appearance. It is also notable that during these makeup sessions, some girls seem to be positively differentiated from others if they are “really good at makeup or doing hair,” which suggests that skills within these areas may be a source of self-esteem for some girls.

Another way that some girls differentiate themselves from others is by seeking to express their individuality through the items they buy and the clothes they wear. One participant explained that she likes to “get different stuff and wear different stuff than other people.” She does this through shopping in malls in other cities and wearing clothes and shoes that are different than what her friends are wearing. This practice of asserting individuality through (selective) consumption supports the contention that in our consumer society, “we seek to express who we are through our purchases” (Seabrook, 1990, p. 11). However, as Schor (2007) maintains, this self-expression through consumption confounds consumer ‘choice’ with individuality and agency and ultimately deceives people into conformity, ironically, under the guise of individuality.

Consumerism’s effect on conformity also extends to how people feel about themselves, not only in terms of expressing themselves as an individual, but also in terms of global self-esteem. The consumerism that underpins consumptive leisure is promoted largely through marketing and advertising within the media. Widely circulated messages from advertising and

throughout other forms of popular culture convey to adolescent girls that their bodies and appearance are inadequate as they are, and should endlessly be 'improved' through various forms of consumption. As such, advertising is an influential source of messages, and (re)producer of gendered cultural ideologies, which can be "toxic for girls' self-esteem" (Kilbourne, 1999, p. 131). Indeed, much recent research has confirmed the media's destructive impact on girl's body satisfaction and self-esteem (Bell, Lawton & Dittmar, 2007; Gentile et al., 2009; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Schooler et al., 2004).

Finally, participants' consumptive leisure can be considered a form of leisure as constraint (Shaw, 1994) given that participating in consumptive leisure diverts girls' attention from any true form of power. Essentially consumptive leisure's focus on selecting, acquiring and displaying material goods in order to carefully craft certain appearances demands girls' energy, money, and time. Specifically, the time many girls spend 'getting ready' is aptly recognized and lamented by one participant. Girls focusing their resources (energy, money, time) on the culturally encouraged preoccupation with changing and accessorizing themselves ultimately limits the resources available for other pursuits which may more meaningfully contribute to their identity and self-expression (Wolf, 1991).

While consumptive leisure can certainly have a constraining effect on adolescent girls in general, for immigrant adolescent girls, there may be additional challenges which are important to consider. It is notable that several participants reported money as a constraint for them often specifically related to not being able to go shopping or to buy the things they wanted. These participants insisted that while they certainly wanted to shop, often when friends were going shopping, they found that items were expensive and that it was generally "hard to buy what you want." This financially constrained experience of participants is in marked contrast to the

understanding of both marketers and researchers that adolescents typically have relatively large amounts of money to spend (Caldwell, 2005). While household income information was unavailable for participants, their reports of financial constraints may be contextualized within information which did arise within the research concerning their family situations. Two participants specifically noted that neither of their parents worked due to not being able to find employment or focusing on learning English. Another participant commented that only one of her parents has paid employment. There may also be a gendered element to the financial constraints experienced by some participants given that nearly half of the participants live with their single mothers. For these participants, it may be particularly relevant to situate their financial constraints within the context of women's disadvantaged position within patriarchal society. As Shaw (1994) contends, "women's lack of economic power and their lower earning power compared to men has been shown to be particularly constraining on their lives in general, and on their leisure lives as well" (p. 10). While this economic disparity can affect any woman, its effect is exacerbated for single mothers given that they alone may be supporting their families. Since adolescents' financial resources typically come from their parents, participants' financial constraints are certainly understandable within their single-, or even no-, income families. Participants' financial constraints are also congruent with research on Canadian immigrants which document increasing poverty among racial and ethnic minority immigrants, and often particularly severe poverty experienced by adolescent immigrants (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001).

In terms of financial constraints, then, in the context of consumptive leisure, the situation is complex. In one sense, given the aforementioned gender constraints inherent in consumptive leisure, it may actually be beneficial that financial constraints prevent some participants from

partaking in consumptive leisure (or at least to the extent that they might like). Conversely, it is also meaningful that not having money to shop or buy things is indeed perceived by participants as a constraint, or something that “gets in the way” of what they would like to do. For better or worse, not being able to buy the items they would like to buy may impede adolescents’ ability to integrate, or ‘fit in’, with their peers, one of the core identity development tasks of adolescence. This impact may be compounded for immigrant adolescents who already face myriad challenges to adapting and fitting into a new culture. Financial constraints which impede participation in the consumptive leisure typical of adolescence (and specifically typical for adolescent girls), may particularly impact immigrant adolescent girls given the higher social comparison that girls experience compared to boys (Liechty et al., 2006).

This high social comparison among adolescent girls is unsurprising given the media’s focus on female bodies. Participants were aware of the media’s portrayal of idealized physical attributes for girls and women, such as being thin and large-breasted. As one participant maintained, the impacts of such frequent portrayals can lead girls to start “hating their bodies and their self” and to “start doing unhealthy things to themselves.” This observation speaks to the disparity of the “real self” and the “ideal self” that is felt most acutely for adolescent girls in the area of physical appearance (Harter, 1988). While this disparity is experienced by both adolescent girls and boys, girls are particularly impacted and feel less secure about their physical appearance than adolescent boys (Koff, Rierdan, & Stubb, 1990). Even this gender comparison was evident for one participant who recognized that the effects of the media on body image affect both girls and boys, but that “there are differences” which can mean “girls are affected more.” This gender disparity is inextricably connected to a cultural context, at least in North America, in which girls are judged about their physical appearance in ways that boys are not.

Part of this cultural context involves a media-saturated culture, which presents unrealistic images of girls and women as thin and flawless, or “picture-perfect” as one participant commented (Kilbourne, 1999; Low et al., 2003).

One of the impacts of the greater social comparison girls experience (Liechty et al., 2006) can be bullying based on peers’ perceptions of physical attractiveness. One participant experienced bullying at school by people who felt she did not “look pretty.” As a result of the bullying, this participant experienced depression for a number of years, and continues to be impacted by self-criticism about her appearance and low self-esteem, which affect her participation in leisure activities, such as team sports. This participant’s reluctance to participate in physical activities corresponds to a notable gender and leisure body of literature connecting girls’ low physical activity participation to girls’ concerns about their bodies.

Leisure research has documented a significant gender gap in physical activity participation, whereby girls are less physically fit than boys and only half as likely to participate in sporting organizations (Crocker, Eklund, & Kowalski, 2000; James, 2000; Strauss, 2001). One of the reasons suggested for this gender gap is girls’ self-consciousness about their bodies. James (2000) maintains that girls’ self-consciousness about their bodies is connected to unrealistic ideals portrayed by the media and to the pervasive belief of judgment of girls’ value based on physical appearance, which may limit girls’ participation in certain leisure activities in order to avoid potential embarrassment. Girls’ may feel particularly self-conscious in public spaces, and may thus feel alienated from public active recreational spaces, such as basketball courts, public swimming pools, and health clubs (James, 1995). James (2000) argued that girls’ participation in public active recreational spaces involves “situational body image”, which combines a girl’s overall body image as well as the situation, including the particular location and audience. As

such, being viewed (and potentially judged) by others affected girls' self-consciousness and their decision to participate or not in public active leisure (James, 2000). This research corresponds with the experience of the participant who did not want to join sports teams because of her self-consciousness about her appearance. James' (2000) concept of "situational body image" may also help to explain a participant's decision to participate in physical activities such as dance and working out specifically within her own home and not in public. The awareness of an audience, or being viewed, as a major component of "situational body image" may have particularly influenced this participant's choice to practice dancing alone at home given her insistence that she was only comfortable learning to dance where people did not know her. Conversely, another participant expressed her eagerness to work out at a gym, one of the public active recreation spaces in which James (1995) found adolescent girls felt the most self-conscious. While this participant expressed that she wanted to work out at a gym and confirmed that she did indeed do so, often with friends, self-consciousness affecting participation may have manifested in a different way for her. Rather than simply not participating in working out, or participating only within the privacy of home, this participant exerted a fair amount of effort trying to convince others that she should or could work out. Some of her friends questioned her desire to work out because they felt she was already "so skinny" and thus did not need to lose weight, which seemed to be the only acceptable reason for a girl to work out. Her desire to gain the approval of others about what kind of physical activity she undertakes suggests some self-consciousness about her body. It may also have been a way of gauging the reactions of others about the potential body impacts working out might have for her, such as becoming more muscular, which she acknowledged others reserve as a "guy thing."

While girls' self-consciousness about their bodies can significantly impact their participation in physically active leisure, there can be even broader leisure and identity impacts given the correlation of high self-consciousness and body dissatisfaction with low self-esteem for adolescent girls (Frost & McKelvie, 2004; Tiggemann, 2005). This is congruent with the low self-esteem one participant specifically reported and connected to her own and others' perception of physical unattractiveness. Low self-esteem due, at least in part, to body dissatisfaction is sadly a common experience for many adolescent girls. Compared to boys, adolescent girls perceive themselves as more physically unattractive (Lintunen et al., 1995), and likely as a result, at least partially, have lower-self esteem than boys (Harter, 1998). Additionally, as adolescent girls move towards late adolescence and early adulthood, their self-esteem decreases (while boys' self-esteem increases) (Block & Robins, 1993). This decrease in self-esteem has been specifically connected to the appearance concerns experienced by adolescent girls given Western societies' emphasis on female appearance (Tiggemann, 2005). As mentioned, part of Western societies' focus on female appearance specifically concerns a thinness ideal. As such, adolescent girls experience powerful cultural pressures to be thin (Smolak, 2004), in large part through unrealistic media images (Chow, 2004; Kilbourne, 1999).

Girls' exposure to unrealistic images in the media and to social comparison can contribute significantly to poor body image (Bross, 2002) and a number of resulting issues, including body monitoring, appearance anxiety, disordered eating, and excessive exercise behaviours (Colley & Toray, 2001). One participant commented that she often does not eat her lunch because she feels she is "too fat." Indeed, many adolescent girls turn to unhealthy diets, such as skipping meals, to lose weight, rather than incorporating physical activity and its associated benefits (Freysinger et al., 2013a). Ultimately, because of societal emphasis on girls'

appearance, how girls' feel about how they look – their physical self-esteem – can greatly impact their overall self-esteem and identity (Tiggemann, 2005). Given that girls' physical self-esteem is often negatively affected during adolescence, their general self-esteem can be adversely affected as well (Bowker et al., 2003). Individuals with low self-esteem “often feel inadequate and incompetent, expect to fail, and eventually give up” (Bowker et al., 2003, p. 48). As such, girls' low self-esteem can have significant effects on their leisure participation since they may be reluctant to participate in leisure activities, or may readily give up if they don't feel confident meeting the new challenges (Harter, 1997) leisure pursuits may introduce.

There may also be other constraints to leisure experienced by adolescent girls with low self-esteem given the connection between low self-esteem and depression for adolescents generally (Goodman & Whitaker, 2002), and especially for adolescent girls (Park, 2003). The connection between low self-esteem (due to concern with physical appearance) and depression was certainly articulated by the participant who was bullied her appearance. In addition to the challenges of leisure participation with low self-esteem, as this participant experienced, having depression can further impede leisure participation and enjoyment. This can occur through depression's anhedonic effect both on the motivation or desire to engage in activities, such as leisure, as well as the enjoyment of activities themselves (Treadway & Zald, 2011).

Thus, the interpersonal and gender constraint of Western societies' focus on female appearance, largely through the media's pervasive portrayal of unrealistic images, can lead many adolescent girls to be dissatisfied with, and self-conscious of, their bodies and appearance, as participants in this study experienced. The media's focus on appearance can also encourage girls' consumptive leisure – a form of leisure as constraint. Girls' self-consciousness about their bodies can make them reluctant to participate in leisure activities, particularly in public, physically active leisure,

as was also evident in the current research. Furthermore, as participants' experiences attest, girls' body dissatisfaction can contribute to the intrapersonal constraints of unhealthy dieting, low self-esteem, and even depression, which all negatively affect girls' leisure motivation, participation and enjoyment.

6.4 *“Girls have to believe in themselves to do things they want to do”* Enacting gender resistances

Despite numerous gender constraints to leisure experienced by participants, this research also crucially speaks to the possibilities of leisure as resistance to gender restrictions. Leisure as resistance is Shaw's (1994) third theoretical approach to understanding women's leisure constraints and functions as the reverse process of leisure as constraining by challenging, rather than reproducing, limiting gender ideologies and relations. Leisure as resistance arises out of leisure as a “situation of choice, control and self-determination” (Shaw, 1994, p. 9). As such, leisure as resistance is also connected to agency and empowerment (Shaw, 1994; Shaw, 2001). One context where leisure as resistance occurred in this study was in participants' involvement in sports, both back home and in Canada. For instance, one participant expressed her sense of personal empowerment through playing on a co-ed handball team in Africa. Two distinct, but related, components of her sport participation are significant in this form of leisure as resistance. Firstly, her mere participation in a co-ed competitive sport challenges the often overtly patriarchal culture of her African society. Being a member of a sports team in which both boys and girls play side by side is a significant challenge to a patriarchal culture which clearly conveys girls' (and women's) subordinate position through such cultural norms as restricting certain activities for girls and expecting that they kneel to greet men. The second significant component of this participant playing co-ed handball is that she (and other female team mates) fully recognized and claimed her skills, which were even better than some of her male team

mates. She not only recognized her skills in the sport, but was also recognized and respected for them by her male team mates. She asserted that her involvement in co-ed handball made her feel “just amazing” because she could “do something” and do it well. This example also suggests the ‘ripple effect’ that can occur with leisure as resistance, whereby one individual’s personal resistance may affect others (Shaw, 2001). For this participant, her confidence in her skills, and her resulting personal empowerment, may have impacted her female team mates to recognize and claim their own skills (a way of resisting gender subordination) and even compelled the respect of male team mates.

Girls’ participation in sports in Canada was also a form leisure as resistance. Participants played soccer in Canada for the first time since restrictions back home around physical activity prevented their participation. Notably, they played soccer here specifically despite the acknowledgement that “many people say girls don’t play soccer; soccer [is] for boys.” By refusing to adhere to the gender restrictions of others (“who cares?” as one participant insisted), girls used their soccer participation as an opportunity to move beyond societal prescriptions about acceptable (female) behaviour (Shaw, 1994). For one participant, playing soccer represented a distinct personal transformation. Back home, she viewed soccer as being a sport for males, a view largely held by her Middle-Eastern society. This view was reinforced within her own family with her father and brothers monopolizing the family television to always watch soccer. Within this context, she “hated” soccer. In Canada, however, once she saw other girls playing soccer, she began to see that she could play and enjoy soccer. Her newfound enthusiasm for playing soccer led her to join the school soccer team. She was also motivated to negotiate the uniform constraint she encountered which initially conflicted with her Muslim dress code, by wearing pants and a longer shirt rather than the short team uniform. Feeling “awesome” about

playing soccer certainly confirms this participant's empowerment. Her personal empowerment also affected others (Shaw, 2001) through her encouragement of other girls to also play and enjoy soccer. Significantly, playing sports (and challenging gender restrictions) also seemed to have the potential to not only challenge gender restrictions in girl's leisure lives, but to also "affect gender equality in a broader sense" (Shaw, 1994, p. 17). This possibility is suggested by participants' discussion of playing sports, such as soccer, in connection with the broader assertion that "[girls] have to believe in themselves to do things they want to do." Indeed, as participants demonstrated, involvement in sports can be an important leisure context for leisure as resistance; for challenging cultural gender prescriptions (Shaw, 2001).

Furthermore, participation in sports is associated with a number of psychological benefits, including increased self-esteem and self-confidence, enhanced body image and identity development as well as lower rates of depression (Biddle, Whitehead, O'Donovan, & Nevill, 2005). Some of these benefits, such as increased self-esteem, are particularly true for adolescent girls (Dishman et al., 2006). As mentioned, girls' participation in leisure activities, among other broader pursuits, can be negatively affected by factors such as low self-esteem (Bowker et al., 2003; Harter, 1997), negative body image (James, 2000), and depression (Treadway & Zald, 2011). As such, the psychological benefits girls' gain through participation in sports may expand (rather than constrain) girls' engagement with leisure and other pursuits. Thus, girls' participation in sports is not only a form of leisure as resistance to gender restrictions, but the effects of participation in sports may also indirectly assist girls' in countering some of the risk factors common for adolescent girls (Harter, 1998).

Another significant context for leisure as resistance within this research involved participants' creative leisure pursuits. Leisure pursuits which provide a forum for creativity often

also become a way of facilitating self-expression, self-identity, and freedom. A sense of freedom is often connected with leisure in general given that it is inherent even within definitions of leisure itself, which emphasize its voluntary and discretionary nature (Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000) and the experience of free choice and self-determination (Caldwell & Witt, 2011). Leisure which is intrinsically motivated is often personally expressive and reflects individuals' true self-identity (Waterman, 2004). Specifically, creative leisure is a particularly rich context for self-expression and perceived freedom (Hegarty, 2009). While creative leisure's provision of opportunities for self-expression, self-identity, and freedom can be beneficial for anyone, they can be particularly important for adolescent girls, and perhaps even more so for immigrant adolescent girls, given that in other areas of their life, they may experience restrictions on their self-identity and self-expression and a general lack of freedom, as the aforementioned gender constraints attest. As such, creative leisure can be a form of resistance.

Within creative leisure pursuits, participants often described a distinct sense of freedom, exploration, and self-expression. For instance, one participant asserted that art is central to her identity because it allows her to freely express herself – to reveal what is “inside.” As she conveyed, with art, “I can build it freely . . . I’m free to do whatever I want.” Her identity as an artist is connected to the mental freedom and expressivity she experiences in creating art. She contrasted this interior experience with the more physical and exterior experience of her active leisure pursuits, such as soccer or tennis. Even leisure such as engaging with social media can be experienced as a form of freedom as another participant demonstrated when she explained her use of Twitter allowing her to “go on there and tweet as much as I want, [about] anything I want.” Other participants described the self-expression and self-identity (either continued or emerging) they experienced in creative leisure pursuits such as writing stories or poetry,

photography, dance, and drama. Such forms of creative leisure can be important activities for finding a voice and a space away from gendered expectations (Fullager, 2008). Creative forms of leisure are also a prime context for what Fullager (2008) calls “emotion play” which can facilitate “the renegotiation of gendered expectations” through playful practices that embody letting go of expectations and enjoying one’s own time. Notably, participants engaged in all four of the creative leisure contexts Fullager (2008) specifies as key opportunities for “emotion play” and its associated renegotiations of gender expectations: journal writing, poetry, art classes, and community theatre.

One of these creative leisure contexts, journal writing, was embraced by a number of participants and suggests a particular site of leisure as resistance to limiting gender ideologies. Previous feminist research has shown that women’s diary-writing can be a way of exploring selfhood and resisting dominant gender discourses (Jokinen, 2004; Weisser, 1996). More recent research has demonstrated that diary-writing is meaningful to women because it enables them to develop and assert their own unique identity, to give that identity permanence through documentation, and to resist gender roles and expectations in their life (Mulcahy, 2007). The current research extends the limited research on female diary use from a leisure perspective to include adolescent girls. Participants in this study emphasized their diary, or journal, as a space for self-identity and self-expression through documenting and exploring thoughts, feelings, experiences and even other forms of creative writing within their diary, such as poetry or fictional stories. In addition to the identity permanence provided by their diaries (Mulcahy, 2007), participants also used their diary as a way of tracking their changing identities. The documentation of changes seemed particularly meaningful for participants who were navigating the changes of adolescence in general, but also specifically the many changes associated with

being immigrant adolescents. While research recognizes that leisure can be an important context for adolescents to experience self-determination (Caldwell & Witt, 2011), the diary is a unique leisure context which may be particularly meaningful for the self-determination, or self-identity, of adolescent girls. As an active space for self-expression and self-identity, girls' use of their diaries resisted the traditional passive and other-directed femininity typical of adolescent girlhood (Wearing, 1998).

Girls also used their diaries to resist others' demands on their time, which can be gendered in terms of expectations and notions of entitlement (or lack thereof) to personal time and space. Indeed, one participant shared that she writes daily in her diary despite the contention of some people in her life that doing so is "selfish." Mulcahy's (2007) research with adult women diarists supports the meaningfulness of participants' diary-writing as personal space and 'me time' wherein gendered ideologies, such as selflessness, can be resisted. Furthermore, participants emphasized their diary as a safe space where they can find companionship and freedom from judgment (Mulcahy, 2007). For instance, for one participant, her diary is like an "imaginary friend", while for another, writing in her diary is like "talking to someone and they can't judge me." As such, participants' diaries are a form of leisure as resistance given its possibilities for self-identity, self-expression, and personal time and space, which is distinctly free from judgment.

Many of girls' leisure activities, including diary-writing, occur within the safe, often private, spaces of their bedroom. This observation and its significance was explored in McRobbie and Garber's (1976) classic essay contending that girls have a "culture of the bedroom", which is a primary site for their leisure and for a girls' 'subculture' emphasizing the consumption of media, such as reading magazines and listening to music (p. 213). McRobbie and

Garber's (1976) theory of girls' bedroom culture laid the foundation for over thirty years of youth culture scholars' attention to how gender influences the experiences and cultural practices of young people (Kearney, 2007). In evaluating the contemporary applicability of McRobbie and Garber's (1976) construction of girls' bedroom culture, Kearney (2007) critiques their emphasis on girls as media consumers and suggests that girls today have significantly transformed bedroom culture through becoming cultural *producers* with the creation and circulation of media texts via media technologies. Instead of simply consuming media, Kearney (2007) maintains that girls today engage in "culturally productive practices" by producing media texts such as blogs, videos, online zines, art, music, photography, and writing, which can be easily e-mailed to others or uploaded to the internet through online services to be shared with a wide audience (p. 131).

Participants in this study engaged in culturally productive practices, some of which specifically occurred in their bedrooms. For instance, for one participant, her room was a place for her to create art and writing. She commented, "I go to my room and do art." She also explained, "I write a journal [entry] . . . [in] my bedroom [before I] sleep." As mentioned earlier, this participant's diary-writing includes not only the typical documentation of events and feelings, but is also a space for other creative writing, such as poetry and the novel she is writing. This participant's 'productive practices' may have been kept private or otherwise only shared with family members or friends who entered her bedroom, for instance to view art work she had created. Other participants, however, specifically shared their media texts on the internet through online services such as Facebook and Twitter. Their dissemination of media texts support Kearney's (2007) assertion that "many young people are carving out a place for themselves in cyberspace" (p. 136). For example, a couple of participants discussed posting messages and sharing photos on Facebook. Some of these messages were posted on friends' Facebook pages,

while other messages were shared on Facebook fan pages, such as one for a world-class tennis player. Posting messages on such forums meant that girls' messages had a much broader audience since they were shared with a "whole [bunch of] people . . . from all different cultures."

Another participant's use of Twitter suggests another technological forum for circulating personal media texts to a large audience, in her case, nearly 700 Twitter 'followers' who are "all different people . . . [from] around the world." For this participant, her Twitter becomes a kind of virtual journal in that she describes, "[I tweet] my thoughts, quotes sometimes, lyrics maybe. I'll re-tweet something that I can relate to and talk about feelings and stuff like that." This virtual journal is also distinctly interactive in that there is a reciprocity and exchange between her and her followers as she responds to their posts, or tweets, and they to hers in a loop of re-tweeting and talking about common interests. This participant's use of Twitter as a kind of virtual journal speaks to Hodkinson and Lincoln's (2008) discussion of young people's online journals as a symbolic and practical "virtual bedroom" (p. 27). While they specifically reference online journals through web-based platforms, there are certainly parallels between this participant's use of Twitter and online journals given the latter as an interactive online forum for the writer's everyday reflections, thoughts and feelings (Hodkinson & Lincoln, 2008).

Participants' production and circulation of media texts can be seen as resistance given that "for much of history, girls have been socialized to be seen and not heard. Thus, the amplification of contemporary . . . girls' voices beyond the walls of their bedrooms via the distribution of their own media texts is a significant development in both girlhood and girls' culture" (Kearney, 2007, p. 138). In addition, girls' production and exchange of media texts allows them to produce discourses which can counter or oppose cultural (or stereotyped) views of their identities, interests and values (Kearney, 2007). While Kearney's (2007) view of the

significance of girls' *circulation* of their media texts is certainly apt, I would argue that there is not only resistance in producing *and* circulating texts, but also in simply producing them (even without sharing them more broadly). By actively responding to their environment and culture by thoughtfully creating works, such as art and writing, girls' leisure becomes engaged in producing something of their own, rather than simply consuming something created by others, such as popular media with its often detrimental messages to girls, as discussed above. This speaks to the possibility that resistance is not limited to collective acts (Shaw, 2001) and can also include personal resistance, which may be individually empowering.

Although it is significant that girls in this study were cultural producers, they were also cultural consumers. However, in contrast to the often dismal portrait of girls' passive consumption of media, participants demonstrated themselves as active and conscientious consumers of media. One notable context where this occurred was in their chosen reading material. Numerous researchers point to girls' reading magazines as a typical leisure activity, indeed often in their bedrooms (Lincoln, 2004; McRobbie & Garber, 1976). Recent research has confirmed that magazines are reported as girls' most preferred reading material (Hughes-Hassell & Rodge, 2007). Adolescent girls' common consumption of magazines is concerning given that magazines, especially those targeted to girls, emphasize consumerism, appearance and the 'ideal' feminine body through images and 'advice' on fashion, hair and makeup and exercise (Ballentine & Ogle, 2005), as well as a focus on male approval (Duke & Kreshel, 1998). While almost all participants in this study read as a leisure activity, no participant described reading magazines. Instead, participants shared that they enjoy reading books, including fiction and non-fiction. One participant even expressed that she likes reading science journal articles. Rather than reading material, such as magazines, that could constrain them by largely reproducing limiting gender

ideologies, participants selected reading materials which they distinctly described as expanding their (mental) horizons. For instance, participants expressed that reading allowed them to learn, both culturally and linguistically.

A number of participants also described how reading fueled their imaginations through the mental visualizations that were part of reading for them. As one participant explained, “When I read, I can imagine everything happening.” Another participant expressed, “I like to . . . close my eyes and imagine the pictures.” Yet another participant shared, “I can visualize . . . [and] create my own picture [in my mind].” Through reading, and its mental escape, participants also gained the benefits of improving their mood and reducing stress. For instance, one participant explained, “When I get angry or something, I read [and] this makes me feel better.” Another spoke specifically of reading and its association with both a mental and physical escape from stress, “[I like reading because] I feel like I’m in a different world. It’s really good. My house is really, really loud, [so] I just go in my room and lose all that stress.” These benefits correspond to two of Iwasaki and Mannell’s (2000) three dimensions of leisure moderating the effects of stress, including leisure as an escape strategy and as mood enhancement.

In addition to their reading materials, girls were also conscientious consumers of other media contexts, including television and music. One participant was particularly aware of negative gender content on television, such as the sexualization of women and girls and the portrayal of ideal female body types. She attributes her initial media awareness, or media literacy, to an influential elementary teacher, which suggests the importance of both positive female role models and media literacy in education. This participant’s awareness of media and its gendered effects makes her a conscientious consumer. As she explained, “I’m just careful about what I watch because I do know that it affects me.” Participants were also conscientious

about the gender content of music and, as such, chose to listen to music that speaks about “real things” and “something meaningful” rather than the materialistic and misogynistic content they acknowledged as typical of much current music, particularly rap music. Thus, far from being passive, inarticulate and ‘duped’ consumers (Schor, 2007), girls in this study conscientiously consumed media which offered them benefits, rather than detriments, and which would ultimately influence them “in a positive way.”

Finally, another form of resistance for participants occurred within their female friendships. Female friendships can create supportive environments where girls feel they can be themselves and can resist limiting gender norms (Hey, 1997). Every participant in this study spoke of their friendships with other girls. Participants’ leisure lives were often spent with friends with whom they enjoyed many forms of leisure together, including sports, dancing, shopping, and interacting over social media sites. The latter of which was particularly important for girls’ continued connection to friends back home. These friendships provided girls with close social bonds, which may be particularly meaningful for girls given that female socialization emphasizes relationships (Gilligan, 1982). Supportive female friendships can allow girls to feel understood and accepted by others, which is central in adolescence as suggested by the adolescent identity development process of integration (Caldwell & Darling, 1999). For instance, one participant emphasized feeling understood by her friends in asserting, “I feel like sometimes my friends are the only ones [who] understand what I’m going through. Or they go through the same thing.” Close and supportive female friendships can be seen as resistance in that they can allow girls to be themselves (Hey, 1997), and thereby resist other-directed femininities (Wearing, 1998).

While supportive female friendships can be in and of themselves resistant, they can also facilitate more collective resistance. Several participants participated with their friends in activities which can be seen as resistant. For instance, some girls participated with female friends in sports, which, as discussed above, can be a form of resistance in that sports may be perceived as a 'gender-inappropriate' activity for girls. Playing sports with friends, rather than alone, may have facilitated some girls' participation, whether in co-ed sports or in sports with "just the girls." Collective resistance was also evident in another participant's involvement in creating and performing an annual drama with other girls in her African community. These dramas were resistant through their efforts to educate and empower women and girls to confront gender oppressions such as domestic violence.

In addition, spending time with friends may somewhat alleviate certain gender constraints, such as gendered expectations around domestic responsibilities. One participant spoke of her responsibility back home of getting water from the well as a "social chore", where she and a girlfriend would regularly walk and talk together while carrying water to and from the well. There is a certain resistance, or even subversion, in rendering this gendered chore a social occasion. Instead of carrying out these gendered responsibilities alone, such "social chores" also become a form of social support for girls. The provision of social support represents Iwasaki and Mannell's (2000) third dimension of leisure as a way of alleviating stress, which can certainly be experienced with gendered constraints, among other stressful challenges of adolescence. This social support, and generally working together to do what needs to be done, speaks to the strong sense of community back home that participants discussed. While this sense of community seemed to apply to people overall back home, it was also specified that there was community of women and girls that worked together, for instance to care for children. As one participant

described of her experience back home, “mostly the women work in [a] group.” Thus, working together to lessen the burden of gendered expectations can be a form of subtle, and collective, resistance facilitated by female friendships.

Participants’ leisure became forms of resistance to limiting gender ideologies. This occurred in various contexts, including sports participation and creative leisure pursuits. Girls in this study asserted themselves as cultural producers and conscientious consumers, often within a physical and virtual bedroom culture. They engaged in both personal, private acts of resistance and sometimes in more collective, public resistance. Within participants’ female friendships, they found spaces to be themselves and receive social support. Through leisure, girls were empowered personally and collectively to discover for themselves who they are.

6.5 “Expose your culture” Positioning diversity within girls’ leisure experiences

This research specifically sought to elucidate some of leisure experiences of diverse adolescent girls. While every person has a multifaceted identity, which ultimately shapes their experiences, including leisure, visible minority and immigrant adolescents’ identities remain under-examined in the leisure literature (Walker, 2007). This paucity is despite Canada’s growing multicultural demographic (Statistics Canada, 2005). Rather than simply addressing a need for diversity research by exploring unidimensional factors associated with leisure experiences, such as race and leisure, I embraced a feminist intersectional approach to recognize multiple identities and their intersections. The identities considered within this research included race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and gender. By positioning and exploring participants’ intersections of identity and their resulting experiences, a more complex understanding emerged of the constraints, negotiations and resistances of diverse adolescent girls.

Many of the leisure constraints participants experienced were specifically related to immigration, which involved changes in Canada compared to participants' home country. One area where immigration-related constraints occurred was within the physical environment. Stodolska's (2000) study of (adult) Polish immigrants settling in Canada found that changes in leisure behaviour following immigration can be due to changes in the physical environment of the new country. Specifically, immigrant participants abandoned certain outdoor leisure activities in Canada because they perceived them to be too dangerous, particularly in wilderness areas, with concerns such as dangerous wildlife (Stodolska, 2000). Some participants in this study also reduced their outdoor leisure after coming to Canada due to changes in the physical environment related to safety. However, participants perceived their new *urban* environment as restricting or potentially dangerous and noted concerns such as there being "cars everywhere" in Canada, compared to the open, natural spaces many participants experienced back home.

In addition to the physical environment, a second area of immigration-related constraints pertained to difficulties connecting with people in Canada. For instance, participants discussed cultural differences related to a sense of community and connectedness to others. This was felt strongly back home for a number of participants and seemed to be largely missing for participants in Canada. This sense of Canadians being "trapped into separate lives" contrasted sharply with participants' experiences of community back home where "everyone cares about you" and people "work together." Notably, there was a distinct interplay between the social environment and the physical environment articulated by some participants, wherein they felt that Canadians' tendency to stay at home, rather than being outside with others, negatively impacted a sense of community. The lacking community involvement experienced by participants is consistent with Rublee and Shaw's (1991) similar finding for Latin American

refugee women who experienced less opportunities in Canada for socialization in neighbourhood settings, which resulted in more home-oriented, passive leisure. Difficulties connecting with their new communities were also exacerbated by challenges with language and different societal norms (Ruble & Shaw, 1991). Participants in this study also certainly experienced difficulty connecting with Canadian peers due to language challenges and different societal norms, particularly Canadian peer culture norms. These peer culture norms were sometimes incongruent with participants' personal and cultural values, or were otherwise difficult to adopt, for instance due to financial constraints related to the consumptive leisure typical of North American adolescents (Caldwell, 2005). In particular, participants felt that their leisure had changed, and become constrained, in Canada, in part due to an emphasis on more commodified and materialistic leisure. This constraint speaks to Stodolska & Yi's (2003) finding that American adolescent immigrants experienced more commodified leisure in order to integrate with adolescent culture.

Another immigration-related factor within the social environment that constrained participants' leisure in Canada involved altered family structures. Participants discussed their interpersonal constraints of reduced family networks following immigration, which affected their leisure in Canada since they no longer engaged in the regular social gatherings with extended family members that were typical back home. In addition to reduced family networks, participants were also affected by the loss of friends from back home, many of whom had been friends since childhood. This meant that participants no longer had the familiar people with whom they had shared their leisure. This finding is also highlighted within Stodolska's (2000) research, as she maintains "many immigrants emphasized the importance of shattered social networks as a factor limiting their leisure participation following immigration . . . Given than

newcomers become separated from most of their relative and childhood friends, certain types of leisure such as socializing may become severely constrained” (p. 51). Previous research suggests that altered family structures following immigration may particularly constrain the leisure of immigrant women for whom family is central to their life (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). The centrality of family was also emphasized by several participants in this study, whose social leisure was accordingly constrained by altered family structures. Notably, for some participants, they not only experienced reduced extended family networks, but also contended with immigrating to Canada entirely by themselves, in the case of one participant, or reuniting with immediate family in Canada for the first time, as two participants experienced.

Struggling with changes to both the physical and social environment also made participants vulnerable to what Stodolska (2000) specifies as postarrival depression, which can significantly influence immigrants’ leisure participation and enjoyment following their settlement in a new country. Indeed, several participants specifically described experiencing depression when they first came to Canada, which prevented them from wanting to engage in any activity, including leisure.

Finally, a significant area of constraints experienced by some participants related to immigration, also to diverse individuals more generally, was discrimination. Tirone (2010) insists that Canadian immigrants face discrimination, which impacts their quality of life, including leisure opportunities. Some participants specifically experienced racism, in a troubling variety and number of leisure contexts, including stores and media. The experience of racism has important implications for diverse adolescents’ leisure participation and overall well-being given that racism or other forms of discrimination can lead individuals to experience self-doubt, appearance insecurity, and withdrawal from places and contexts where racism has occurred

(Tirone & Gahagan, 2013). Self-doubt, appearance insecurity and withdrawal from activities all occurred for some participants. One context where withdrawal occurred due to racism was in school, where one participant, for instance, withdrew from her advanced chemistry class because of a teacher's racist assumptions about her academic abilities. Another participant felt that teachers at her school would "look down" on her and other African-Canadians. The finding of discrimination at school extends Stodolska & Yi's (2003) similar findings in an American context of immigrant adolescents feeling patronized by teachers. Discrimination, such as the racism participants experienced, can serve to undermine adolescents' sense of belonging, self-worth and developing identities (Tirone, 2010).

Despite significant constraints, however, participants engaged in active negotiations and resistances. For instance, participants negotiated language constraints, and some of the social leisure opportunities they could impact, through their participation in sports, specifically school teams where they participated with Canadian peers. The emphasis of sports on physical skills, rather than language skills, was noted as an important factor in facilitating sports participation. In this sense, sport participation may be a way for immigrants, specifically immigrant adolescents, to facilitate integration into a new society (Yu & Berryman, 1996).

In addition, some of the challenges of immigration for participants seemed to be uniquely mitigated through leisure. For example, leisure's potential to facilitate coping through stress relief (Iwasaki and Mannell, 2000) may be particularly important for immigrants coping with the challenges associated with life in a new country (Stodolska, 2000). Participants in this study specifically discussed the stress-relieving benefits they experienced in some of their leisure, particularly reading. Another way leisure helped participants to negotiate, or minimize, the challenges of immigration involved continuing leisure in Canada which they had pursued back

home, such as journaling. This continued leisure seems to have helped participants to ease the transition to unfamiliar surroundings by maintaining a “connection with things that were known, familiar, safe, and related to their established ways of life”, which is consistent with certain psychological theories suggesting that people continue with activities, often those started in childhood, for the sake of psychological comfort related to stability and familiarity (Stodolska, 2000, p. 53).

In terms of resisting discrimination and marginalization, one leisure context in which this occurred for participants was through asserting, sharing and celebrating cultural creative forms of leisure (Fox & Lashua, 2010). For instance, one participant’s African dance group provided a positive forum of cultural expression for her and others. This approach is also exemplified within other instances of participants’ cultural connections through leisure, including music, film, and food. This approach may be seen as resistant since it affirms and empowers participants and connects them to a larger sense of belonging, thereby combating marginalization. Participants’ use of leisure as a cultural connection is also congruent with leisure literature that indicates immigrants may use leisure to retain certain elements of their traditional culture (Allison & Geiger, 1993; Stodolska, 2000). Significantly, beyond simply retaining elements of their culture through leisure, however, minority group members can celebrate and affirm their cultural identity through leisure within their ethnic communities (Gramann & Allison, 1999). As exemplified by a number of participants, when cultural leisure is also shared outside of racial and ethnic communities with members of the mainstream culture, there is the important potential to expose others to diverse cultures in meaningful ways, which encourage interest, respect and mutual cultural exchanges.

Lastly, another component of identity, religion, also shaped participants' leisure experiences. For instance, one participant negotiated the intersection of gender and religion to participate on her school soccer team through modifying her uniform. This negotiation speaks to Walseth's (2006) contention that for young Muslim women to participate in sport, there is often a tension, and sometimes a resulting negotiation, of their individual and collective ethnic identities. This participant's negotiation also supports Kay's (2005) similar finding that Muslim girls were able to participate in sports if they could meet Islam's requirements of modesty.

For other participants, their religion provided them with moral guidance, which even helped to resist negative peer pressure. This is congruent with research that suggests that religion may motivate adolescents to avoid risk behaviours, such as the use of illicit substances (Regnerus & Uecker, 2006). This was certainly true for one participant who credited her religious faith with strengthening her resolve to not partake in smoking cigarettes or marijuana, as some friends encouraged. For other participants, their religion influenced their desire to help others, either by helping family and friends, or through more organized efforts such as volunteer work. Youniss et al. (1999) suggest that nearly two-thirds of adolescents who value their religion report regular community volunteering. Participants' religious identities particularly highlighted the importance of acknowledging influences beyond their potential impacts on existing frameworks of understanding, such as constraints and negotiations.

Participants' multiple identities intersected in nuanced ways to shape their leisure experiences, constraints, negotiations and resistances. All of these contexts were influenced by girls' various positionalities, such as gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. Like identities themselves, leisure provides a multifaceted lens through which to explore the complexity of adolescent girls' leisure experiences. This research contributes to a greater understanding of the

significance of leisure in the lives of immigrant adolescent girls. Leisure can facilitate the central process of adolescent identity development through providing opportunities for girls to explore different roles, differentiate themselves, and also connect with others. However, these opportunities within leisure can be impeded by constraints experienced both within girls' home culture and country and in Canada. Gender constraints in girls' lives back home were connected to patriarchal disadvantages, which significantly affect their opportunities for leisure. Gender constraints in Canada were often related to Western societies' focus on female appearance, largely conveyed through the media, which can adversely impact how girls feel about themselves and ultimately constrain girls' leisure motivation, participation and enjoyment. However, as participants demonstrated, leisure can also be a form of personal or collective resistance to limiting gender ideologies. Finally, within the context of leisure, diverse adolescent girls can discover and affirm their complex selves.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This research sought to explore the leisure constraints, negotiations and resistances of diverse adolescent girls. Through the nine interviews conducted, it became clear that girls experienced numerous constraints, but also crucially negotiated constraints, and mobilized their leisure as resistance. As immigrant adolescent girls, participants each embarked on a unique journey, which spanned both the exterior geographies and interior landscapes of their two distinct cultures, back home and in Canada. Participants' points of departure provided a mapping of some of the contours of their life back home, including structural constraints, gender constraints and gender resistances. As participants left home for Canada, they discovered a different world, fraught with its own leisure constraints. These Canadian leisure constraints encompassed all three major forms of constraints: structural, intrapersonal and interpersonal. Within this new world, participants also experienced racism and gender constraints. Significantly, participants discovered ways to navigate the Canadian constraints they encountered and resisted racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice. Finally, beyond an articulation of constraints and negotiations, girls' leisure experiences revealed the intersections of influences and identities. Our travellers unpacked continuing and emerging leisure identities. They also embraced leisure as cultural connections.

This research set out to address gaps within existing literature, including an understanding of leisure constraints for adolescent girls generally and particularly for diverse adolescent girls. In considering these gaps, this research expanded knowledge about the leisure constraints of diverse adolescent girls, which often involve tensions between their personal desires and freedoms and restrictive gender ideologies. In addition to informing an understanding of the leisure constraints of diverse girls, this research also significantly explored girls' active

constraint negotiations and resistances. Their personal and collective experiences contribute to diversely informed theory and practice within an increasingly multicultural Canadian society, and global community.

Despite addressing several gaps in the literature, there remain areas to be explored. This research focused on several components of identity, including gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. Other significant factors warrant attention as they relate to adolescent girls and leisure experiences. For instance, sexuality, class and able-bodiedness, among other identities, should be considered for future research. In addition, research could focus on exploring diversity within components of identity for immigrant adolescent girls, which may shift in relation to factors such as their length of time in a new country and the influences of family connections or disconnections as the result of immigration.

This research aimed to contribute to social justice and change by encouraging personal and collective empowerment. On a personal level, I hoped that participants would be empowered from having their voices heard (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012). Indeed, each participant eagerly and openly shared her experiences and these were heard with a deep appreciation and interest. In our communications at several points following the interviews, some participants expressly conveyed how they felt about their participation in this research. For instance, one participant commented, “I appreciate the respect that you showed for my feelings.” Another participant remarked, “Thank you very much . . . I really enjoyed working with you.” In addition, some participants have expressed their desire to participate in a forum for sharing this research within the community. These experiences suggest the possibility of participants’ personal empowerment through the research process, which feminist research recognizes as equally important as the outcomes of research (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). On a broader level, this research hoped to

contribute to social justice and change through conveying the breadth of female experience (Hesse-Biber, 2012), specifically the experiences of diverse adolescent girls. In this sense, the current research contributes to social justice by making the world more visible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The visibility this research brings to understanding some of the leisure opportunities and challenges of diverse girls begins to inform possibilities for leisure as inclusive and empowering. As I conclude my own journey with this research, and look to new horizons, I know I am taking with me the insightful and inspiring stories of each of the nine girls who fortuitously crossed my path.

References

- Aitchison, C. (1999). New cultural geographies: The spatiality of leisure, gender and sexuality, *Leisure Studies*, 18, 19-39.
- Aitchison, C., & Reeves, C. (1998). Gendered (bed) spaces: The culture and commerce of women only tourism. In C. Aitchison & F. Jordan (Eds.), *Gender, space and identity: Leisure, culture and commerce* (pp. 47-68). Leisure Studies Association: Brighton.
- Alsaker, F., & Olweus, D. (1986). Assessment of global negative self-evaluations and perceived stability of self in Norwegian preadolescents and adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 6(3), 269-278.
- Ashmore, R. D. (1990). Sex, gender, and the individual. In L. A. Pervin (Ed.), *Handbook of personality theory and research* (pp. 486-526). New York: Guilford Press.
- Ballentine, L. W., & Ogle, J. P. (2005). The making and unmaking of body problems in Seventeen magazine, 1992–2003. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 33(4), 281-307.
- Bedini, L. A., & Anderson, D. M. (2005). I'm nice, I'm smart, I like karate: Girls with physical disabilities perceptions of physical recreation, *Therapeutic Recreation Journal*, 39, 114-132.
- Bell, B. T., Lawton, R. & Dittmar, H. (2007). The impact of thin models in music videos on adolescent girls' body dissatisfaction. *Body Image*, 4(2), 137-145.
- Biddle, S. J., Whitehead, S. H., O'Donovan, T. M., & Nevill, M. E. (2005). Correlates of participation in physical activity for adolescent girls: A systematic review of recent literature. *Journal of Physical Activity & Health*, 2(4), 421-432.

- Block, J. H., & Robins, R. W. (1993). A longitudinal study of consistency and change in self-esteem from early adolescence to early adulthood. *Child Development, 64*, 909-923.
- Bolognini, M., Plancherel, B., Bettschart, W., & Halfon, O. (1996). Self-esteem and mental health in early adolescence: Development and gender differences. *Journal of adolescence, 19*(3), 233-245.
- Bowker, A., Gadbois, S., & Cornock, B. (2003). Sports participation and self-esteem: Variations as a function of gender and gender role orientation. *Sex Roles, 49*(1-2), 47-58.
- Bregha, F. J. (1980). Leisure and freedom re-examined. In T. Goodale & P. Witt (Eds.), *Recreation and Leisure: Issues in an Era of Change* (pp. 30-37). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Bross, A. L. (2002). Determining racial differences in the prediction of college women's body dissatisfaction: An examination of media influences, thin-ideal internalization, and social comparison. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 62*(8-B), 3845.
- Bryman, A., Teevan, J. J., & Bell, E. (2009). *Social research methods* (2nd Canadian ed.). Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Bunch, C. (1985). *Bringing the global home*. Denver, CO: Antelope Publications.
- Brown, P. R., Brown, W. J., Miller, Y. D., & Hansen, V. (2001). Perceived constraints and social support for active leisure among mothers with young children. *Leisure Sciences, 23*, 131-144.
- Bryant, J., & Oliver, M. B. (2009). *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

- Byrne, S. (2004). *Adolescent women's leisure and gender discourse resistance as a means of bringing alternative feminine identities out of the dark* (Honours thesis). University of Technology, Sydney.
- Caldwell, L. L., & Darling, N. (1999). Leisure context, parental control, and resistance to peer pressure as predictors of adolescent partying and substance use: An ecological perspective. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 31(1), 57-77.
- Caldwell, L. L. (2005). Youth today and tomorrow: A U.S. perspective. In P. A. Witt & L. L. Caldwell (Eds.), *Recreation and youth development* (pp.25-50). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Caldwell, L. L., & Witt, P. A. (2011). Leisure, recreation, and play from a developmental context. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2011(130), 13-27.
- Campbell, R., & Wasco, S. M. (2000). Feminist approaches to social science: Epistemological and methodological tenets. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28(6), 773-791.
- Campbell, R. (2006). Teenage girls and cellular phones: Discourses of independence, safety and 'rebellion'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(2), 195-212.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Chow, J. (2004). Adolescents' perceptions of popular teen magazines. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 48(2), 132-139.
- Collins, P. H. (2008). Reply to commentaries: Black sexual politics revisited. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 9(1), 68-85.
- Collins, R. L., (2011). Content analysis of gender roles in media: Where are we now and where should we go? *Sex Roles*, 64(3-4), 290-298.

- Cook, D. T., & Kaiser, S. B. (2004). Betwixt and be tween: Age ambiguity and the sexualisation of the female consuming agent. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 4(2), 203-227.
- Crawford, D. W., Jackson, E. L., & Godbey, G. (1991). A hierarchical model of leisure constraints. *Leisure sciences*, 13(4), 309-320.
- Crawford, M., & Unger, R. (2000). *Women and gender: A feminist psychology* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Cooley, E. & Toray, T. (2001). Body image and personality predictors of eating disorder symptoms during the college years. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 30, 28–36.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Crocker, P. R., Eklund, R. C., & Kowalski, K. C. (2000). Children's physical activity and physical self-perceptions. *Journal of sports sciences*, 18(6), 383-394.
- Crouter, A. C., Manke, B. A., & McHale, S. M. (1995). The family context of gender intensification in early adolescence. *Child Development*, 66, 317-329.
- Culp, R. H. (1998). Adolescent girls and outdoor recreation: A case study examining constraints and effective programming. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 30(3), 356-379.
- Currihan, D. (2008). Conversational interviewing. In P. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. (pp. 152-153). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Daly, K. J. (2007). Methodology: Links among ontological assumption, theory, and forms of inquiry. In *Qualitative methods for family studies and human development* (pp. 83-128). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Davison, K. K., Schmalz, D. L., & Downs, D. S. (2010) Hop, skip...no! Explaining adolescent girls' disinclination for physical activity. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 39, 290-302.
- Dean, C. (2007). Young travellers and the Children's Fund: Some practical notes on an experimental image-based research project. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 7(1), 16-22.
- Demers, B. (2004). For mobile operators, timing is critical, *Wireless Weekly*, 10(1).
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage.
- DeVault, M. L., & Gross, G. (2007). Feminist interviewing: Experience, talk, and knowledge. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp. 173-198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- DeVault, M. L., & Gross, G. (2012). Feminist qualitative interviewing. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.) (pp. 206-236). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dill, B. T., McLaughlin, A. E., & Nieves, A. D. (2007). Future directions of feminist research: Intersectionality. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and Praxis* (pp. 629-637). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dill, B. T. & Kohlman, M. H. (2012). Intersectionality: A transformative paradigm in feminist theory and social justice. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.) (pp. 206-236). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dishman, R. K., Hales, D. P., Almeida, M. J., Pfeiffer, K. A., Dowda, M., & Pate, R. R. (2006). Factorial validity and invariance of the physical self-description questionnaire among black and white adolescent girls. *Ethnicity & Disease*, 16(2), 551-558.

- Duke, L. L., & Kreshel, P. J. (1998). Negotiating femininity: Girls in early adolescence read teen magazines. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 22(1), 48-71.
- Dupuis, S. (1999). Naked truths: Towards a reflexive methodology in leisure research. *Leisure Sciences*, 21, 41-64.
- Erickson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life-cycle, *Psychological Issues*, 1, 18-164.
- Fendt, L. S. & Wilson, E. (2012). 'I just push through the barriers because I live for surfing': How women negotiate their constraints to surf tourism, *Annals of Leisure Research*, 15(1), 4-18.
- Floyd, M. F. & Johnson, C. Y. (2002). Coming to terms with environmental justice in outdoor recreation: A conceptual discussion with research implications. *Leisure Sciences*, 24, 59–77.
- Foley, C., Holzman, C., & Wearing, S. (2007). Moving beyond conspicuous leisure consumption: Adolescent women, mobile phones and public space. *Leisure Studies*, 26(2), 179-192.
- Fox, K. M., & Lashua, B. D. (2010). Hold gently people who create space on the margins: Urban Aboriginal-Canadian young people and hip-hop rhythms of “Leisures”. In H. Mair, S. M. Arai & D. G. Reid (Eds.), *Decentring work: Critical perspectives on leisure, social policy, and human development* (pp. 229-250). Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Freysinger, V. J., Shaw, S. M., Henderson, K. A., & Bialeschki, D. M. (2013a). Leisure, women and gender: Setting a context. In Freysinger, V. J. Henderson, K. A., Shaw, S. M., & Bialeschki, M. D. (Eds.). *Leisure, women, and gender*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.

- Freysinger, V. J., Shaw, S. M., Henderson, K. A., & Bialeschki, D. M. (2013b). Feminist theories: A diversity of contributions and perspectives. In Freysinger, V. J. Henderson, K. A., Shaw, S. M., & Bialeschki, M. D. (Eds.). *Leisure, women, and gender*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Frost, J., & McKelvie, S. (2004). Self-esteem and body satisfaction in male and female elementary school, high school, and university students. *Sex Roles, 51*(1-2), 45-54.
- Frisby, W., Alexander, T., Taylor, J., Tirone, S., Watson, C., Harvey, J., & Laplante, D. (2005). Bridging the recreation divide: Listening to youth and parents from low income families from across Canada.
- Fullager, S. (2008). Leisure practices as counter-depressants: Emotion-work and emotion-play within women's recovery from depression. *Leisure Sciences, 30*, 35-52.
- Gentile, B., Grabe, S., Dolan-Pascoe, B., Twenge, J. M. Wells, B. E. & Maitino, A. (2009). Gender differences in domain-specific self-esteem: A meta-analysis. *Review of General Psychology, 13*(1), 32-45.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development* (Vol. 326). Harvard University Press.
- Giordano, P. C. (2003). Relationships in adolescence. *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 257-281.
- Godbey, G., Crawford, D. W., & Shen, X. Y. S. (2010). Assessing hierarchical leisure constraints theory after two decades. *Journal of Leisure Research, 42*(1), 111-134.
- Goodman, E., & Whitaker, R. C. (2002). A prospective study of the role of depression in the development and persistence of adolescent obesity. *Pediatrics, 110*(3), 497-504.
- Gordon, A. (1997). *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Gramann, J. H., & Allison, M. T. (1999). Ethnicity, race and leisure. In E. J. Jackson & T. L. Burton (Eds.), *Leisure studies: Prospects for the twenty-first century* (pp. 283-297). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Green, E. (1998). 'Women doing friendship': An analysis on women's leisure as a site of identity construction, empowerment and resistance. *Leisure Studies*, 17, 171-185.
- Greenhow, C., & Robelia, B. (2009). Informal learning and identity formation in online social networks. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 34(2), 119-140.
- Grotevant, H. (1998). Adolescent development in family contexts. In W. Damon & N. Eisenberg (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol.3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (pp. 1097-1149). New York: Wiley.
- Haggard, L. M., & Williams, D. R. (1992). Identity affirmation through leisure activities: Leisure symbols. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 24(1), 1-18.
- Hamilton, R. (2005). *Gendering the vertical mosaic: Feminist perspectives on Canadian society* (2nd ed.) Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual studies*, 17(1), 13-26.
- Hartmann, H. (2010). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: Towards a more progressive union. In McCann, C. R., & Kim, S. (2010). *Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives* (2nd ed.) (pp. 169-183). New York: Routledge.
- Harter, S. (1988). Cause, correlates, and the functional role of global self-worth: A life-span perspective. In J. Kolligan & R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *Perceptions of competence and incompetence across the life-span*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Harter, S. (1997). The development of self-representation. In W.D. Eisenberg (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (pp. 553-618). New York: Wiley.
- Harter, S., & Jackson, B. K. (1993). Young adolescents' perceptions of the link between low self-worth and depressed affect. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 13*, 383-407.
- Hawkesworth, M. (2012). Truth and truths in feminist knowledge production. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.) (pp. 92-118). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hegarty, C. B. (2009). The value and meaning of creative leisure. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts, 3*(1), 10.
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prevention: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 657-674.
- Henderson, K.A., Bialeschki, M.D., Shaw, S.M., Freysinger, V.J. (1996). *Both gaps and gains: Feminist perspectives on women's leisure*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Henderson, K. A., Hodges, S. & Kivel, B. D. (2002) Context and dialogue in research on women and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research, 34*(3), pp. 253–271.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2007). Feminist research: Exploring the interconnections of epistemology, methodology, and method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.) *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp. 1-29). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2012). Feminist research: Exploring, interrogating, and transforming the interconnections of epistemology, methodology, and method. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.) (pp. 2-26). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Piatelli, D. (2012). The synergistic practice of theory and method. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.) (pp. 176-186). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hey, V. (1997). *The company she keeps: An ethnography of girls' friendships*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hodkinson, P., & Lincoln, S. (2008). Online journals as virtual bedrooms? Young people, identity and personal space. *Young*, 16(1), 27-46.
- Hughes-Hassell, S., Rodge, P. (2007). The leisure reading habits of urban adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 51(1), 22-33.
- Hunter, J. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2003). The positive psychology of interested adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 32(1), 27-35.
- Institute for Child Health Research. (1995). *Western Australian child health survey: Developing health and well-being in the nineties*. (ABS Catalogue No. 4303.5). Australia: Government Printing Office.
- Iwasaki, Y., & Mannell, R. C. (2000). Hierarchical dimensions of leisure stress coping. *Leisure Sciences*, 22(3), 163-181.
- Jackson, E. L. (2007). Leisure constraints. In R. McCarville & K. MacKay (Eds.), *Leisure for Canadians* (pp. 63-73). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Jackson, E. L., Crawford, D. W., & Godbey, G. (1993). Negotiation of leisure constraints. *Leisure Sciences*, 15, 1-11.
- James, K. (1995). *Ownership of space: Its impact on recreational participation for young women*. Perth, Western Australia: Edith Cowan University, Department of Leisure Sciences.

- James, K. (2000). "You can feel them looking at you": The experiences of adolescent girls at swimming pools. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32(2), 262-280.
- James, K., & Embrey, L. (2002). Adolescent girls' leisure: A conceptual framework highlighting factors that can affect girls' recreational choices. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 5(2), 14-26.
- Jokinen, E. (2004). The making of mother in diary narratives. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(3), 339-359.
- Jun, J., & Kyle, G. T. (2012). Gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 44(3), 353-378.
- Kay, T., & Jackson, G. A. M. (1991). Leisure despite constraint: The impact of leisure constraints on leisure participation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 23(4), 301-313.
- Kay, T. (2005). The voice of the family: Influences on Muslim girls' responses to sport. *LSA Newsletter*, 71, 62-71.
- Kazemipur, A., & Halli, S. S. (2001). The changing colour of poverty in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 38(2), 217-238.
- Kearney, M. C. (2007). Productive spaces: Girls' bedrooms as sites of cultural production. *Journal of Children and Media*, 1(2), 126-141.
- Kelly, J. R. (1983). *Leisure identities and interaction*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Kelly, J. (1987). *Freedom to be: A new sociology of leisure*. New York: Macmillan.
- Kelly, J. R., & Freysinger, V. J. (2000). *21st century leisure: Current issues*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Kilbourne, J. (1999). *Can't buy my love: How advertising changes the way we think and feel*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Kivel, B.D., & Kleiber, D.A. (2000). Leisure in the identity formation of lesbian/gay youth: Personal, but not social. *Leisure Sciences*, 22, 215-232.
- Kleiber, D. A., Caldwell, L. L., & Shaw, S. M. (1993). Leisure meanings in adolescence. *Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure*, 16(1), 99-114.
- Kleiber, D. A. (1999). *Leisure experience and human development*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kleiber, D. A. & Mannell, R. C. (1997). *A social psychology of leisure*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Klitzing, S. W. (2004). Women living in a homeless shelter: Stress coping and leisure, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36, 483-512.
- Klomsten, A. T., Skaalvik, E. M., & Espnes, G. A. (2004). Physical self-concept and sports: Do gender differences still exist? *Sex Roles*, 50, 119-127.
- Koff, E., Rierdan, J., & Stubbs, M. L. (1990). Gender, body image, and self-concept in early adolescence. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 10, 56-68.
- Larson, R. W., Richards, M. H., Moneta, G., Holmbeck, G., & Duckett, E. (1996). Changes in adolescents' daily interactions with their families from ages 10 to 18: Disengagement and transformation. *Developmental Psychology*, 32(4), 744.
- Larson, R. W. (2000). Toward a psychology of positive youth development. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 170.
- Lee, J., Scott, D., & Floyd, M.F. (2001). Structural inequalities in outdoor recreation participation: A multiple hierarchical perspective. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 33, 427–449.

- Liechty, T., Freeman, P. A., & Zabriskie, R. B. (2006): Body image and beliefs about appearance: Constraints on the leisure of college-age and middle-age women. *Leisure Sciences*, 28(4), 311-330.
- Lincoln, S. (2004). Teenage girls' "bedroom culture": Codes versus zones. In A. Bennett & K. Kahn-Harris (Eds.), *After subculture: Critical studies in contemporary youth culture* (pp. 94-106). New York: Palgrave.
- Lerner, R. M., Brown, J. D., & Kier, C. (2005). *Adolescence: Development, diversity, context, and application* (Canadian ed.). Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Lintunen, T., Leskinen, E., Oinonen, M., Salinto, M., & Rahkila, P. (1995). Change, reliability, and stability in self-perceptions in early adolescence: A four-year follow-up study. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 18 (2), 351-364.
- Low, K. G., Charanasomboon, S., Brown, C., Hiltunen, G., Long, K., Reinhalter, K., & Jones, H. (2003). Internalization of the thin ideal, weight and body image concerns. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 31, 81-90.
- Mahony, J., Larson, R., & Eccles, J. (2005). *Organized activities as development contexts for children and adolescents: Extracurricular activities after-school and community programs*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-187). New York: Wiley.
- McCann, C. R., & Kim, S. (2010). *Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- McMeeking, D., & Purkayastha, B. (1995). "I can't have my mom running me everywhere": Adolescents, leisure, and accessibility. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 27, 360-378.

- McRobbie, A., & Garber, J. (1976). Girls and subcultures. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.), *Resistance through rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 209-222). London: Harper Collins Academic.
- Mulcahy, C. (2007). *Risky performances: A feminist, dramaturgical exploration of the female diarist as resistant* (Unpublished Master's thesis). University of Waterloo, Waterloo: Canada.
- Nesbitt, M. N., & Penn, N. E. (2000). Gender stereotypes after thirty years: A replication of Rosenkrantz et al. (1968). *Psychological Reports*, 87, 493-511.
- Nour, N. M. (2006). Health consequences of child marriage in Africa. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, 12(11), 1644-1649.
- Oleson, V. (2011). Feminist qualitative research in the millennium's first decade: Developments, challenges, prospects. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.) (pp. 129-146). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Park, J. (2003). Adolescent self-concept and health into adulthood. *Health Reports*, 14, 41-52.
- Parry, D. C., & Shinew, K. J. (2004). The constraining impact of infertility on women's leisure lifestyles, *Leisure Sciences*, 26, 295-308.
- Parry, D. C. (2007). Gender and leisure. In R. McCarville & K. MacKay (Eds.), *Leisure for Canadians* (pp. 141-148). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Patton, M. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.) (pp. 339-383). Sage Publications.
- Pink, S. (2001), *Visual ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Pipher, M. (1994). *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the selves of adolescent girls*. New York: Ballantine.

- Polce-Lynch, M., Myers, B. J., Kliwer, W., & Kilmartin, C. (2001). Adolescent self-esteem and gender: Exploring relations to sexual harassment, body image, media influence, and emotional expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(2), 225-244.
- Pritchard, A., Morgan, N., & Sedgley, D. (2002). In search of lesbian space? The experience of Manchester's gay village. *Leisure Studies*, 21(2), 105-123.
- Raey, D. (2007). Future directions in difference research: Recognizing and responding to difference. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *The handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis* (pp. 605-612). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Raymore, L. A., Godbey, G. C., & Crawford, D. W. (1994). Self-esteem, gender, and socioeconomic status: Their relation to perceptions of constraint on leisure among adolescents. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26(2), 99-118.
- Regnerus, M. D., & Uecker, J. E. (2006). Finding faith, losing faith: The prevalence and context of religious transformations during adolescence. *Review of Religious Research*, 217-237.
- Roberts, D. F., Foehr, U. G., & Rideout, V. J. (2005). *Generation M: Media in the lives of 8-18 year-olds*. Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Robinson, J. P., & Godbey, G. (1993). Sport, fitness, and the gender gap. *Leisure Sciences*, 15(4), 291-307.
- Rublee, C. B., & Shaw, S. M. (1991). Constraints on the leisure and community participation of immigrant women: Implications for social integration. *Loisir et société/Society and Leisure*, 14(1), 133-150.
- Schooler, D., Ward, M. L., Merriwether, A., Caruthers, A. (2004). Who's that girl: Television's role in the body image development of young white and black women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(1), 38-47.

- Schor, J. (2007). In defense of consumer critique: Revisiting the consumption debates of the twentieth century. *The Annals of the American Academy*, 611, 16-30.
- Seabrook, J. (1990). *The myths of the market: Promises and illusions*. Devon: Greenbooks.
- Shannon, C. S., & Shaw, S. M. (2005). "If the dishes don't get done today, they'll get done tomorrow": A breast cancer experience as a catalyst for changes to women's leisure, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 37, 195-215.
- Shannon, C. S. (2007). Leisure's many roles. In R. McCarville & K. MacKay (Eds.), *Leisure for Canadians* (pp. 25-32). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Shaw, S. M. (1994). Gender, leisure, and constraint: Towards a framework for the analysis of women's leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26, 8-22.
- Shaw, S. M., Caldwell, L. L., & Kleiber, D. A. (1996). Boredom, stress, and social control in the daily activities of adolescents. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28, 274-292.
- Shaw, S. M. (1999). Gender and leisure. In E. L. Jackson & T. L. Burton (Eds.), *Leisure studies: Prospects for the twenty-first century* (pp. 271-281). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Shaw, S. (2001). Conceptualizing resistance: Women's leisure as political practice. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 33(2), 186-201.
- Shaw, S. M., & Henderson, K. A. (2005). Gender analysis and leisure: An uneasy alliance. In E. L. Jacoson (Ed.), *Constraints to leisure* (pp. 23-34). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Shaw, S. M. (2007). The politics of leisure. In R. McCarville & K. MacKay (Eds.), *Leisure for Canadians* (pp. 43-51). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.

- Shinew, K. J., Stodolska, M., Floyd, M., Hibbler, D., Allison, A., Johnson, C., & Santos, C. (2006). Race and ethnicity in leisure behavior: Where have we been and where do we need to go? *Leisure Sciences*, 28(4), 403-408.
- Silbereisen, R., & Todt, E. (1994). *Adolescence in context: The interplay of family, school, peers, and work in adjustment*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Slater, A. & Tiggemann, M. (2010). "Uncool to do sport": A focus group of adolescent girls' reasons for withdrawing from physical activity. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 11(6), 619-626.
- Smith, E. F., Gidlow, B., & Steel, G. (2012). Engaging adolescent participants in academic research: The use of photo-elicitation interviews to evaluate school-based outdoor education programmes. *Qualitative Research*, 12(4), 367-387.
- Smolak, L. (2004). Body image in children and adolescents: Where do we go from here?. *Body image*, 1(1), 15-28.
- Son, J. S. & Yarnal, C. M. (2011). An integration of constraints and benefits within an older women's social club: An examination, extension and critique, *Leisure Sciences*, 33(3), 205-227.
- Statistics Canada. (2003). *Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic*. Retrieved from <http://www12.statscan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/etiomm/canada.cfm>
- Statistics Canada. (2004). *Table 502-0002 - Average hours per week of television viewing, by selected age groups, annual (hours)*. Retrieved from <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/pick-choisir?lang=eng&p2=33&id=5020002>

- Statistics Canada. (2005). *Canada's visible minority population in 2017*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.ca?Daily/English/050322/d050332b.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2006). *Visible minority population, by age group (2006 census)*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo50a-eng.html>
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *General social survey – 2010- Overview of the time use of Canadians*. (Catalogue number 89-647-X). Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-647-x/89-647-x2011001-eng.pdf>
- Stodolska, M. (2000). Changes in leisure participation patterns after immigration. *Leisure Sciences*, 22(1), 39-63.
- Stodolska, M. & Yi, J. (2003). Impacts of immigration on ethnic identity and leisure behavior of adolescent immigrants from Korea, Mexico, and Poland. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 35, 49–79.
- Tiggemann, M. (2005). Body dissatisfaction and adolescent self-esteem: Prospective findings. *Body Image*, 2(2), 129-135.
- Tirone, S. C., & Shaw, S. M. (1997). At the center of their lives: Indo Canadian women, their families and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 29(2), 225-244.
- Tirone, S. (1999). Racism, indifference and the leisure experiences of South Asian Canadian teens. *Leisure/Loisir*, 24(1), 89-114.
- Tirone, S. & Pedlar, A. (2005). Leisure, place and diversity: The experience of ethnic minority young adults. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 37(2), 32-48.

- Tirone, S. (2010). Multiculturalism and leisure policy: Enhancing the delivery of leisure services and supports for immigrants and minority Canadians. In H. Mair, S. M. Arai & D. G. Reid (Eds.), *Decentring work: Critical perspectives on leisure, social policy, and human development* (pp. 149-174). Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Tirone, S. & Gahagan, J. (2013). Intersections of ethnicity and gender in the leisure and health of ethnic minority women and young adults. In Freysinger, V. J. Henderson, K. A., Shaw, S. M., & Bialeschki, M. D. (Eds.). *Leisure, women, and gender*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Treadway, M. T., & Zald, D. H. (2011). Reconsidering anhedonia in depression: Lessons from translational neuroscience. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, 35(3), 537-555.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2005). *Early marriage: A harmful traditional practice*. New York: The Fund.
- Van Roosmalen, E. H. (1993). *Diversity in youth* (Unpublished dissertation). Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Walker, G. J. (2007). Multicultural perspectives. In R. McCarville & K. MacKay (Eds.), *Leisure for Canadians* (pp. 151-156). State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Walseth, K. (2006). Young Muslim women and sport: The impact of identity work. *Leisure Studies*, 25(1), 75-94.
- Warner, L. R. (2008). A best practices guide to intersectional approaches in psychological research. *Sex Roles*, 59, 454-463.
- Waterman, A. S. (2004). Finding someone to be: Studies on the role of intrinsic motivation in identity formation. *Identity*, 4(3), 209-228.

- Wearing, S., & Wearing, B. (2000). Smoking as a fashion accessory in the 90s: Conspicuous consumption, identity and adolescent women's leisure choices. *Leisure Studies, 19*, 45-58.
- Wearing, B. (1998). *Leisure and feminist theory*. London: Sage.
- Weisser, S. O. (1996). "What kind of life have I got?": Gender in the life story of an "ordinary" woman. In S. Smith & J. Watson (Eds.), *Getting a life: Everyday uses of autobiography* (pp.249-269). Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. C. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society, 1*(2), 125-151.
- Wiley, C. G., Shaw, S. M., & Havitz, M. E. (2000). Men's and women's involvement in sports: An examination of the gendered aspects of leisure involvement. *Leisure Sciences, 22*(1), 19-31.
- Wolf, N. (1991). *The beauty myth: How images of beauty are used against women*. New York: Doubleday.
- Youniss, J., McLellan, J. A., Su, Y., & Yates, M. (1999). The role of community service in identity development normative, unconventional, and deviant orientations. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 14*(2), 248-261.
- 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.
- Zeijl, E., Poel, Y. T., Bois-Reymond, M., Ravesloot, J. & Meulman, J. (2000). The role of parents and peers in the leisure activities of young adolescents. *Journal of Leisure Research, 32*(3), 281-302.

Zuzanek, J. (2004). Work, leisure, time-pressure and stress. In J. T. Haworth & A. J. Veal (Eds.), *Work and Leisure* (pp. 123-144). East Sussex, UK: Routledge.

Appendix A - Organization Gatekeeper Recruitment Letter and Consent

Dear _____,

This letter is a request for your organization's assistance with a project I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, under the supervision of Dr. Diana Parry. The title of my research project is "Critical Intersections of Gender, Race and Ethnicity: Leisure Constraints and Negotiations of Adolescent Girls".

Previous research has established the importance of leisure for adolescents. Identity development, for instance, is a key adolescent task in which leisure plays a central role. Given the importance of leisure for adolescents, there is a troubling trend of adolescent girls abandoning leisure pursuits that were important to them before entering adolescence. Physical activity is one area where this decline is particularly noticeable. As such, there is a need to understand what prevents, or constrains, adolescent girls from participating in recreation and leisure. Moreover, relatively little leisure research has specifically examined how adolescent girls work through, or negotiate, constraints. There is also a lack of current research on how adolescent girls might use leisure as a form of resistance to ideas about how girls 'should' behave. The lack of research on the leisure experiences of adolescent girls is especially true for girls from diverse races and ethnicities.

The purpose of this study is to explore diverse adolescent girls' constraints to leisure and how they may be negotiated or resisted. Knowledge and information generated from this study may benefit the academic community by extending the developing theory of gendered constraints to adolescent girls from diverse backgrounds. Practically, this study may facilitate a greater understanding of how to develop and promote inclusive leisure experiences through effective education, programming and policies. Diversely informed theory and practice are crucial in an increasingly multicultural Canadian society.

It is my hope to connect with adolescent girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years who are engaged in the programs of your organization to invite them to participate in this research project. I believe that the participants of your association have unique understandings and stories relating to leisure constraints and negotiations. During the course of this study, I will be conducting interviews to understand their leisure experiences and challenges. I will also ask participants to take and share several photographs of their leisure items, activities and settings. At the end of this study, the publication of this thesis will share the knowledge from this study with other leisure researchers, leisure programmers, and community members.

To respect the privacy and rights of your organization and its participants, I will not be contacting potential participants directly. What I intend to do is to provide your organization with information letters to be distributed by your association at your discretion. Contact information for myself and advisor will be contained in the information letters. If a participant is interested in participating they will be invited to contact me, Bronwen Valtchanov, to discuss participation in this study in further detail. I would also be open to holding an informal information session about my study for potential participants and their families.

Participation of any participant is completely voluntary. Each participant will make their own independent decision as to whether or not they would like to be involved. All participants will be informed and reminded of their rights to participate or withdraw before any interview, or at any time in the study. Participants will receive an information letter including detailed information about this study, as well as

informed consent forms. Parents of potential participants will also be provided with information letters and consent forms.

To support the findings of this study, quotations and excerpts from the interviews will be labelled with pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants. Names of participants will not appear in the thesis or reports resulting from this study. Participants will not be identifiable.

If your organization wishes the identity of the organization to remain confidential, a pseudonym will be given to the organization. However, if you are comfortable with your organization being identified by name, then I will mention your involvement as part of the described methodology in my thesis and possible publications. All paper field notes collected will be retained indefinitely in my home office in a locked cabinet. Further, all electronic data will be stored indefinitely on a password protected computer with no personal identifiers. Finally, only myself and my advisor, Dr. Diana Parry in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, will have access to these materials. There are no known or anticipated risks to participants in this study.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics, University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation belongs to the participants. If you have any comments or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, the Director, Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 519-998-8090 or by email bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Diana Parry at 519-888-4567 Ext. 33468 or by email at dcparry@uwaterloo.ca. I will be following up with a phone call to discuss the study further and to respond to any questions you may have.

I hope that the results of my study will be beneficial to the African Canadian Association, to your members, and to diverse adolescent girls and their families, as well as the broader research community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance with this project.

Yours sincerely,

Bronwen Valtchanov
MA Candidate
University of Waterloo
bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca
519-998-8090

Dr. Diana C. Parry
Associate Professor
University of Waterloo
dcparry@uwaterloo.ca
519-888-4567 Ext. 33468

Organization Permission Form

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Bronwen Valtchanov of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, under the supervision of Dr. Diana Parry at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details we wanted.

I am aware that the name of my organization will only be used in the thesis or any publications that comes from the research with our permission.

I was informed that this organization may withdraw from assistance with the project at any time. I was informed that study participants may withdraw from participation at anytime by advising the researcher.

I have been informed this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo and that questions we have about the study may be directed to Bronwen Valtchanov at 519-998-8090 or by email bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca or Dr. Diana Parry at 519-888-4567 Ext. 33468 or by email at dcparry@uwaterloo.ca.

I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns with this study, I may also contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, Director, Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Bronwen Valtchanov
MA Candidate
University of Waterloo
bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca
519-998-8090

Dr. Diana C. Parry
Associate Professor
University of Waterloo
dcparry@uwaterloo.ca
519-888-4567 Ext. 33468

I agree to help the researchers recruit participants for this study from among the members who are users of the program and services of my organization.

YES NO

I agree to the use of the name of my organization in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

If NO, a pseudonym will be used to protect the identity of the organization.

Organizer Name: _____ (Please print)

Organizer Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B – Participant Information Letter and Consent Form

Dear _____,

I am working on a project for my Master's thesis with my advisor at the university. For this project, I am looking for participants who are adolescent girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years old. I would like to tell you about my project, and then I am going to ask you if you are interested in taking part in the project.

Who am I?

My name is Bronwen Valtchanov and I am a student at the University of Waterloo. I work in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies.

Why am I meeting with you?

I would like to tell you about a study that involves adolescent girls like yourself and I want to see if you would like to be in this study too.

Why am I doing this study?

I am studying what adolescent girls do (or don't do) in their free time, or leisure. There is a wide range of leisure activities, such as playing sports, watching TV, and reading books or magazines. Research has shown that leisure is important for adolescents for many reasons. For instance, leisure activities can help you develop skills, meet new people, and can help to define who you are and what matters to you. Given how important leisure can be for adolescents, it is concerning that many young girls stop doing the kinds of leisure activities they used to do once they become adolescents. This seems to be particularly true with sports and other physical activities. There is a need, then, to better understand what kinds of things might prevent girls from participating in leisure. For example, girls might feel too shy to join a team or can't get to the places where they want to be. These things that get in the way of leisure are called constraints. Not only is there a need to understand what kinds of things get in the way of girls' leisure, but we also need to understand how girls might work around these constraints. One way this might happen is that girls might use their leisure to go against some people's ideas of how girls 'should' behave. Also, there is a lack of research that specifically looks at the leisure experiences of adolescent girls from diverse races and ethnicities. Considering all this, the purpose of this study is to explore diverse adolescent girls' constraints to leisure and how they may be worked through or challenged.

What will happen to you if you are in the study?

If you decide to take part in this study there are some different things I will ask you to do. First, I would ask you to take and share some photos of your leisure objects (e.g., your favourite book), activities (e.g., you and your friends playing volleyball) and places (e.g., movie theatre). I would also like you to share photos of leisure you used to do or that you would like to do, but that you now don't.

Second, I would like to talk to you for about 60 minutes about your leisure experiences. We can meet in a place that works best for you (e.g., a coffee shop, your house). I would also like to audio record our conversation so that I don't miss anything that you say. Some of the questions I

will ask include: What gets in the way of your leisure? Do you feel that your race, gender or ethnicity have influenced any leisure constraints you have experienced? How have you worked through these constraints? There are no right or wrong answers; it is what you think that matters.

I will also ask your parents if they would like to answer several questions, including some demographic questions.

Once the interview is done, I will type out our recorded conversation word-for-word so that I have a transcript of the interview. Once I have done this, I will e-mail you a copy of the transcript so that you have a chance to let me know if everything is accurate and to add or clarify any points that you wish. Several months after our interview, I will also contact you to discuss my findings with you. At this point, I would hope to receive your feedback on my analysis to make sure that your interpretation, if different from mine, is heard.

Could there be any problems for you if you take part?

I hope you will enjoy talking to me. A few people get upset or uncomfortable when talking about their lives, and if they want to stop, I stop. I can put them in touch with someone to help them, if they wish.

Will you have to answer all questions and do everything you are asked to do?

If I ask you questions that you do not want to answer, then tell me you do not want to answer those questions. If I ask you to do things you do not want to do then tell me that you do not want to do them, such as sharing your photos with me.

Who will know that you are in the study?

The things you say and any information I write about you will not have your name on it. I will change your name, so that what you say stays anonymous so no one will know they are your answers or how you feel about some of the things that we will talk about. If you give me your permission, I can use your anonymous quotations for my project.

Your information will be completely confidential. This means, I will not let anyone other than my advisor see your answers or any other information about you. Your parents will never see the answers you gave or the information I wrote about you. The only time I might have to tell someone what you said is if I think you or someone else might be at risk of being hurt. If so, I will talk to you first about the best thing to do.

Once I have transcribed the interview, the audio files will be destroyed. An electronic copy of the written transcripts will be kept on a password-protected computer and any physical copies of the information will be kept in a locked cabinet in my home. If you agree to have me use your photos for my thesis project or any publications, I will blur out any faces and remove any other uniquely identifying markers, so that your photos are also anonymous.

Do you have to be in the study?

You do not have to be in the study. No one will get angry or upset with you if you don't want to do this. Just tell me if you don't want to be in the study. And remember, if you decide to be in the study but later you change your mind, then you can tell me you do not want to be in the study

anymore. If you do decide to participate in my study, you will receive a \$10 Tim Hortons gift card to thank you for your time.

Do you have any questions?

You can ask questions at any time. You can ask now or you can ask later. You can talk to me or you can talk to someone else at any time during the study. Here is the telephone number and email address that you can reach me at: 519-998-8090 or bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my advisor, Professor Diana Parry at 519-888-4567 ext. 33468 or dcparry@uwaterloo.ca. If you decide that you would like to be part of my study, please call or e-mail me and we can set up a time and place to meet.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin in the Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

I certainly hope you will feel that you have benefitted from sharing your experiences with me and with the larger academic community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Thanks for all your help,

Bronwen Valtchanov

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Bronwen Valtchanov of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, under the supervision of Dr. Diana Parry I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I requested.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous, meaning that my name will be changed so that no one (except the researcher and her advisor) will know what I said

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director of the Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Yes No

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

Yes No

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

Yes No

I agree to the use of my photos in any thesis or publication that comes from this research (provided that faces and any other uniquely identifying markers will be blurred to remain anonymous).

Yes No

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C – Parent Information Letter and Consent Form

Dear Parent,

Your daughter is being invited to participate in a research study on diverse adolescent girls' leisure constraints and their negotiations. That is, I am studying what adolescent girls do in their free time – their leisure – and what kinds of factors might get in the way of the leisure they would like to have – their constraints. I am looking for adolescent girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years old to participate in my study. I hope to learn more about how adolescent girls experience constraints to leisure participation and enjoyment. I also hope to learn more about the ways in which girls negotiate, or work through, the constraints they encounter and even how leisure experiences may assist girls in challenging limiting ideas about what behaviours are 'appropriate' for girls. This study is being conducted by Bronwen Valtchanov under the supervision of Professor Diana Parry of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo.

As a participant in this study, your daughter will be asked to participate in an interview to discuss her experiences of leisure constraints and her negotiations of these constraints. For instance, we will discuss the following themes and questions: What constraints to leisure has she experienced? Does she feel that her race, gender or ethnicity have influenced any leisure constraints she has experienced? How has she worked through these constraints? Your daughter may choose not to answer any question she prefers not to answer. To begin discussing these issues, your daughter will also be asked to take and share several photos of her leisure items (e.g., a favourite book), activities (e.g., she and her friends playing volleyball) and places (e.g., a movie theatre) as well as photos of leisure in which she used to participate or in which she would like to participate.

Participation in this interview process is expected to take approximately one hour. If you agree, I would also like to ask you several brief questions, including some demographic information such as household income. This particular question is being asked because it may inform a common constraint to leisure that people report, a lack of money for certain activities. As with your daughter, you may choose not to answer any question and participation is voluntary. Several months after the interview with your daughter, I would contact her to discuss my findings. At this point, I would hope to receive her feedback on my analysis to ensure that her interpretation, if different from mine, is heard. I certainly hope your daughter will feel that she has benefitted from sharing her experiences with me and with the larger academic community. She may withdraw from the study at any time by advising me of this decision.

With your daughter's permission, the interview will be audio-recorded, and with her permission, anonymous quotations will be used in the final report. Using anonymous quotations means that I will use a fake name, or pseudonym, for any information I use from your daughter's interview so that her name will not appear in any report, publication or presentation resulting from this study.

Again, with your daughter's permission, the photographs she shares may be used in reports, presentations or publications resulting from this study. To ensure that photos also remain anonymous, any faces or other uniquely identifying markers will be blurred. Once I have transcribed the interview, the audio files will be destroyed. An electronic copy of the written transcripts as well as your questionnaire data will be kept for five years on a password-protected computer and any physical copies of the information will be kept in a locked cabinet in my home until the completion of the project (Spring 2013). Your daughter will be given a \$10 Tim Hortons gifts certificate in appreciation of her time.

If you have any questions about you or your daughter's participation in this study, please feel free to ask myself or my supervisor. Our contact information is below. This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from you or your daughter's participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you for your interest in this study.

Bronwen Valtchanov
MA Candidate
University of Waterloo
bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca
519-998-8090

Dr. Diana C. Parry
Associate Professor
University of Waterloo
dcparry@uwaterloo.ca
519-888-4567 Ext. 33468

Parent Consent Form for a Minor

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Bronwen Valtchanov of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo, under the supervision of Dr. Diana Parry. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that my daughter will participate in the study if she agrees to participate and I agree to her participation.

I acknowledge that all information gathered on this project will be used for research purposes only and will be considered confidential. I am aware that permission may be withdrawn at any time (by either the parent and/or the adolescent) without penalty by advising the researchers.

I realize that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting about my son's or daughter's involvement in this study, I may contact the Director, Dr. Maureen Nummelin, Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Daughter's Name: _____

I agree to have my daughter's interview audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of her responses.

YES NO

I also agree to the use of anonymous quotations from my daughter's interview in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

I agree to the use of my daughter's photos in any thesis or publication that comes from this research (provided that faces and any other uniquely identifying markers will be blurred to remain anonymous).

YES NO

I agree to the use of the information I provide in the brief parent survey questions, including the use of anonymous quotations, in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

YES NO

Name of Parent or Guardian: _____ (Please print)

Signature of Parent or Guardian: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D - Parent Questionnaire

I would like to ask you a few questions about your daughter's leisure. As a reminder, you can choose not to answer any question. Any answers you provide will remain confidential and only anonymous quotations would be used, with your permission.

1. What does your daughter like to do for fun in her free time - her leisure?

2. Are there leisure activities your daughter does that you wish she didn't? If so, why?

3. What kinds of leisure do you do with your daughter as a family?

4. Have you encouraged your daughter to participate in certain kinds of leisure activities (e.g., join a sports team)? If so, why do you feel these activities are/would be good for your daughter?

5. Have you discouraged your daughter from participating in certain kinds of leisure activities? If so, why?

I also have a few demographic questions for you?

- What race and ethnicity do you consider yourself to be? _____
 - If you were not born in Canada, in what other places have you lived and for how long?
-

As a reminder from the information letter, one of the common factors people report as a constraint to their leisure is a lack of money. This next question is being asked to provide information about whether finances may be a factor as a leisure constraint for your daughter. Again, you may choose not to answer this question.

- What income bracket best represents your household:
 - i. \$20, 000-\$40, 000
 - ii. \$41, 000-\$60, 000
 - iii. \$61, 000-\$80, 000
 - iv. \$81, 000-\$100, 000
 - v. \$100, 000 +

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix E – Participant Appreciation Letter and Feedback Form

Dear _____,

I would like to thank you very much for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to explore what kinds of factors get in the way of leisure for diverse adolescent girls' and how girls may work through or challenge the factors that get in their way.

The data collected during interviews will contribute to a greater understanding of adolescent girls' leisure experiences, constraints and negotiations. Practically, this study may facilitate the development and promotion of inclusive leisure experiences through effective education, programming and policies.

Once I have transcribed the interview, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. Several months after our interview, I will also contact you to discuss my findings with you. At this point, I would hope to receive your feedback on my analysis to ensure that your interpretation, if different from mine, is heard. When I have completed the study in Spring 2013, I will provide you with a summary of the final results.

Please remember that the data will remain completely confidential and will be kept securely stored. If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below. As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Maureen Nummelin, the Director, Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567, Ext. 36005 or maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca.

Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,

Bronwen Valtchanov
MA Candidate
University of Waterloo
bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca
519-998-8090

Appendix F - Guide for Leisure Photos

What do I mean by 'leisure'? – The things you do for fun, in your free time.

Please think about the questions from the following three sections and how you could represent your answers with photos. There are no 'wrong answers'! Feel free to get creative and show me your leisure through your own eyes!

I'm looking for **at least 5 photos** (hopefully with at least one for each section), but you are welcome to take and share as many photos as you would like.

1) What does your leisure look like now?

Ideas:

- Objects or accessories – what physical things are part of your leisure? (e.g., photo of your favourite book)
- Activities – what are the actions & activities that are part of your leisure? (e.g., photo of sports game)
- Places – where does your leisure happen? (e.g., photo of movie theatre)
- People – who do you do leisure activities with? (e.g., photo of your friends)

2) What did your leisure used to look like?

- When you were younger, what did you like to do?
- Did you do different things for fun in the country where you were born (compared to what you do for fun/free time here in Canada)?

3) Are there things you'd like to do for leisure now, but that you don't?

- What does your 'wish list' leisure look like?
- What things get in the way of you doing these things? (e.g., transportation, money, time, people in your life, your own fears?)

If you are taking the photos with your camera phone, please send the images in an attachment to my e-mail (bvaltcha@uwaterloo.ca) at least one day before we meet so that I can print them to look through them together during your interview.

Thanks!

Appendix G – Interview Guide

Adolescent Girls' Constraints and Negotiations

Introductory Comments: The purpose of this study is to explore diverse adolescent girls' constraints to leisure and how they may be negotiated or resisted. Therefore, this interview will focus on what leisure is like for you, what gets in the way of your leisure and how you work through what gets in your way. If there are any questions you do not feel comfortable answering, you can skip them. I also want to remind you that all of your answers are confidential and that you can decide that you do not want to participate at any time.

1. Let's begin by talking about your leisure experiences.

- Can you tell me about the photos you brought?
- What kind of activities do you do for fun or relaxation, or whenever you can choose what to do?
- Do you (or have you) participated in sports or physically active leisure?
- Have these activities changed over the years?
- If you have lived in different places, have these activities been different?

2. What do your leisure experiences mean to you?

- Do you feel that the activities you choose to do are important to who you are?

3. Are there things that get in the way of participating in the types of things you do for fun or would like to do?

- If so, are the things that get in your way physical (e.g., lack of money)?
- Do you ever feel that people get in the way of you doing what you'd like to do (e.g., parents or friends)?
- Do you feel that sometimes you get in your way (e.g., by thinking you can't do something well enough)?
- Do the things that get in the way ever actually stop you from even participating in the activities you want to do, or do they just affect how you feel when you're doing them?

4. Do you feel that your race or ethnicity has affected your leisure (what you do or what you can't do)?

- Do your friends or family encourage or discourage certain kinds of activities because of your race or ethnicity?

5. Do you feel that being a girl has affected your leisure (what you do or can't do)?

- Do you feel that boys your age can do different activities or have different challenges?
- Do you ever notice or get frustrated that some people feel that some activities are 'for/not for boys' or 'for/not for girls'?

- Do your friends or family encourage or discourage certain kinds of activities because you're a girl?

6. When you come up against something preventing you from leisure activities, do you try to work around them?

- If so, what have you found works?
- What have you tried that hasn't worked?

7. In what ways, if any, do you see yourself challenging societal and/or familial expectations of your behaviour?

- How do these experiences make you feel?
- How do you think more of these kinds of experiences could happen for you?

8. If you could change certain things about your leisure experiences, what would you change?

- How could others (e.g., teachers, family, friends, society) help make these changes?

9. Is there anything we haven't discussed that you would like to add?

Before we end, I also have a few demographic questions for you?

- How old are you?
- What race and ethnicity do you consider yourself to be?
- If you haven't lived in Canada your whole life, where else have you lived and for how long?
- E- mail address for future correspondence