



WAGENINGEN UR

For quality of life

Department of Environmental Sciences

Cultural Geography Chair Group

‘Back at home it just happened; you didn’t have to think about it’

Self-initiated Expatriates: Post-relocation Leisure participation and Adjustment

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my baby girl who has gone with me through most of the time of MLE – paper writings, projects, hours in library, exams and re-exams she has done it all with me. At age of 1 it will be her first Master diploma well deserved!

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1 Conceptual framework

1.1 Introduction

Globalization and international labor mobility have provided the opportunity for people to move across country borders more easily and choose their life and career paths accordingly (Peltokorpi, 2008; Froese, 2012). Whether they go for family reasons, work or education, expatriates are common all around the world. The increased mobility in the globalised world has resulted in greater social complexity (Froese, 2012). Those are individual choices of being mobile that cause international effects.

In Europe, talented people who are willing and able to work will be needed more and more due to the declining population and aging workforce. According to these trends Van den Bergh and Du Plessis (2012) suggest that by 2018, Europe will experience an overall shortage of highly educated employees. In response to these forecasts the Dutch government also focuses on attracting more talented people from abroad by softening immigration rules to those who can contribute to the Dutch economy, culture or research in the Netherlands (Government of the Netherlands, 2013). Nevertheless the numbers of immigration in 2012 decreased for the first time since 2006 with 156 thousand¹ immigrants arriving in the Netherlands (CBS, 2013).

Since 1979 the Netherlands has been acknowledged as a racially and ethnically diverse country (Bosma & Alferink, 2012). Even though there have been political incentives to purify the diverse country of the Netherlands and to call for an end to the “multicultural experiment” (Economist, 2012), the focus of this thesis will be on a specific type of migrant population – knowledge migrants. The official migration policy of the Netherlands stands for free EU mobility and regulated migration from other countries in the world. Van den Bergh and Du Plessis (2012) refer to the vision of the Dutch Government to become one of the top five knowledge economies on the global scale. This goal is pursued by educating students with international know-how and attracting top talent through fiscal incentives for knowledge migrants (Van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012). Enschede, as an example of medium size city with internationally oriented educational, research and business organizations, has been chosen to represent a research area for this thesis.

Self initiated expatriates (SIEs) are one group of skilled migrants who are moving from one country to another. Whether for studies, work or other reasons, they choose to be mobile (Doherty, 2012) and form an increasingly important part of the global workforce (Peltokorpi, 2008). SIEs initiate their expatriation and find a position in another country by themselves (Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010). Immigration is associated with settling in a different social and physical environment in a new country. Adjustment to the new environment for self initiated expatriates is guided neither by their sending company nor the new employer. Their adjustment levels can be described as one's familiarity and psychological comfort with different aspects of a new culture (Takeuchi, 2010). Such sense of familiarity and belonging is often created by involvement in expatriate social clubs and associations (Trione et al, 2010).

¹ For comparison: 154 thousand in 2010 and 163 thousand in 2011 (CBS, 2013)

The very fact of migration followed by adjustment in the new environment can bring fundamental changes into the lives of migrants – their interpersonal relations, living arrangements and leisure experiences (Stodolska, 2000). Encountering new environments and cultures may form a challenging personal experience, including reconsidering and renegotiating one’s identity, self-concept and behavioral habits that were once taken for granted, according to Kim (2001, quoted by Van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012). Stodolska (2000) claims that it is the very change of environment that directly influences one’s leisure behavior post-arrival.

This study uses the analytical framework of Stodolska (2000) to analyze the changes in leisure behavior associated with immigration. The theoretical model developed by Rublee and Shaw (1991) to explain the role of leisure in the process of adjustment to the life in the Netherlands is applied. Although both approaches have been applied to the study of migrants’ adjustment they may also prove to be very useful in the research of a similar transient population: SIEs.

The data collection method adopted in this research includes semi-structured interviews. Interview material analysis is used to explore the nature of the post-arrival leisure participation changes. As well as how the leisure participation patterns contribute to the SIEs’ adjustment to (psychological comfort with) the new environment in the host country.

1.2 Research Objective

As the migration process may cause a range of alarming life experiences like downfall in social status or separation from friends and family, Stodolska (2000) suggests that research is necessary into the leisure behavior of migrants in relation to relocation in order to gain deeper understanding how they do adjust to or cope with settling into a new country. As concluded by Rublee and Shaw (1991), new societal norms and language difficulties, combined with reduced opportunities for socialization, can result in the migrants’ lack of community involvement, a less active leisure behavior and leisure can become more home-oriented. The set of motivation factors and barriers constraining leisure participation do affect the degree of community and leisure participation according to Rublee and Shaw (1991). Furthermore, leisure participation is shown by Rublee and Shaw (1991) to affect one’s general well-being and, in turn, the well-being to be a necessary condition for adjustment to the host country.

The majority of studies on expatriates and skilled labor migration are focused on work adjustment and career paths excluding the wider social aspects of one’s life (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005). There has been very little attention paid to SIEs’ leisure behavior and its role within the field of expatriation studies. In addition, Fischlmayr and Kollinger (2010) point out the significant knowledge gap in scientific literature on specific leisure time studies within the field of work-life balance of expatriates. Therefore, the purpose of the current research is to obtain a better understanding of the post-migration leisure participation patterns of SIEs, with a special reference to the Netherlands as a host country. In addition, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of how leisure participation adds to SIEs’ overall adjustment to life in the host country.

1.3 Research questions

To reach the research objective stated above the main research question of this study is:

- How does post-relocation leisure participation contribute to SIEs' adjustment to the new host country?

Related to this research question, are the following sub-questions:

- How does the relocation of SIEs affect their leisure perceptions?
- How do SIEs' leisure participation patterns change post-relocation?
- What are the leisure motivations of SIEs post-relocation?
- What constraints impact SIEs' leisure participation in the new host country?

1.4 Relevance of the study

Answering this research question may prove to be insightful for a number of reasons. This thesis aims to enrich the existing empirical research on leisure participation changes of a specific part of the migrant population – self initiated expatriates. There is a lack of research focusing on issues concerning leisure during expatriation, nor is there much research on how leisure participation can contribute to post-relocation adjustment of self-initiated expatriates. This study tries to fill some of those voids.

Furthermore, this thesis is practically relevant to society in a several ways. SIE can use the results of this thesis to get an insight into post-relocation experiences of other expatriates. In addition, (inter)national companies may benefit when employing self-initiated expatriates, gaining better understanding of the different needs of SIEs compared to other employees. The expatriate local points (expatriate help-desks) may use the findings of this thesis to add to orientation and support to SIEs. Also municipalities that want to further develop future workforce and gain popularity of international knowledge workers can use the findings of this thesis for leisure facility planning as a tool to ease the adjustment of this migrant group to the host society.

1.5 Thesis structure

The following chapter, chapter two, will elaborate on the theoretical framework applied in the research, focusing namely on leisure behavior changes of self-initiated expatriates and the process of adjustment to the host countries.

The adopted methodology and data collection methods will be outlined in chapter three. That chapter also describes the research setting, the respondent sample, the method of data analysis and the researcher's positionality. Chapter three is concluded by listing the limitations of this study.

Chapter four represents the analysis of the collected interview data. A comparison is made of SIEs' leisure behavior prior and post relocation. The chapter will also outline the perception of adjustment levels experienced by the respondents and the role of leisure in that.

The concluding arguments will be presented in chapter five. Above all, this chapter will focus on answering the research question of this thesis. Additionally, the chapter includes recommendations for other SIEs, (inter)national companies, expatriate help-desks, municipalities and for future research.

2 Theoretical framework

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the ways in which leisure participation relates to immigration and how (if at all) it can contribute to the cross-cultural adjustment. I will start by taking a closer look at broader concept of leisure and factors that may have an influence on forming leisure participation patterns. Then the concept of adjustment to the host country and the aspects of how leisure participation post-arrival can contribute to it will be added. But first, I will discuss the target population of this study: SIEs.

2.1 Self-initiated expatriates

Self-initiated expatriates are a distinctive group from other forms of international mobility – they go abroad for skilled labor as organizational expatriates (expatriates assigned from their home-based company), but do not have a home-based company support system. SIEs settle in their new country as immigrants, but do not necessarily plan to settle for longer residence. Nevertheless, they do stay longer than tourists and have the need to establish their everyday life in the new setting (Peltokorpi, 2008; Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010; Doherty, 2012). Rousseau and House (1994 quoted by Doherty, 2012) in their review of SIEs research, identify three levels of studying SIEs: micro level focusing on psychological and individual level experiences, macro level examining SIEs as a source of global talent and considering SIEs as an organizational resource at a meso level. Within the scope of this research I will focus only on the micro level investigating leisure participation of SIEs settled in the Dutch society.

There are two distinct groups of self-initiated expatriates distinguished by Howe-Walsh and Schyns (2010): expatriates leaving only for career reasons and expatriates driven by personal motivations, for example a relationship in or love for a specific country. The main difference between these two groups is the arrangement of a job prior to departure or after arrival. For expatriates who apply for certain positions already from their home country, organizations are aware of their particular situations including specific needs. Whereas expatriates arriving for personal reasons and applying for a position when already in the country are more commonly considered similar to home nationals and therefore may lose the status of expatriates with specific needs (Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010). Also Peltokorpi (2008) indicates that this second group of SIEs is more similar to host country nationals in terms of housing and area of residence, lacking the privilege of services usually facilitating the adjustment of organizational expatriates to general living environment of the host country. In terms of leisure participation, migrants such as SIEs can be seen as distinct from the general population. Some of the reasons for this could be that during the adjustment period in the new host country one may lack any form of social network and knowledge of available leisure opportunities. This period of adjustment is likely to impact the leisure behavior of SIEs in terms of participation patterns, constraints and motivations (Stodolska, 1998). Therefore, I will start with taking a closer look at the concept of leisure.

2.2 Leisure

Leisure is a time apart from obligations such as work, fulfillment of biological needs or other non-leisure commitments. Leisure is rooted in enjoyment, well-being and personal satisfaction, while being influenced by high structural determinants such as class, life cycle, gender and race (Shaw & Williams, 2002). Fischlmayr and Kollinger (2010) claim that leisure time of expatriates serves very well to better adjust to the new environment, as this valuable time is used not only for relaxation and recreation, but can serve also for getting to know locals. Fritz (2003 quoted by Fischlmayr and Kollinger, 2010) suggests that without having a balanced leisure time with proper activities, a valuable part of life is missing.

Leisure is a highly complex and inseparable part of western social life (Roberts, 1999). Within the global flow of skilled workforce, leisure may be seen as a tool of engagement into the new society (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Wang, 2002). One can see different reasons to take part in a leisure activity: to meet neighbors, develop friendships, have fun or escape everyday problems, stress and routine (Iso-Ahola (1989) quoted by Stodolska, 2000). Leisure can also be used as a tool to connect to the local community or as a family recreational activity. The involvement of SIEs in leisure activities may serve to enhance one's well-being, build a sense of belonging to the new community and it involves a degree of freedom (Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Tirone et al, 2010). Stalker (2011) points out that, by diversifying their leisure activities one can enhance their social life by broadening their cultural knowledge.

SIEs could be assumed holding a dual identity as formulated by Li and Stodolska (2006). The group in question often holds a role of temporary migrants and a student, employee, parent or other role depending on one's stage of life. Due to the dual identity of self-initiated expatriates, their leisure behavior may display some unique characteristics, as it is shaped not only by factors that affect leisure of the host country nationals, but also by their own cultural history and norms. A broader picture of the post-arrival changes of leisure participation among migrant populations can be obtained by considering both starting and ceasing participation (Stodolska, 2000). In the sections that follow I will take a closer look at the leisure participation and factors that might have an influence on leisure participation patterns after arrival. As the literature on expatriate leisure patterns is almost non-existent, scientific literature on leisure of immigrants and the general population will be used.

2.2.1 Motivations

Leisure participation patterns are interconnected with the broader concept of recreation demand. In her research of immigrant leisure patterns Stodolska (2000) refers to the recreation demand classification of Wall (1981):

- effective demand: actual, physical participation;
- potential demand: individual wants to participate, but is unable to, because of external and/or internal constraints;
- deferred demand: individual wants to, but does not participate, due to lack of awareness or facilities.

Jackson and Dunn (1988 quoted by Stodolska, 2000) take the classification one step further and distinguish another type of non-participants: those who have no interest in participating even in the absence of barriers. Furthermore, Jackson and Dunn's research indicates that individuals can shift between categories of demand depending on changes in their leisure behavior.

Although recent migrants might change their leisure participation into patterns that are comparable to the general population, according to Stodolska (2000, 2002) often their motivations are profoundly different. Stodolska (2000) in her research of Polish immigrants has distinguished three broad classes of motivations that affected their leisure behavior:

- the importance of latent demand, where participation in certain activities is triggered by removal of significant structural constrain as a result of changing countries;
- the “forbidden fruit” effect where “constraints experienced at one point in time may serve as a motivation for future participation”;
- the demonstration effect as motivation to engage in what is “trendy” or what others do (Stodolska, 2000: 53).

As previously stated, SIEs embody characteristics of migrants and the general population. Therefore leisure participation changes of SIEs may be driven by the reasons typical to recreation demand of the general population and by more distinctive motivation factors induced as a result of recent migration as classified by Stodolska (2000).

2.2.2 Constraints

Crawford and Godbey (1987, quoted by Son et al., 2008) define leisure constraints as factors that limit or prohibit taking part in desired leisure activities. Jackson (1997, quoted by Stodolska, 1998) adds to this definition the importance of the role of researchers' assumptions concerning the factors limiting and prohibiting leisure participation and enjoyment². Crawford and Godbey distinguish three domains of constraints:

- intrapersonal – constraints within the individual, such as lack of interest, physical inability or lack of self-efficacy;
- interpersonal – aspects of social interactions, such as not having a peer to participate with;
- structural – characteristics of the environment, such as lack of facilities.

Stodolska (2002) argues that most common reasons for ceasing leisure participation are the lack of financial or time resources (*structural constraints*), both for the host population, as well as for immigrants. Leisure participation post-relocation of SIEs can be highly constrained by lack of language skills, social isolation or lack of social interaction, cultural differences and overall lack of orientation in everyday life of the new country (*intrapersonal constraints*) (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Stodolska, 2000; Scott, 2007). Nevertheless Stodolska (2002) has found contradictive results whereby lack of language skills and lack of familiarity with the new leisure options seem to be less important.

² For further reference to the positionality of researcher see section 3.5

The perceived constraints among migrants are decreasing with increasing adjustment levels (Stodolska, 2002).

Imposed constraints on leisure participation can be seen as a dynamic process. It is expected that after the initial adjustment process associated with environmental change, leisure constraints become more similar to those of the host nation (Stodolska, 1998). Yu & Berryman (1996) refer to this phenomenon as meeting the behaviors or attitude of the population majority. Therefore, when analyzing the leisure behavior, time and perceived adjustment levels of SIEs should be taken into account.

The fact of moving abroad to build a career or for personal goals separates an individual from most of his/her relatives and childhood friends. The loss of established social networks may limit leisure participation (*interpersonal constraint*). Certain parts of leisure such as social interaction may become severely constrained (Stodolska, 2000; Stodolska, 2002; Fischlmayr & Kollinger, 2010). Such constraints can be explained not only by the loss of social networks, but also by extended working times (*structural constraint*) which are typical for expatriates (Fischlmayr & Kollinger, 2010).

One of the participation barriers experienced by migrants that are not generally found among the mainstream population is feeling not at ease (*intrapersonal constraint*) among the natives (Stodolska, 2002). Discrimination (*interpersonal constraint*) is another constraining factor that affects immigrants' participation in and their enjoyment of free time activities (Stodolska & Jackson (1998) quoted by Stodolska, 2002).

In her research of leisure behavior of Polish immigrants in Canada, Stodolska refers to mainstream psychological theories where continuation of participation in activities that had been started prior relocation serves to bring a sense of stability and familiarity. In this way leisure is used as a tool for connecting with their old ways of life (Stodolska, 2000). Yu & Berryman (1996) explain the cultural variations behind the leisure participation as function of social organizations, normative elements and values. These cultural factors and variations may significantly impact one's leisure preferences and ease of finding leisure partners among the host nation population (Stodolska, 1998). Meanwhile, although continued, such participation, already done in the home country, may change in nature, meaning, content and intensity (*structural constraints*) due to the fact of migration and therefore play a completely different role in the overall leisure experience (Stodolska, 2000).

Migrating between culturally and environmentally diverse countries forces one to greater adjustment while newcomers from culturally and geographically close countries experience a minimal shock (Stodolska, 2002; Peltokorpi, 2008). Environmental differences (*structural constraints*) have been listed as second most important reason for ceasing leisure participation for Eastern European immigrants researched by Stodolska (2002). In this research, factors such as cultural differences, longer geographical distances, different climate, differences in flora and fauna and different leisure habits were mentioned. Rublee & Shaw (1991), on the other hand, explain such seemingly environmental constraints as loss of community rather than leisure activity not being available due to cultural or environmental change.

Another constraint in leisure participation, according to Stodolska (2000), is post-arrival depression, which strongly influences both leisure participation and enjoyment. The post-arrival depression, influenced by lack of language skills, fear of new environment and lack of social networks, can cause

abandonment of past time activities and prevent migrants from acquiring new ones (Stodolska, 2000). Overall psychological well-being is highly connected with the sense of comfort in and familiarity with the local environment, as well as better self-confidence, social networks in the new country and clarity of personal goals and career development (Wang, 2002). Expatriates can ease uncertainty by learning behaviors that are fitting in the new culture. Culturally adjusted SIEs tend to be more open to the host culture and are able to add new norms, rules and behaviors to their own culture (Peltokorpi, 2008).

Thus, there is a wide spectrum of constraints that limit or prohibit one to take part in a desired leisure activity. In the recent paragraphs I have outlined the most common constraints of migrant population found in leisure research literature. As the process of leisure constraints post-arrival is suggested to be dynamic and depending on one's individual adjustment level, a broader picture of factors influencing leisure participation across one's life span must be explored.

2.2.3 Ageing and leisure patterns of the general population

At different stages of life the significance of leisure changes depending on the responsibilities and roles people take. The time needed to uphold one's position as a caring parent, supportive spouse and an employee requires time and may limit the time available for leisure (Stalker, 2011). Only by controlling for age and the stage of life it is possible to acquire a more detailed picture of post-arrival changes in leisure participation, and to separate immigration-related changes from those typical of a certain age group or activity type (Stodolska, 2000).

Many researchers have reported (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Stodolska, 1998; Stalker, 2011) that diversity of leisure is shaped by the social contexts of one's life. The most common factors forming this social context are:

- Age. Disengagement and continuity theory, as proposed by Stalker (2011), suggest that the diversity of one's leisure involvement decreases with advancing age. Whereas Son et al. (2008) have pointed out that although intrapersonal constraints increase with age, financial constraints decrease therefore showing no significant difference in overall leisure participation when compared to middle-aged adults.
- Gender. Irrespective of age, leisure of women is admitted to be more constrained (Son et al, 2008) and influenced by gender stereotypes and power relations (Stalker, 2011).
- Education and higher incomes contribute to greater diversity and quality of leisure (Stalker, 2011).
- Ethnicity and citizenship status are also seen as important variables underlying the diversity of leisure. The lack of social networks, language barriers and unfamiliarity with the new environment may limit opportunities for leisure engagement (Stodolska, 2002). These constraints tend to weaken with greater integration and adjustment to the new environment (Stalker, 2011).
- Environmental factors. Leisure in rural areas differs from urban leisure; days of the week and seasonality also have a role in shaping one's leisure behavior (Stalker, 2011).
- Physical limitations. Considerable barriers to pursue leisure are often experience by individuals with disabilities (Stalker, 2011).

In sum, alienation, post-arrival stress, anxiety, sense of loss and, in more severe cases, depression can be expected to influence leisure participation associated with occupation, family status, gender or age groups. Therefore, it is a combined set of factors to apply when researching post-arrival leisure participation change of SIE.

2.3 Leisure and adjustment

In the theoretical model developed by Rublee and Shaw (1991) post-relocation leisure participation is one of the core concepts that does affect general well-being of a migrant and therefore is seen as a significant contribution towards one's adjustment to the host location. By changing countries and cultural backgrounds, one has the choice of which part of their old culture to give up and what to integrate from the new one. It is found to be very important to remain true to oneself and the values formed since childhood. Adjustment is a long-lasting process of forming one's cultural identity (Van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012).

The process of adjustment to a new country is considered an essential part of living and working in an international context. It is a process of learning to adapt one's point of view and being able to expand behaviors and values, or what Van den Bergh and Du Plessis (2012) propose to be "a reward associated with an international lifestyle" (p.151). Peltokorpi (2008) refers to cross-cultural adjustment as a degree of psychological comfort and familiarity of an expatriate with different aspects of a foreign culture. For the purpose of this study this also serves as a definition of the SIE's adjustment in the Netherlands.

In relation to expatriation Black (1988, quoted by Peltokorpi, 2008; Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010; Takeuchi, 2010; Froese, 2012) introduced a model of three types of in-country adjustment:

- general adjustment: socio-cultural adjustment referring to a degree of psychological comfort with different aspects of the host culture environment;
- interaction adjustment: degree of comfort with different communication and interpersonal styles used in the new country of residence;
- work adjustment: degree of comfort regarding different performance standards, expectations and work values (Peltokorpi, 2008; 1590).

Yu and Berryman (1996) make an assumption that leisure can be used as a tool to facilitate adjustment into new society. Within the scope of this thesis I aim to explore the interconnection between leisure participation and the three types of adjustment mentioned above. The level of SIE's adjustment will be determined by evaluating four stages of adjustment distinguished by Black (1988 quoted by Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010) where only the last two can be seen as a successful adjustment:

- "honeymoon" stage;
- frustration stage;
- stage where some new behaviors have been adopted;
- stage of complete adjustment.

Patterns of involvement in leisure and recreation are shaped by one's culture (Yu & Berryman, 1996). Therefore, it may be assumed that depending on how similar or different the host-culture is for SIE, it

will impact the degree of post-arrival change in leisure participation and adjustment to the host country. It is easier to adjust to living and working in a country that is more similar to the home country of SIE (Peltokorpi, 2008). It is assumed by Peltokorpi (2008) that SIEs are more likely to make an effort to study the language and interact with local people as their mobility is backed with personal motives. An inability or unwillingness to adjust to the new socio-cultural environment can produce social loneliness and cause feeling of alienation (Weiss (1973) quoted by Pletokorpi & Froese, 2009).

Rublee and Shaw (1991) argue that leisure and community involvement are equally important as employment status, in the progress of migrants' adjustment. Different levels of adjustment may reflect different kinds and degrees of leisure participation according to Yu and Berryman (1996). It can be seen as a closely connected process where constraints on participation at labor market, community involvement and leisure participation help to explain the difficulties faced in adjustment process (Rublee & Shaw, 1991). The individuals with higher levels of adjustment are seen to participate more in leisure activities and join organizations for recreation (Yu & Berryman, 1996). Thus the more one is involved in leisure activities, paid work and community participation, the higher the degree of adjustment that can be assumed.

2.3.1 Social networks

Stodolska (2002), analyzing the reasons for immigrants to cease leisure participation, points out that loss of former social networks and old friends forces immigrants to restructure one's leisure behavior. Fischlmayr and Kollinger (2010) argue that only the expatriates who did attend expatriate clubs and organizations had a better balance of life abroad, felt accepted and found friends for leisure activities.

One way to overcome the loss of one's social network and build a support system facilitating early adjustment and constraint leisure participation or simply connect with other expatriates in one's free time is to join an expatriate organization or club. Social clubs and associations in a host country can help to build up ties with locals, start new friendships and establish social support networks. The clubs and associations have a potential to contribute to and help to form a sense of belonging in a new community (Tirone et al., 2010). Sirgy et al. (2010) refer to social community as an essential part of people's wellbeing. It is formed by formal and informal social networks within the host location that help providing access to resources, give social and moral support and assistance in dealing with life's problems.

Expatriates tend to form social enclaves in order to create a sense of 'home' – a social place more familiar to them, within the host country, by combining elements of the area of origin and area of destination, the global and the local (Clark, 2005). Expatriate clubs and associations may be an important alternative place to enjoy and experience leisure that is more free from mainstream leisure settings which may be selective and may expose migrants to discrimination due to language or cultural barriers. Migrant clubs and associations provide an opportunity to recreate with individuals who share similar values, cultural background and/or interests and often are easier to find upon arrival in a host country (Tirone et al., 2010).

Cultural background, language proficiency, employment status and time of settlement in the host country all have an impact on the degree of adjustment. The three types of adjustment (general, interaction and work adjustment) can be assumed to develop through four stages: ‘honeymoon’, frustration, adoptions of new behavior and complete adjustment. As leisure can be seen as a tool to facilitate better adjustment, the contribution of it towards the three types of adjustment will be analyzed. The role of expatriate clubs and organizations, in facilitating leisure participation and adjustment of SIEs will be evaluated.

2.4 Theoretical framework in short

Throughout this chapter argumentation has been made that study of expatriates’ leisure is highly important in order to gain deeper understanding about their settlement abroad. Leisure has been found to be a useful tool to facilitate one’s adjustment process (Ruble & Shaw, 1991; Yu & Berryman, 1996; Stodolska, 2000; Fischlmayr & Kollinger, 2010). Through leisure participation one can enhance well-being, build a sense of belonging and explore the host environment. Besides identifying how relocation impacts expatriate’s leisure, this thesis aims to identify how leisure contributes to the adjustment of respondents to the host country environment.

The literature review led to development of a model illustrating the interconnection between the main concepts of this study (figure 2.1). Although the model is simplified it states the main factors affecting leisure participation post-relocation. Apart from drawing the relation between factors having an impact on establishment of a leisure participation pattern this model aims to represent the interconnection between leisure participation and adjustment to the host country.

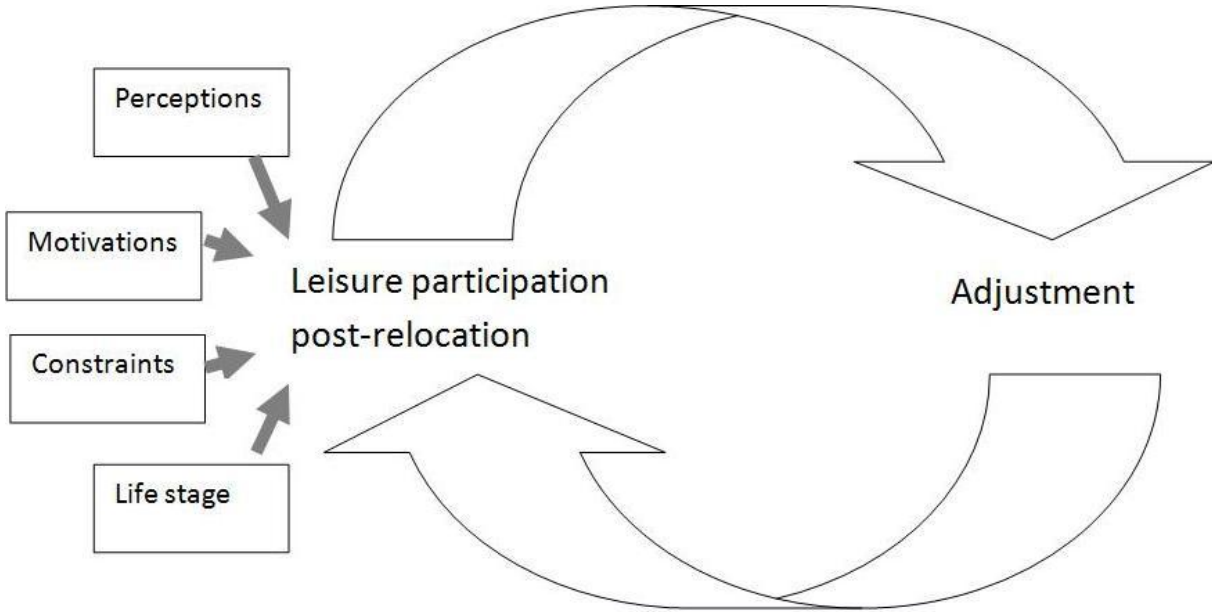


Figure 2.1. Interconnection between the leisure participation post-relocation and adjustment

Two subsequent steps will be taken in order to achieve the research goal and answer the main research question. First, SIEs leisure patterns, motivations and perceptions pre-relocation must be examined to allow comparisons with changes in their leisure behavior post-relocation. To determine how various aspects elaborated on in this chapter (motivations, constraints, age, etc.) influence leisure post-relocation, respondents will be asked to reflect on their leisure time experiences as well as life stage, employment status and living conditions in the host country. As mentioned previously, these elements have been selected for this thesis based on earlier scientific literature that suggests they may play a significant role in the lives of SIEs.

Second, the interconnection between leisure and the three types of adjustment defined by Black (general-, interaction- and work-adjustment) will be explored in order to examine if leisure can be used as a tool to facilitate SIEs' adjustment into the Dutch society. Respondents will be asked to reflect on their perception of their adjustment as a degree of comfort with different aspects of the host country to determine which stage of adjustment they are in ('honeymoon', frustration, partial or complete).

3 Methodology & Data collection

Within this chapter I will elaborate on the research methods used to study the phenomena of SIE's leisure participation and adjustment to the Netherlands. First, the adopted research design is explained. Second, this chapter describes the data collection, research setting and the analysis process. Finally I reflect on the limitations of this study and the role of my positionality as the researcher.

3.1 Research approach

To gain insight about the meanings attached to one's leisure and its role in the process of relocation the qualitative approach has been chosen, rather than comparable, statistical evidence of activities. My goal is to explore the issues of leisure participation and adjustment from the perspective of SIEs themselves. Throughout this process I seek to find possible explanations for the change in leisure participation among SIEs in the region of Enschede. Additionally, I try to understand the needs for and potential contribution of leisure to the adjustment of SIEs.

By accepting the social construction of reality (Wang, 1999) one can situate the leisure experiences of SIEs within the broader social and economic context (Watkins, 2000). An approach of social constructivism will be applied to this study. Therefore, the results will be presented multiple 'versions of interpretations and constructions' (Wang, 1999; 354) by the interview participants. Within the scope of constructivism, perception of leisure is put within the frames of social constructs dictated by age, gender, social participation and interpersonal experiences (Freysinger (1995) quoted by Watkins, 2000). The social frames of one's reality are built over time and impacted by socio-cultural surroundings (Watkins, 2000). Through applying a social constructivist paradigm to my thesis research I acknowledge the role of the researcher in the process of knowledge creation. The co-construction of meanings between interviewee and researcher is inherent in the interviewing process itself (Mills et al, 2006).

3.2 Data collection

As data collection method semi-structured interviews have been used. The method derives from the research approach adapted and is most suitable to capture 'insiders' knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The respondents were encouraged to provide narrative accounts of their leisure participation patterns and adjustment and the meanings they attach to these processes (Eliot, 2005). The interview questions were related to the changes that had occurred in people's leisure after their settlement in the Netherlands and asked to elaborate on the reasons for engaging, quitting or not participating in leisure activities. The last section of the interview focused on adjustment process and role of leisure within the three types of adjustment as perceived by respondents. To make the flow of this thesis coherent, the interview guide (see Appendix 1) and the report of the data analysis follow the structure of the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2. Nevertheless, it was used

primarily as a guiding tool, since the respondents were encouraged to freely elaborate on their leisure participation experiences and adjustment (Weiss, 1994). The interview method allowed to let the story flow and ask questions to clarify where necessary. Adjusting each and every interview to the specific respondent, allowed to gain the depth, coherence and density (Weiss, 1994) of the information shared. When data saturation was reached and responses of the interviewees did add little or nothing to the empirical material gathered (Weiss, 1994), further process of respondent recruiting and interviewing was stopped.

Data collection took place over the months June and July, 2013. Most of the interviews were taken in a public area – a cafe or a sports club, one interview was held at a work setting and for another 3 interviews I was invited to visit the respondents at their home. During four interviews my 8 months old (at a time) daughter was present as interviewees had agreed to such a fact and it was observed to introduce more relaxed atmosphere for informal talk. The duration of an interview was typically between 30 minutes and 1 hour. The longest interview was 2 hours and the insight gained covered a wider field than the one of the inquiry.

3.3 Research location and respondents

All data has been collected in Enschede city. Enschede has been chosen as a representation of a medium size city in the Netherlands. The city is located few kilometers from the border of Germany and holds an internationally oriented university, research center and businesses. Formally Enschede has been a centre of textile production. After the close-down of those industries, the city has strived to prevent knowledge workers and university graduates from moving out of the area (Visit Enschede, 2010). Nowadays Enschede city works towards the increase of a knowledge-intensive industry based on the enterprises and academic pool available (Enschede City, 2013).

The respondent sample consists of 15 expatriates living in Enschede (see Appendix 2). The potential respondents were contacted through my personal network and access to other networks such as Dutch language class, online social networks (Couchsurfing and Facebook) as well as expatriate meeting group (International Women Club). Three additional interviews were canceled on short notice due to personal reasons of respondents.

In the selection process of interviewees, the main criteria was belonging to division of self-initiated expatriates as opposite to organizational expatriates (see also section 2.1). Further, gender balance was desired - out of 15 participants 8 were female and 7 were male. Age variation was between 20 and 45 years. Respondents had expatriated from a wide range of countries, nevertheless, mainly Europe was represented. 8 people were married or involved in long term relationships, 4 of them had children. The employment status of the respondents was diverse – full employment, unemployment, self-employment and full time students. Most of the respondents had acquired higher academic education or were in the process of doing so.

All respondents had self-initiated their expatriation to the Netherlands. The most common reason for coming to this country has been involvement in relationship where one of the partners lives in or is closely connected to the area. 5 respondents moved here already having a job in Enschede (recruited

while still abroad) or its surroundings and 5 had applied for full time studies. The length of stay in the Netherlands varied between 10 months and 15 years. And, except for 2 respondents, people were not definite about the expected stay in the country.

In order to recruit the respondents several methods were used. Personal approach was used to begin with. Meanwhile advertising was started on online social networks – messages with invitation to participate in my research were published and sent privately. When starting interviewing, the snowball sampling technique was added (Weiss, 1994) and respondents were asked to ‘spread the word’.

3.4 Data analysis

The interviews were voice-recorded, transcribed and analyzed. The transcription process consisted of creating a coherent written story, by using standard spelling and creating sentence and paragraph structure (Atkinson, 1998). In order to answer the research question, an issue focused analysis (Weiss, 1994) was chosen, focusing on gaining knowledge about the process of SIE leisure change and adjustment in general, from the individual experiences of the respondents. The analytical process consisted of four steps – coding, sorting, local integration and inclusive integration (Weiss, 1994).

Based on the theoretical concept and the research question defined code-terms were applied to the interviews transcribed. It is the process of coding that helps to create a link between the information gathered and theoretical concepts applied in the study (Weiss, 1994). Next, the coding excerpts from all the interviews were sorted into subtopics of this research – leisure perception, motivation, work adjustment, etc. The process of local integration was for me as a researcher then to see the coding excerpts under each of the topics as a whole and make a story out of it. The local integrations allowed to see what the bigger picture is that each and every experience sums up to under the subtopic in question. To finish the process of analysis and to make one coherent story out of the numerous sub-topics created involved a process of inclusive integration (Weiss, 1994).

3.5 Researcher’s positionality and limitations

In presenting the results chapter that follows, the reader should be aware of some limitations of this research. First and foremost, generality cannot be concluded from this research, due to small and limited sample that has been used for this study. The aim of this research is to gain more insight into a topic that has barely been studied until now – interconnectivity between the leisure behavior and adjustment of SIEs to the host country. The results presented in this study claim no overall truth or proportional appearance in the overall population, but represent experiences in a locality where it has not been studied before. Moreover, according to a study of experiences by Katz (1999), the results of such a study hold true only to the ones immediately involved and even then ‘only for few brief moments’ (p.5).

Secondly, connected to the first limitation, the ethnic diversity of the research sample can be seen as limiting. Expatriates from different cultural backgrounds cannot be expected to share comparable leisure participation patterns (Ruble & Shaw, 1991). Therefore, by choosing to include a variety of nationalities, I have tried to gain more area-specific experiences which cannot be analyzed ethnic-wise, as it has been in some of the previous studies of migrant leisure participation, and even further limits the generality of this study.

Third, the length of stay in the Netherlands so far represented by the research participants differs greatly. The majority of the respondents have lived in the Netherlands already 3 or more years. Even though during the interviews I have repeatedly asked for their experiences during the initial post-arrival period, there might be important parts missed, due to the time passed.

My positionality as a researcher can be seen as beneficial and limiting at times. Due to my own position as a self-initiated expatriate living in Enschede city, I had access to different networks through which the recruiting process was carried out. Part of the respondents I had previously met and this acquaintance did help in recruiting them, as well as people I had not previously known. The downside of me living and studying in the Netherlands is the time spent in the country. The lack of sufficient knowledge of the Dutch language has limited my access to previously done research on the topic in question written in Dutch. Similarly the time spent in the Netherlands (2,5 years) puts me with the group of expatriates who are often still in the process of leisure pattern establishment and adjustment to the host country. Therefore, as a researcher I am actively involved in the process of knowledge creation and my positionality is of impact when analyzing the experiences shared by the respondents (Ateljevic et al., 2005). Nonetheless, non-leading questions during the interview process were strived for, as well as a non-biased analysis.

4 Analysis and results

The objective of this chapter is to present the respondents' leisure perceptions, patterns, motivations and constraints, and to provide a comparison of how these characteristics and behaviors differ after relocating to a host country. Moreover the respondents' perception of the impact of leisure participation on their adjustment process after relocation will be discussed. As such, this chapter will discuss the ways leisure has been influenced by relocation and other factors like one's employment status, age or gender. I will argue that these factors and relocation are both very significant to one's leisure. In order to clearly establish these arguments, this chapter is structured as follows. First, the conceptual perception of leisure will be discussed. Then the established leisure patterns after relocation will be described and compared to the ones prior to relocation. Next, the leisure motivation and constraining factors will be elaborated on. Finally, the leisure contribution to the adjustment process will be discussed. Having done this, I will continue with a summary which will frame the main results in terms of the research question and sub-questions drawn in chapter 1.

4.1 Leisure

In this section the respondents' perceptions of leisure before and after relocation to the Netherlands will be examined. Furthermore, the factors influencing the change in perception will be discussed.

Asked to define leisure in their own words respondents replied in line with one of the most typical perceptions of leisure mentioned in theoretical literature as being "free from" work, from study, and other obligations. Leisure was defined as an escape from it all. Also leisure was assigned to a certain time, such as the weekend: *"my leisure is weekend"* (Luka). Another perception of leisure that appears was: time when one is free to do whatever they wish, time to have fun, time to relax, time to socialize. Time to enjoy what one enjoys. These two concepts of leisure, being time apart from obligations and time free to enjoy, summarize the definition of leisure by Shaw and Williams (2002), mentioned earlier in theoretical framework of this thesis. As expressed by one of the respondents: *"The time you don't have any things for university, this is leisure"* (Panagotis).

The opposite view to leisure as being time free from work and obligation, has been expressed by a Liberian expatriate, Julie, seeing leisure as part of or even work time itself. She does enjoy her occupation and does see it as enjoyment:

"My enjoyment is my work. So even if I'm working and I have many customers coming in, then I see friends, then I'm happy and talking and smiling. That gives me my joy. That is my happiness".

Another way that respondents perceive leisure has been as a state of being. Leisure as doing nothing, just being. *"Do nothing"* has been a very common first response of my interviewees when asked what leisure is for them. Although 'being active' has been leisure for some others. Defining leisure by what she likes to do, Justyna did share her experience:

"Maybe it's a way how you spend your free time. [...] For me it is some activities what you can do after work, how you can spend time, go somewhere, visit some places, something like this".

An important thought expressed by experienced expatriate Nicki, living the last 15 years in Enschede, is the non-existence of leisure at the initial adjustment time post-arrival due to survival. Referring to her experience living in France and moving to the Netherlands, Nicki has been arguing that in the adjustment period leisure time is spent on learning a new language, exploring how "things work" and settling at the new location, which is something one has to do in order to survive. In her perception leisure is having a choice and she did not feel that at the time of adjustment after relocation, when things like learning a language and settling in had to be done: *"It comes from an approach – you don't have to do it – you have a choice"* (Nicki). This path of thought has been also confirmed by Olga saying *"it's like at work you cannot always choose what you have to do, but in your leisure you can do what you want"*.

Overall, the respondents did not feel like their definition of leisure would have changed after relocating to the Netherlands. The change they have noticed was associated with activities and frequency of participation: *"Change in activities and frequency, but not the definition"* (Olga). The only person who had seen a change in her perception was the Polish woman Justyna, after coming to the Netherlands almost 2 years ago. As her life has changed from being an independent, working woman, living in the capital city of Poland, Warsaw, to being an unemployed mom whose social network for a large part is on-line. She said all her life has changed dramatically:

"Because totally all my life has changed. Before, I was very busy. Something like having free time was "wow"! My time was always connected with some activities. So it was not only working, but also some other activities. But now from the other side I have a lot of free time, because I sit at home. But it is difficult to say is it a free time or time with a child. Because it's not like this that I could do what I want. So it is something like this. It has changed totally. But also my situation has changed" (Justyna).

Thus, participants did perceive leisure mainly as time being free from one's obligations and time to do what one desires. Moreover, leisure was commonly seen as a state of being, and involved a degree of choice and freedom. Leisure was mentioned as a crucial part of one's well-being. The perceptions of leisure had changed depending on the amount of free time, the state of being, the type of job and the stage of life. Therefore, both relocation and the change of life stages have had an impact on the perception of leisure of the respondents. In all cases, the enjoyment part of leisure was still unquestionable as Olga, an expatriate from Portuguese decent, expressed *"if it's not fun, it's no leisure!"*.

4.1.1 Leisure patterns

Within this section the leisure participation pattern of respondents will be outlined. Then an in-depth discussion will follow about the changes in the leisure behavior of interviewees that had occurred. Finally, the timescale related to establishing one's leisure pattern after relocation will be elaborated on.

The leisure activities undertaken by research participants can be categorized as stated in Table 1 (adapted from Stodolska, 2000). The majority of activities fall under 'Home-based recreation',

'Hobbies' and 'Other'. Overall leisure can be characterized as leisure which is more individual and home-based which was described as follows by Olga:

"That's [leisure is] a culture component you have to adjust in the country you live. And that affects you no matter what. So like, in Portugal, you go out much more and it has to do with better weather and things like that. And here it's much more in house. So you invite friends over, you receive people, you cook dinners. It's more within the four walls. And like a party, it's Dutch way. So we sit more and have a civilized conversation. And in Portugal it's more wild. And structured. Here it tends to be all very planned and structured. And what I miss is spontaneity".

TABLE 4.1 Allocation of Specific Activities to Categories (Activity Types)

<p><i>Exercise-oriented activities</i> Bowling, dancing, fitness, general sports, gymnastics, jogging/running, karate, riding bikes/biking trips, roller skating, swimming, taekwondo, working out</p>
<p><i>Outdoor recreational activities</i> Barbecue, enjoying nature, going for a walk, going to the park, mini-golf, hiking, spending time in forests</p>
<p><i>Team sports</i> Basketball, rugby, soccer/football, beach volleyball</p>
<p><i>Hobbies</i> Baking, charity work, cooking, creating music, drawing, gardening, painting, participation in organized clubs (chess, bridge, PhD association), photography, playing musical instruments, poker, sewing, upholstery</p>
<p><i>Home-based recreation</i> Board games, cleaning around the house, computer/Internet, drinking wine, listening to music, playing chess, playing with children, playing PC games, reading books, reading newspapers, Rubik's cube, spending time at home/doing nothing, spending time with the family, spending time in the backyard, telephone conversations, visiting friends/having friends over, watching television, watching documentaries</p>
<p><i>Other</i> Dining out, drinking coffee, going to city with family, going to church, going to the market on Saturday, going out, going for a drink, going to parties, learning Dutch, meditation, shopping, Skype, smoking, spending time with friends, spending time on social media (Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Youtube etc.)</p>
<p><i>Cultural activities</i> Going to concerts, going to festivals, going to the movies, going to opera, going to theatre, visiting art galleries, visiting museums</p>
<p><i>Travel/tourism</i> Exploring the Netherlands, general tourism, out-of-town trips, travelling, trips to a lake</p>

The reasons behind changing one's leisure pattern can be perceived as due to the switch in life stages, loss of social network and change in environmental factors. Most commonly, the changes in time allocated to, frequency of and money available for leisure were mentioned. *"The activities didn't*

change. The time changed dedicated to them” said Luka. Similar reasoning was also expressed by Csaba, Olga and Jannis.

Several participants have mentioned the importance of continuing sports despite the constraining factors such as money or lack of time. Running, going for a walk, dancing and several other activities that do not require specific equipment, environment or facilities were more commonly continued by the respondents. Equally, activities that did require specific environment or facilities were more often ceased. Like the lack of jazz bars in Enschede made Dimitris cease one of his favorite leisure past times, which was going to jazz bars. Also Chiara expressed the importance of available facilities to continue the leisure pattern she was used to in Italy:

“We had bars for breakfast, disco pub and many, many different places, Irish pub, pub for just to drink beer, just for drink cocktails, I was doing everything there. Enschede does not have a lot of choices, so if you want to drink something, you're going to the centre or you can play bowling during the night, or mini-golf. You can go to cinema. But that's it!”

Dimitris was also unable to continue another passion, – river rafting, for environmental reasons as there are no adequate rivers to pursue this sport activity. Often, activities were ceased due to a lack of time or switch in priorities, like pursuing a career or dedicating time to studies. Jannis, a Masters student at Twente University from Greece, gave an example of quitting a popular board game:

“Do you know a game backgammon - a wooden board... you know the chess, the other side, the black and white. Everybody is crazy. So when you say to someone to go for a coffee, the coffee has no value, you just open it [the game] and you forget that you're there. You lose time. 2-3 hours just like that. So this is what I was doing and now I don't do. The main reason is not that I don't have friends or they don't like it or I cannot bring it from Greece, but my free time here is even less than I had there. So I know, if I'll bring it here, I'll destroy my career”.

Lose of social network by leaving friends and family behind has also resulted in ceasing leisure participation at family related leisure events:

“Sometimes you spend your leisure time with your family. Like we had dinner at my mother's place on Sundays, when all the family came. It's also fun to meet your family and talk about the news and make jokes, laugh and eat together. One day of the week you're with your family. And I miss this a lot. I also consider that leisure” (Panagotis).

Interestingly, that lack of family related leisure and/or other family related obligations was experienced also as extra time available for undertaking other leisure activities:

“I have more time here [for leisure] because there's no family. In Portugal I had family commitments” (Nuno).

Often leisure activities were replaced with an equal or similar activity. Like Luka, a Masters student at Twente University from Italy, switched from playing soccer in Italy to engaging in rugby after relocating to the Netherlands. Dimitris gave an example of starting running with other people, even though in Greece he had always done this activity individually. And Csaba summarized the change in

his leisure as replacing “*very lazy*” leisure to a more active one due to being more eager to socialize in the first place: “*I think I do much more stuff now. Because I wanted to make friends somehow*”.

Also some activities mentioned were new, they were started only after relocation to the Netherlands. Cooking was mentioned by Chiara who had discovered her passion for this leisure activity only after relocating to the Netherlands. Before relocation she had lived with her family and her mother had been the cook. Similarly Melanie, expatriate from the USA, and Irene, expatriate from Indonesia, had enjoyed cooking more like a leisure activity instead of a daily chore since moving to the Netherlands:

“I cook, I like to try out new recipes, and I bake. I didn’t have much time for that in America. Some of the ingredients are different here, so I have to do research to figure out what these things are. And then I like to try it out, because it’s good to try new things out” (Melanie).

Several activities were started by the respondents with the aim to socialize and establish a new social network. People also did mention picking up and trying things that locals do, like going out to eat, biking, going to the city to visit the market on Saturdays. Also ice-skating which is relatively popular sport for the Dutch and there is a good facility for it in Enschede. Nuno, an expatriate from Portugal, shared his experience of learning ice-skating:

“I remember I had a hard time ice-skating. Because for me it was like learning Chinese. So it took me a while.”

In order not to lose the connection with the home country, reading news in one’s free time was mentioned as a leisure activity started after coming to the Netherlands. Jannis in this context referred to the troubled political situation back in Greece:

“I also check, you know in Greece they have a political chaos, I check the news as we don’t have so much connection nowadays with Greek reality let’s say. But we’re worrying what’s going on with our Parliament. Also with the other guys sometimes, I can say that comparing to my time in Greece, now I speak more about politics if I have nothing to do. We have bigger concern. So politics are more in my life here in the Netherlands. In Greece it was less.”

Asked about the amount of time needed to establish a settled leisure pattern after arrival in the Netherlands two trends did become obvious. There was a group of people who said that it took them 1-3 months to establish their leisure pattern and a group of people who did need 2-3 years to establish theirs.

“I don’t know, probably like a month or something” (Csaba).

“For 3 years I couldn’t go out. I was like crazy frustrated - first the language, then I didn’t like the language. And when I said to myself it is very nice language, easy to learn, then I started learning it. Then the people and those things that you all have to... to arrange an appointment to see each other for a coffee, it was for me impossible to understand” (Ivana).

The distinction between these two groups can be related to gender and age. The first group being young (in their twenties) male students and the second being female expatriates in their thirties and forties. Equally and possibly more important a difference between the two groups can be related to the stage of life they are in and the expected length of their stay in the Netherlands. The first group live in a student and university environment. Whereas the second group is settling in full time employment, having a relationship, starting to build a family life with or without children and other factors.

To conclude, the leisure participation pattern of SIEs in Enschede can be described as more individual and home-based. The main factors influencing the change of leisure participation have been time available and financial resources allocated, resulting in change of activities or frequency of leisure. For most of the respondents, the relocation process to the Netherlands had involved a bigger change in their life roles, taking on a different stage of life: establishing a family, becoming a parent, moving out of their parent's home or a switch in employment status. Overall respondents said to be satisfied with their established leisure patterns after relocation, regardless of whether it involved continuation, ceasing, starting or replacing previously undertaken leisure activities. The timeframe of establishing one's leisure pattern was not definite and, as experienced by the respondents, it can take few months to several years.

4.1.2 Motivation

In this section leisure motivations and reasons behind engaging into leisure activities will be discussed. First, I will start with motivations that are comparable to the general population as classified by Wall (1981 quoted by Stodolska, 2000). Second, the migrant-specific motivation factors will be acknowledged, as distinguished by Stodolska (2000) and discussed earlier in the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Leisure motivation has been expressed as a certain state of being – relaxing, having fun, having a work-life balance, personal well-being, recreation, learning and above all other – socialization. Mentioned directly as motivation for engaging in leisure activities or expressed as a “must have” component, socialization, being with other people, catching up with friends abroad or back home has been the number one motivation.

“If you don't go and socialize you get stupid or something. You don't socialize, you don't speak with people further than your little world. It's like you want to expand your world, you want to get out, hear other views, talk to people and see what they're doing” (Olga).

Another dominant factor for engaging in leisure activities has been one's well-being and was achieved through relaxation, physical fitness, cultural enjoyment or other activities of one's preferences and needs:

“Well being - when you have all your needs fulfilled, your body can relax, your mind can relax. Emotionally you are 'rustig' [transl. calm], stable, calm. That's well-being for me” (Irene).

Deriving from the perceived definition of leisure as being time free from work and other obligations, an important motivating factor for leisure has been having a good work-life balance. The need to do something in order to regain balance after working days has been commonly expressed. This also relates to leisure motivations as a desired state of one's well-being.

An additional factor mentioned by the Serbian expatriate Ivana was that one can learn from engaging in leisure activities. The leisure activities she undertakes have been for a large part determined by the educational value it could provide:

"I cannot live having the same knowledge I had last year. So I was always asking explanations whether it's language-related or it's an expression relation or regulation. So when you go out and you're more in contact with people from here, then you learn more about the society".

When the time after relocation was discussed, a pattern was noticeable comparable to the leisure motivation classes as defined by Stodolska (2000). Some respondents mentioned their leisure behavior changed after relocation due to the new social network and environment.

"The reason I didn't go out so much was because the people, my friends there were not also very outgoing. Felt more like staying home and maybe go out once in a while. Or somebody goes to somebody's place, but not really sporting, not so eager to do something. So I guess that also made the change" (Nuno).

"I would say the reasons are different. Because in the USA, if we would go out, we would go out mostly to a restaurant. And we would eat and bitch about work. That would be all we would do" (Melanie).

In the examples above one can see the expression of 'the importance of latent demand' as defined by Stodolska (2000). The removal of the constraining factors, such as, a demanding job or a passive social network has resulted in a more active leisure participation once relocated in the Netherlands.

Csaba, a PhD candidate at Twente University from Romania, did point out that at home leisure was just there. Post-relocation there has been the urge to establish a new social network, adjust to the new place and learn more about the surroundings, which was realized through engagement in intensive leisure activities, according to Csaba's experience:

"I think I do much more stuff now. Because I wanted to make friends somehow. So I just started going every week. At some point I really had something every night - I had Monday chess, Tuesday - chess, Wednesday bridge, Thursday was Dutch lesson and Friday there was Dutch practice or something like that. But it was too much. I mean you have to think a little bit. Because in Romania I just knew people, so I could just call anybody and just do something".

The reasons of Csaba have a characteristics of the 'forbidden fruit' effect (Stodolska, 2000) where his experience of severely constrained leisure participation during the study time in Iceland served as a foundation for a changed behavior once in the Netherlands.

Ivana, talking about the reasons behind her leisure pattern change, did put it as a sort of blending in with the general population and therefore picking up the leisure activities that were more popular in the Netherlands:

“You adjust as you don't have the friends you used to have and not even look-a-like's. Then you adjust yourself and copy what others do as leisure, so it's biking or going to the cinema”.

Other leisure activities mentioned as being typical for the Netherlands and Enschede were going to the market and going for a walk in nature. Undertaking of this leisure which has been ‘self-defined’ as being typical for the host culture outlines the motivation factor typical for immigrants as defined by Stodolska (2000) – ‘the demonstration effect’.

The main reasons behind one’s involvement in leisure activities the respondents said to be socialization and contribution to one’s well-being. Expatriation and settlement in the host country have added reasons such as acknowledging new environment and community involvement. According to the interviewees, it has been both the relocation and their own personal characteristics that did impact their leisure behavior. Once arrived in the Netherlands respondents have been adopting new leisure behaviors due to removal of former constraints, as well as exploring and engaging in activities popular in the locality.

4.1.3 Constraints

While discussing with the participants the factors limiting leisure participation, I unveiled a wide range of issues, covering all three domains distinguished by Crawford and Goodbey (1987, quoted by Son et al., 2008) – intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural constraints. In this section the constraints related to time and financial issues will be discussed. Furthermore, I will elaborate on the role of social networks in leisure participation. Next, country-specific issues, such as a language barriers and cultural differences will be discussed. Finally, I will provide an insight into issues such as lack of self-confidence, stress and depression caused by the fact of relocation.

With regard to intrapersonal constraints, factors such as the demanding stage of life were mentioned. This factor could be seen as typical for the part of SIEs who moved to the host country highly motivated with a clear professional or personal target to reach – education or career development. As Panagotis explained it:

“You're here for a reason. You want to succeed. It's also expensive. So focus is on the study. Before it was more going out, to work a little bit, but now the primary focus is to the studies”.

The time available for pursuing leisure activities after relocation have been depending on each individual situation and no common pattern has been found. Nevertheless, for many respondents, time and obligations (work, family or any other) have been constraining the leisure continuation or starting new activities after relocation, no matter whether the time available was more or less than prior to the relocation. Olga, as many others, named time as the most important constraint for her leisure behavior:

“Because life got [after relocation to the Netherlands] more busy with full time work and kids. So it's less time to have leisure, to go out and have fun”.

Even though previous research in the field of migrants have emphasized financial resources (structural constraint) as one of the major constraining factors (see Stodolska, 2002), the respondents in this study were not unanimous on this point. Similarly, as with time, the change in financial resources dedicated to leisure activities have both been increasing and decreasing compared to the situation before moving to the Netherlands. The availability of money for leisure have been found to depend more on the phase of life, employment status and relationship status than the change of residence country:

“So that's the difference – financial constraints, but for different reasons. To begin the financial was not there – I couldn't travel how I wanted to. Later I could travel how I wanted to. And now financially I have to be careful, because I'm building up. I'm building a phase in my life, so financially I have to be very careful “ (Nicki).

Lack of social network (intrapersonal constraint) has been another major constraint factor for the SIEs. Even if the lack of or changes in the social network had not caused ceasing leisure activity, it had caused behavioral change towards it. Asked for an example, Dimitris, an expatriate from Greece, referred to his group of friends he used to go on weekend trips with and try out new leisure activities:

“I could do the same here, but I don't have the friends. Ok, I have friends here, but that's not the same. I think it is a question of trust or something. I don't know. With my friends back in Greece we did all the crazy things, tried new things. And here I don't”.

Respondents did admit missing a stable group of friends they have been growing up with, or studied/worked with to truly enjoy their leisure time and feel at ease. The feeling of comfort within the new social network was repeatedly experienced as somewhat constraining:

“You have friends here, but these are not the same friends as friends back home. So you cannot talk to them, you cannot trust them as much as you trust your family and friends. It's more difficult to do the same things here” (Panagotis).

Some of female respondents had moved to the Netherlands because of their relationship. Therefore, there has been an initial social network (of one or more people) to help during the early adjustment period to explain how things work, to share leisure time and other experiences with. Sharing experiences, as expatriates, with other expatriates has been mentioned as a rather typical way of building a new social network in the host country. Several respondents have pointed out the experienced differences between the local population who already have their social networks established and other expatriates in the area:

“ [...] people are more eager. But because the majority are expats so they have this crave for social activities, because they don't want to be alone” (Nuno).

Nicki did add to this train of thought the role of the partner and his family:

“I had some Dutch friends. But they [Nicki's friends] where THERE [West of the Netherlands and abroad]. And here I was, needing people HERE [Enschede]. And family isn't always, even though they mean well, isn't always the best type of people. Because they also have everything around them, their comfortable life.”

So it has been experienced to be easier to connect with other foreigners in the area, to 'fill up' each other's lack of social network whereas locals have their own social network already established and might not be particularly interested to meet new people.

As the relocation to another country usually means leaving friends and family behind, childcare and family obligations where one's own family backup is unavailable, has also been experienced as a limiting factor for some of the SIEs I interviewed to enjoy leisure time. One's leisure participation constraints can be associated with lack of social support from family members left behind:

“Now with a child we want better conditions that also for him it will be comfortable. When you're young, without family, you can travel in not very good conditions you can survive. But with a child you should think about his comfort. It is also a problem, to do something new, some activities. And even hiring a nanny costs money, so we should think about it when going, I don't know, for a concert or something. We have to pay somebody to take care of the child, it's something extra” (Justyna).

Similarly, the lack of Dutch language skills had not been found to be a reason of ceasing leisure activity or not undertaking a new one, but more of a limiting factor which causes people to not feel at ease in the host country:

“You feel less confident when you don't speak the language. I didn't dare so easy to go out alone, like go to the park. I always had in the back of my head - what if I need something, what if somebody asks me something. But that's I think also personality. Here everybody can speak English. You should not feel that way. Now, of course, I'm very clever, now I can say to the new ones - you should try and ask and everything. But I was not like that when I arrive” (Ivana).

Dimitris, a Master student at Twente University from Greece, pointed out the difference in his perception between the use of language to proceed with a leisure activity and social interaction in the Dutch speaking environment. In his experience Dimitris has been able to participate in and understand the training provided, but had found himself not comfortable to interact with people he trains with due to the lack of the Dutch language:

“When I was doing taekwondo, [...] there was an introduction training for two weeks. [...] And after that, all the other students spoke Dutch - links, rechts and everything, numbers. So what I realized, if you want to do something, like an activity, the language is just nothing. It's not an obstacle, it's not a barrier. The main barrier is the language when you want to speak up in your leisure time”.

Overall, respondents mentioned that speaking the Dutch language impacts the depth and variety of conversations and the ability to express oneself, even though everyone was aware of Dutch people's high proficiency in the English language. As expressed by Justyna, 'it just takes more energy' to

overcome the obstacles caused by the language barrier – for a small talk, tourism information and others.

Additionally, mastering the Dutch language is widely related to the adjustment to life in the host country and culture.

“If you don't master the language of the country, that excludes an awful lot of people you could connect with. So it takes much more effort to find a group that can cope with you. And it's not just language. With the language there comes also culture. So you also have to find people that are open for other cultures. And that's small part of the population normally, you know, those that have abroad experience or are open for foreigners. Because to have friends and have a good relationship you do have to have a common language at a good level” (Olga).

Dutch mentality was commonly described as ‘closed’ for a leisure interaction. People have found it difficult to engage in verbal interaction and thus become friends with Dutch people, during their leisure participation. The fact of perceiving the Dutch as being ‘closed’ relates to opinions described earlier in this section stating the experienced lack of interest by locals to extend their social networks.

“Like there are some pubs here where there are only Dutch people, they are singing only Dutch songs. So you are prevented, you don't want to enter. Some parties we don't want to go because they are talking only Dutch. They are a little bit closed. And for me - I suffer because they are really closed. So it's really difficult to make friends” (Chiara).

Nevertheless as previously stated by Stodolska (2002) and Peltokorpi (2008) the perceived cultural differences and adjustment necessity depend on how close or far apart the host and home countries are in terms of culture. Whereas some had experienced Dutch culture as somewhat ‘closed’, Csaba have found it more open than his own, Romanian, culture:

“So I talked to some people [back in Romania] and wanted to have some good fun. But they just didn't understand, why was I talking to them. It was very strange to me. So I would say, even though people say Dutch are so cold or, I don't know, but I don't think they are. At least not the people I meet”.

In cases where cultural differences were experienced as limiting leisure behavior, it was up to the respondents’ individual characters how they dealt with it. Whereas Chiara had felt constrained and better avoided the settings where she did not feel comfortable, Nicki had learned the differences and adjusted her reactions towards them, thus choosing how much her leisure is or is not impacted by that. Nicki shared the following example of an experience at a Dutch birthday party:

“They have this thing what you have here in Holland – the birthday party. Which is very new from the ones you go to in England. So you're the partner of.. You're a girlfriend of the partner in business. So you have to go. And then you go to THE countryside. The real traditional.. not farmer background, but real traditional people with a background that has been factory workers. And so there is this certain mentality of friendly saying “hello”. And that's it! But I come from a cultural background as well. And I found it really interesting, because I could sit here with the chairs in a big square and everyone

facing each other with a gap in the middle. I don't know anybody besides his partner, his business partner. And I don't know anybody else. I was not introduced. Which would be, like in the background where I come from, you help people with an introduction to make them feel comfortable. And that did not happen. And there I was, sitting there. [...] And I sort of thought, right, this has to be changed. So I went around and gave my hand to everybody and said "Hello, I'm Nicki!" in my Dutch. And my Dutch was nothing. And I was the one that made it happen, because I realized it's not gonna come from them. And it's not just the fact of a different country, it's just a different level of your social interaction – they knew one another and they are not particularly interested in a foreigner. They have enough social life. And that was kind of a changing point when I realized - ok, you have to fight much harder!" (Nicki).

Even though most of the research sample represents expatriates from European countries and as argued by the respondents themselves there is not too much of a cultural difference in the arrangements of leisure. However, the one essential factor leading to a significant change of leisure pattern has been the day rhythm. As expressed by Italian expatriates Chiara and Luka the daily rhythm of Italians has been hard to transfer to life in the Netherlands due to the 'Dutch choices' such as the leisure facilities available in Enschede. The couple has felt limited in their opportunities to go out for dinner:

"If we are hungry we like to eat at 11. I'm not joking, we like to eat very late. If you want to go out and eat, it's impossible, because all the kitchens close at 10" (Luka).

The differences in day rhythm have also been felt as a constraining factor while socializing with Dutch people:

"Like on Sunday we had a barbeque at 4 o'clock. At 4 o'clock I have lunch, not dinner for barbeque, you know. So we then ate breakfast for the whole day, and then we had normal dinner for Dutch people at 5 o'clock. So I think, if you stay with Dutch people, in a Dutch town, with the Dutch times, something is changing" (Chiara).

Another common factor derived from cultural differences which has an impact on the establishment of a leisure pattern after relocation, has been the lack of spontaneity. As expressed by several respondents, their leisure has become planned and predictable especially after settling in the Netherlands. In the perception of the interviewees it is a cultural norm while living in the Netherlands to make scheduled appointments to meet up with a friend or engage in any other leisure activity.

"The spontaneity was much more present there than here. Here is all pre-planned. And first I couldn't adjust to that. But when you get a family, when the circumstances, so to say, change, then you also start to adapt to that. And now I notice that sometimes I get, not to say pissed off, when somebody change my plan because of his spontaneous reaction. So yeah, it is changed" (Ivana).

Several people describing their leisure experiences at the initial arrival period did mention lack of self confidence as a limiting factor. The experiences shared describe the time after relocation as 'being scared of everything out there'. Melanie recalls her experience of the first year after arrival:

"I didn't like to go out of the house. I said I'll sit inside these four walls the rest of my life. I had to get enough nerves to go out. I had to find the courage to leave the house. And I didn't use the public transportation the first year or so. I had to learn how to read the chart for the bus. I had no idea. I was afraid to go on the train, because I thought I'm going to end up in Spain. I had no idea how to do that. So [there were] hinder leisure activities in the first year. It's easy if you know how to do it, but it's just frightening if you're not familiar. You think - where will I end up? You know your end destination, but you're pretty sure you won't make it there. It's that level of self confidence that you miss. That's what happens when you first come here. And rightly so."

The most severe leisure constraining factors, such as stress and depression, were mentioned by Julie, expatriate from Liberia:

"When there is a lot of stress in your life and with your all past, with a lot of experience, then always you try to move forward, but then you feel depressed and then you sit back to the same position. So it's never enough for you to have so many good friends, you are already defeated into yourself. So it's hard for you to go out there and see people, see good people or to see bad people because of what's in your head. So it's also difficult for a person like me. If there are good people, you can go around. But it all depends on you yourself. You have to make the means, the skills and the time to push yourself and do what you want to do in your life so you can enjoy."

The interviews revealed a wide range of constraints such as lack of time and/or financial resources that had been present both prior to and after relocation. Loss of trusted social network and support, language barrier, differences in cultural norms and values, as well as lack of self confidence and even depression were named as factors limiting or prohibiting leisure participation post relocation. Above all, it was feeling not at ease in the new environment that participants experienced through different aspects of their expatriate lives, leisure in that account. One's personality has been found as the key factor in dealing with overcoming the constraints experienced.

4.1.4 Life stages and leisure participation

The respondents are at different life stages (studying, working, motherhood etc.). As life stages are proven to impact leisure participation (Son et al., 2008; Stalker, 2011), the importance of those stages should be taken into account when analyzing the leisure participation experiences. I will first take a closer look at the relationships between age and leisure, and gender and leisure. It will be followed by a discussion about the relationships between education and leisure, and employment status and leisure. The connection between physical environment and leisure will be discussed last in this section.

Most of the interviewees could see a relation between age and their leisure participation. Whether it has been a change connected to a certain milestone or age or a change observed over longer period of time, respondents did relate to such a connection. When talking about leisure change over the years, four of the youngest respondents (20-24 years old) referred to the milestone of attaining one's

maturity. This moment in their lives has been greatly associated with gaining physical and mental freedom over their leisure participation – making their own choices.

“You have more opportunities because you have your driver's license, you have a car, you can go to other cities, you can do many things. But now I'm also responsible for more things than when I was younger, and that means that I have to sacrifice my leisure time to do what I have to do” (Panagiotis).

Whereas for these four youngest respondents moving away from their parents and families might be the most significant recent life experience, the older respondents referred to other life stages impacting their leisure participation. According to the responses from those interviewees, age corresponds with maturity and therefore can be seen as impacting their leisure preferences. Olga recalls that at a younger age, due to interests and limited financial resources, leisure participation was more frequent. Whereas after establishing her family and being involved in full time employment, her leisure participation is less frequent and therefore she has become more selective on what type of leisure to choose. Financial freedom plays a significant role in this experience.

“When you're younger you have more strength to live life more intense, so more quantity [more frequent leisure participation]. When you're older, you're more selective, the quality, the type of leisure” (Olga).

The majority of respondents did not see their leisure behavior impacted by gender. Only two of the female respondents did refer to some limitations when they were under-age. As experienced by Chiara:

“Before I turned 18, my mom limited me because I'm female, ‘you cannot go there, because...’. But after age of 18, I can do whatever I want.”

Furthermore, in the course of conversations some female respondents did mention leisure activities they would not do because of their gender, like go to a bar or night-club alone. Although saying that they are not interested in engaging in such leisure activity, the traits of gender stereotypes and power relations, as expressed in the research of Stalker (2011), can be observed.

“In America you don't really go to a bar by yourself. Yeah, you can. But especially as a woman, I wouldn't do that” (Melanie).

The lack of interest in engaging in different leisure activities has been mentioned also by male participants. More often than not, people were referring to gender stereotypes linked to types of leisure: *“I'm not gonna do ballet or zumba of course” (Dimitris).*

Another gender relation to leisure participation has been mentioned by Jannis who refers to gender based creativity. Jannis argued that his leisure has been more diverse when involved in relationship:

“when I had a girlfriend, you know, women have brilliant ideas - let's do this, or go there and you have to follow”.

About half of the respondents implied a connection between education and leisure participation. The relation frequently expressed has been the existence of common interests with people from the

same level of education. As Dimitris, student at Saxion from Greece suggested, his free time is spent with other students, as they have shared interests:

"I think in the free time I tend to read more. The newspaper or some business article, because I'm more interested in that now. Before it wasn't fun for me to read this. Also the topics of conversations were different. But now you are only with students together, so the topics change".

Another side of relating education to leisure from the example mentioned above could be the process of forming one's leisure network throughout the time of following an education. Some of the respondents referred to their network of friends being formed during an important life stage, which often was the time they were following higher education.

An additional connection expressed by a couple of male students from Twente University was preference of characteristics of strategy and logic in their leisure activities which could be related to technical scientific education they follow and therefore their field of interest.

The concept of education has been seen by respondents in two ways – as formal education and as social education provided by one's family and upbringing. Dimitris (student at Twente University), sharing his leisure experiences, did express an example of leisure behavior being constrained by frames of formal education implying that someone with higher education is expected to follow certain social norms:

"Perhaps education constrains how much you expose your effort. I mean, just an example. You know you're not good at dancing Macarena, but you'll try to dance it. So the more logical, rational you are.. the rational will say – 'don't do that, you'll look ridiculous'. This is the educational part for me. Social education, not scientific, social. You'll get to know some Spanish guy from Valencia, and he'll say 'let's dance' [singing Macarena] and you'll do it or not. So the education, the rational constrains you."

Where Dimitris refers more to social than scientific education, another expatriate, Ivana, mentions that it is the level of academic, scientific education that dictates the way one thinks, and therefore could also be related to one's social behavior.

"I think it's more if you have higher education or you don't have a higher education. that impacts the way of thinking and therefore it impacts everything you do."

According to Stalker (2011) education and employment status contributes to diversity and quality of leisure. As the employment status varied between the respondents of this research, the employment status relationship with leisure participation could not be seen as consistent. Olga, for example, did referred to a rather direct connection between employment status (related to her higher education) and leisure participation:

"If I would be low educated I would.. the type of leisure. And my education also impacts my income. And that also allows me to go for things that are a bit more expensive maybe, more elaborate taste. And also to be able to pay for it. It's all related. I think so. Definitely".

In line with this, several other respondents shared experiences where the employment status aids the diversity and quality of leisure. In words of Chiara: *“I’m working for money I spend in my free time”*. With this Chiara refers to freedom of choice in her leisure time provided by the financial stability gained through her employment. And the other way round, loss of employment meant a loss of Justyna’s independence with regard to her leisure participation.

Some of the longer term expatriates had also experienced an additional relation between employment and leisure – work as a bridge into the local societies' leisure activities. As Nicki refers to employment status as a constraint to be able to build a local social network, Ivana expresses the importance of employment as a source of social contact:

“I don't know what I would do in the beginning if I didn't have the job, I think that way you also don't have the contact. The circle you move is getting smaller instead of wider.”

Environmental factors have been commonly related to one’s leisure participation. Enschede city due to its size and, as mentioned by the respondents, limited variety in leisure opportunities, was described as constraining. People moving to Enschede from all sorts of places, previously living in capital cities of other countries or bigger cities elsewhere, found it hard to replace their leisure activities by equal ones, after relocation.

“I like a lot jazz music, a lot. However, in Enschede you have no jazz bars. So I have been in Arnhem, in Nijmegen, there are some very cool those [jazz] bars” (Dimitris).

People have expressed missing more of a city life with wider choices of concerts and exhibitions and other events. Closely connected to the size of the city is the size of the population, and therefore the amount of people involved in a particular activity can be seen as limited. Irene, an expatriate from Indonesia, confirmed this by indicating that the choices available in Enschede have been limiting her leisure:

“The thing with the swing dancing, in the beginning [when Irene arrived in the Netherlands] it was not around here. Or like with Argentinean tango, the area is very small, so after couple of years I did quit because it was not so stimulating”.

Climate differences also impacted leisure behavior of expatriates. More commonly this factor has been limiting for expatriates from Southern Europe where the climate is warmer and activities are usually undertaken outside. Therefore, leisure activities have been adjusted or replaced by different activities:

“Here it's more difficult to go out. For example, because of the weather. When it's snow or raining, I don't really have a mood to go out and go on the bike. So you stay at home with friends or do something else” (Dimitris).

Furthermore mobility can be related to leisure participation in terms of distance and variety of choices. Luka has experienced limited mobility that constrains him to the choices on offer in Enschede:

“My big limitation is having a car. When I was in Italy, even if I had to go out at night and had to travel 3 hours for doing something, no problems at all to drive. Arrive there and do something for 1 hour and drive back for another 3 hours. Driving was really not a problem. And here, we don't have a car yet, so we're limited to what the city offers.”
(Luka)

Also the role of bicycles has been discussed in terms of mobility. Although the bicycle is the cheapest and most popular mode of transportation in the Netherlands, it can be limiting one's mobility in terms of time and distance, if other means of transportation are not available. Another leisure constraining factor that is related to mobility has been named as the lack of public transportation at night hours:

“Here there are very good train systems. You can reach almost everywhere. But they have a very bad time schedule for the trains. So if you go for the night, then you have to stay over there. Because going back means taking a train at 10 or 11 [pm]. And maybe the concert you're going to starts only at 10. So then that's it. [...] Another example, inside Enschede everything is reachable with a bike. But then if you want to go a little bit outside, like Oldenzaal, is already 45 minutes on a bike. It is doable. But further than that, it's 1 hour. 1h with a bike, coming back its 2 hours on a bike. It's not acceptable. 1 hour with a car, then you go very far. But 1 hour by bike... so, it affects” (Luka).

The social context of one's life stage has been impacting the respondents' leisure behaviors in various ways. Factors comparable to general population (Stalker, 2011) have been widely present – lack of time and financial resources, age, gender, demands of a certain life stage, environment and physical limitations. Experiences shared by the respondents signify that both relocation and leisure impacting factors related to general population have shaped the leisure pattern adopted after relocation.

4.2 Leisure and adjustment

In previous sections of this chapter I have elaborated on post relocation changes in leisure participation experienced by respondents and the reasons behind them. For most of the participants relocation to the Netherlands involved also a change in their life roles and stages, therefore, leisure is just one of the aspects of their lives where adjustment is experienced. Nevertheless, leisure participation is closely related to the process of adjustment as confirmed also by Rublee and Shaw (1991) and Yu and Berryman (1996).

Within this section of result analysis I will discuss the relation between adjustment (as defined in section 2.3) and leisure (as perceived by respondents). The content of this section is split into work, interaction and general adjustment. Within the three classes of adjustment the stage of adjustment³ as defined by Black (1988 quoted by Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010) of the respondent group will be determined and its perceived relation to leisure participation. Finally, the role of expatriate clubs and organizations therein will be discussed.

³ See section 2.3

4.2.1 Work adjustment

Overall, the participants that had a job experience in the Netherlands could be described as partly or fully adjusted to the work performance standards, expectations and values in the Netherlands. The feeling of comfort and familiarity did appear to be dependent on work organization principles and values of one's home country. As experienced by Olga, the process of adjusting to the work environment in the Netherlands has been time consuming:

"I had to adjust quite a lot. It's extremely organized here and planned, and headed to the results. And where I came from it was quite unstructured and we see where we get. And here it's 'no, you get there, that's what we expect and plan for'".

The perceived role of leisure in the process of adjustment to the work environment was rated positive. Respondents have found leisure to be helpful. The respondents indicate that in leisure settings and during leisure activities friendships are built, tension is eased, experiences are shared and lessons are learned. Irene, asked whether leisure has helped her to adjust to work life in the Netherlands, was very cogent:

"Definitely, yeah. I think because of all the unwritten rules. Those kind of things you usually get more from just informal encounters or similar situation".

For Nicki, on the other hand, the labor market in the Netherlands and the values it carries has been absolutely unacceptable. Therefore, she says she has not been experiencing a level of comfort related to work in the host country and could be representing the 'frustration stage' as defined by Black (1988 quoted by Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010):

"In Holland is very protected workforce. It means – once you get a contract, it's for a life time. Ok, things are changing because of economic crises. But it means because of that, you have to fit in that profile or you don't get in. That's how it is in Holland – you don't get in. Whereas in American system and in British system – they're giving you a chance".

Nevertheless, when hearing Nicki's story it leaves the impression that even though there are aspects she does disagree with, she has adjusted to the work environment. She has done so by adopting some new behavior characteristics in order to financially survive. Nicki has been employed in the Netherlands and does know her way around, yet Nicki does not experience leisure as a helpful tool to facilitate adjustment. When asked for her perception on leisure and its relation to adjustment:

"I would not put it under leisure. That just happens as you learn along. But I wouldn't put under my definition of leisure. That's sort of like experience. Sort of survivor to find out that kind of things. You see, leisure for me is when I feel free from all those other commitments".

4.2.2 Interaction adjustment

When asked to describe their degree of comfort with Dutch culture, communication and interpersonal styles, the responses did not describe overall comfort. All of the respondents had mastered the Dutch language or were in the process of doing so, to help them with everyday interaction, leisure participation in that account. Respondents had adopted some new behaviors, but there were still aspects of social interaction that did not feel fully comfortable.

“Activities involving the company [work]. Not because there was the language, but the mentality. I don't feel like it. Locals are very like minded comparison to me. And that's probably also the reason why I'm more with expats. Language was not such a problem, but more like the connection. The connection you make with the people. I think that counts more. And sometimes learning the language is not enough. It's more cultural values” (Nuno).

Within this type of adjustment leisure was experienced as a means to an end. Once again it was said to be within the leisure setting that one learns the unwritten rules, asks questions and gets more comfortable with different interaction aspects. Nuno gave an example of a friend who had recently arrived in the Netherlands and had not yet mastered the Dutch language, nor was familiar with communication styles here:

“She went to a shop and somebody started to talk about the weather in Dutch. And she said 'I cannot understand the language, can you please say it in English?' and the person replied 'oh, never mind'. And the girl found it extremely cold, you know. From her point of view it was like 'you're a foreigner, I don't talk with you', but what really was 'ok, I was talking about the weather and that's not important'.

Nuno explains that it does take some time to learn how the things work and how people behave and interact. Also Irene mentioned that within the leisure setting it is *‘easier to accept and learn’* from people you trust: friends.

4.2.3 General adjustment

The degree of comfort assigned by the participants to general aspects of life has been described as very comfortable and shows complete adjustment to the host country environment. The adjustment to general aspects of life in the Netherlands has been found to be closely related to leisure participation, as people tend to recall leisure related experiences where they have learned how things work in the host country, especially right after relocation.

“When I was here the first year, I was living in a student house. International, so they were not Dutch. [...] I was living with an Iranian guy, who was here already for a long time. And he knew all these things. And even the things that are very helpful, like study financing, they are not very advertised by university itself. So if you want to, you have to call yourself. And then the bureaucracy is in Dutch. And then, if you're new, then other students help you. And these students belong to your leisure social network. So in that area I had a lot of help” (Luka).

In short, leisure was mentioned to be very helpful in the process of adjustment. Leisure was acknowledged to help build a feeling of belonging in the new environment of the host country. One asks questions, shares experiences, meets people and slowly (or for some not so slowly) builds a new social network within the new location. Leisure has been said to show the diversity of Dutch society and to help in overcoming the cultural barrier.

“You meet people through leisure activities. And you learn how things work. And if you go from A to point B, then that’s a new experience for you, you learn something that day. And you can get to your social network then” (Melanie).

Even though in most cases Nicki denied leisure as a tool for adjustment, as it did not fit her perception of what leisure is, it is after mastering the language that leisure appears to help Nicki in the process of adjustment:

“So if you ask me about leisure and adjustment, then I finally can put it under leisure, when I have come to a point of comfort. May not be perfect. But it’s got to come to a point where I don’t have to take it so ‘survivor-serious’ anymore”.

4.2.4 Expatriate social networks

In order to prevent or overcome social isolation and gain a feeling of comfort at the host location, expatriates tend to seek socialization with other expatriates. One way of facilitating such social interaction is attendance of expatriate clubs and organizations. In this section I will elaborate on perceived benefits and disadvantages of joining expatriate clubs and organizations for leisure and for the purpose of adjustment to the host country.

Not all respondents have joined an expatriate club, organization or a social network in order to meet with other expatriates and to help with adjustment to the host country, even though the majority of the respondents were recruited for this research through a network of foreigners – a Dutch language school, International Women’s club, Couchsurfing and Facebook. Nevertheless, the respondents gave plenty of examples of joining or founding a network or organization specifically to share experiences and learn from other expatriates in one’s free time. For example Irene, expatriate from Indonesia, upon her arrival had joined the Indonesian student association at Twente University. She has gained valuable experience through various leisure activities with other expatriates. Asked to share her experience of joining the association, Irene refers to the benefits and disadvantages of such membership:

“Benefits are really big. Especially when you just arrive. You can learn a lot of knowledge from people who have been through it. But I think, over time, you might get too comfortable if you just hang out with people who just speak English. So it’s also a bit limiting in your process of adjusting. Over time I also made the interaction less intense because I want to explore other things.”

The disadvantage of getting ‘too comfortable’ was mentioned also by other expatriates and referred to as ‘life on the edge of society’ by Nuno. Nicki expresses her view on the expatriate organizations and networks as the creation of sub-environments that prevent integration:

“Like you have in the west – a lot of wives who then come with their husbands, the husbands have the work and wives have that typical situation – at home, financially covered, but there isn’t necessarily the high drive, number one to learn the language. Also because there are a lot of other foreign people. So they can live very comfortably and take it in a leisurely pace”.

Meanwhile the positive side of belonging (or simply joining) a group of foreigners in one’s leisure time can be socially enriching. As expressed by Nicki:

“I want social contact, but I, as said earlier, am not interested in more of the same [referring to a expatriate club of one nationality]. It’s not what I’m about. I like to discuss new things. So the richness I like from this [International Women Club] is different people - different backgrounds, different cultures. You can talk about different things, the social side – family, work, children, but behind there is also the country's cultural differences to learn about. You know, other than when it’s applicable in a conversation. So it is potentially very rich in its possibilities. And that’s what I like”.

Overall people who had joined one or several organizations all agreed on the beneficial side of support at the initial post-arrival time. And equally, the potential disadvantage of limited social network, lack of Dutch language learning and adjustment, over time. As laid out by Nuno, the stage of life and the duration of stay in the host country also plays a role:

“If you’re in an adult life, I don’t think it’s so bad, because if you work, you need more from society. If you’re a student, you get stuck in that expat network, you’ll not integrate or learn the language. And that happens sometimes. Especially with Erasmus students, people who come here for a short period”.

4.3 Concluding arguments on leisure participation and adjustment

What has emerged throughout this chapter is the complex set of factors impacting leisure pattern establishment and adjustment. Based on the findings of this research, factors such as language barrier, cultural differences, change of social and physical environment, psychological comfort as well as personal characteristics (taste, values, life stage etc) tend to affect leisure participation, which in turn affects overall well-being and one’s potential for adjustment (also seen by Rublee & Shaw, 1991).

The participants’ perceptions of leisure remained the same before and after relocation. Leisure has been perceived as time free from one’s obligations and time free to do what is of one’s desire. The perceptions of leisure changed depending on the respondents’ amount of free time, their state of being, the type of job and the stage of life. However, the enjoyment aspect of leisure has stayed unchanged at all times.

The participants’ leisure participation patterns had often been changed. The leisure activities of SIEs in this research can be characterized as more individual and home-based compared to the time before. The reasons behind change in leisure participation is grounded in various aspects, only partly

related to the fact of relocation. The most commonly experienced motivation factors for leisure involvement are socialization and well-being. The constraining factors are a mix of structural constraints of time, finances, unavailability of the necessary physical environment and mobility, intrapersonal constraints related to demanding life stage, feeling not at ease, lack of self-confidence and personal characteristics of age and gender. Additionally, interpersonal constraints have played a significant role, too – lack of community involvement, loss of social network and support, language barrier and differences in cultural norms and values. It is the combination of relocation and factors also seen among the general population that shaped the SIE's leisure participation post-relocation.

As stated by Peltokorpi (2008) it is easier to adjust to live in a culturally similar country. Most of the respondents have their origin in other European countries and do perceive Dutch culture and the Netherlands as culturally and environmentally similar to their own country. Respondents represented diverse lengths of stay in the Netherlands, which, combined with personal characteristics and experiences, has shaped the adjustment process and has determined the acquired adjustment level at the time that the interviews were carried out.

All respondents had made some effort to create a sense of comfort and familiarity, and they at no point expressed that they would like to live isolated because the relocation is only a temporary thing, as in some cases it is. Respondents often did spend time with other expatriates, but did not limit their leisure participation to it. Everyone did put effort into learning the language and found it to be one of the key features for closer interaction with locals and for adjustment to the host country.

Adjustment is a very complex process and leisure forms only part of it. Nevertheless, interviews carried out in this study strongly support the statement that leisure serves as a tool to facilitate adjustment to life in the host country. Leisure has been experienced as a big part of expatriates' life in order to learn about the life abroad. As several respondents said: *'you always learn something'*.

To put the results of this research into a graphical model, the model presented earlier in this thesis (Figure 2.1) was adapted. The Figure 4.1 represents a simplified illustration of the findings of this thesis. The model is based on the core assumption of this thesis interconnecting the two main concepts – leisure participation and adjustment. Throughout the findings represented in this chapter one can see that the factors shaping one's leisure participation post-relocation have also indirect effect on adjustment of the SIEs to the Netherlands. For example, where language barrier or cultural differences are found to be perceived as a reason for the respondents not to feel at ease, the feeling can also be seen to influence the adjustment to different aspects of the life in the Netherlands.

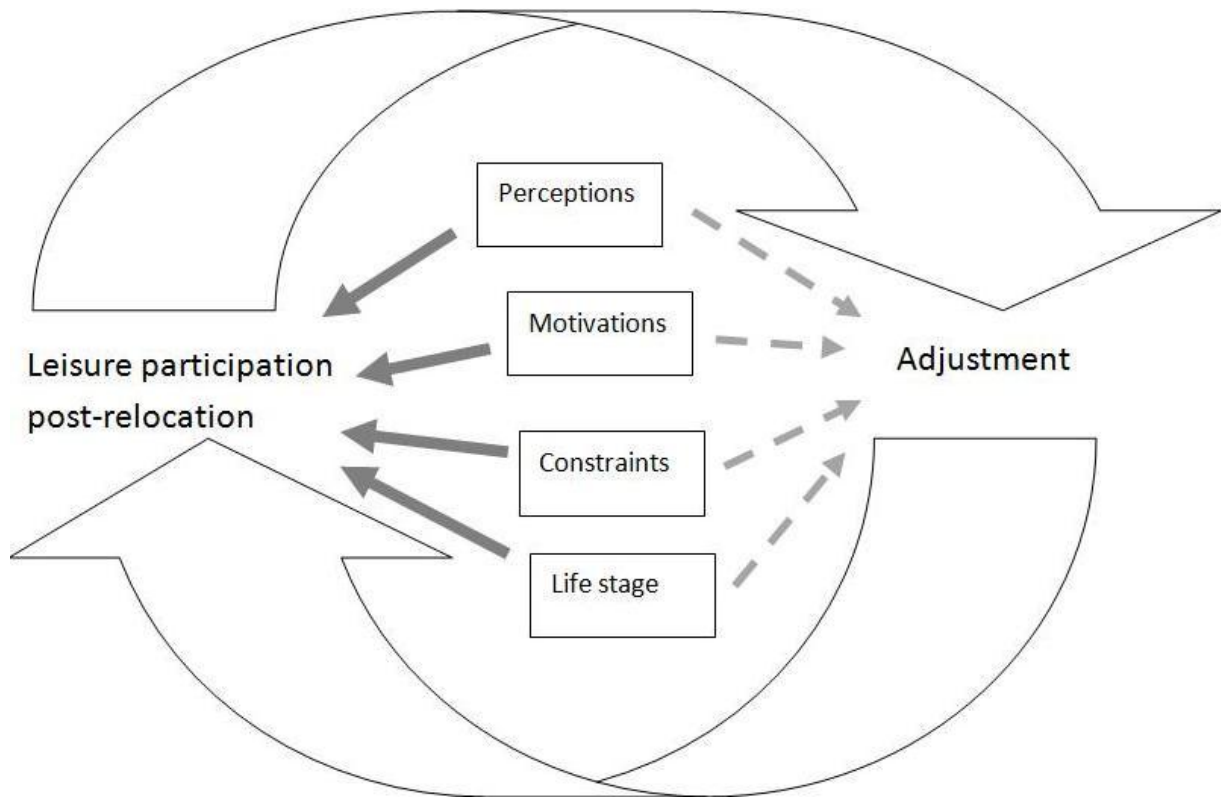


Figure 4.1. Improved model of interconnection between leisure participation and adjustment

5 Discussion and conclusion

Throughout this thesis I have been exploring the connection between leisure and adjustment of SIEs. It has been argued by Yu and Berryman (1996), Wang (2002) and Fischlmayr and Kollinger (2010) that leisure can be used as a tool to facilitate one's adjustment to the host country. Likewise, according to Stodolska (1998) and Stalker (2011) with higher levels of adjustment one's leisure becomes more similar to that of the general population. In this chapter I will discuss the relevance of the results revealed in the previous chapter in relation to scientific literature, therefore answering the research question and sub-questions stated in the chapter 1. Furthermore I will formulate recommendations for relevant parties and finally I will propose suggestions for future research.

5.1 Discussion and concluding arguments

By exploring the leisure participation change and the factors behind it, as experienced by respondents, I have strived to gain an insight into the meanings attached to leisure participation and its role in adjustment to the host country. Those are meanings formed by the perception of socially constructed aspects of life such as leisure and adjustment, which is defined by the degree of psychological comfort and familiarity with the new environment. The outcomes of this research do not claim to be universal truth and the results represent mere social construction.

As discussed within the theoretical framework of this thesis there have been suggestions within the scientific field to study leisure in order to gain more understanding of the adjustment process of migrant populations (Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 2000). It has been argued that leisure participation is closely connected with post arrival adjustment – where constraints on leisure participation are experienced, difficulties are faced also in the process of adjustment (see Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Yu & Berryman, 1996 and Figure 4.1).

In order to answer the main research question [How does leisure participation post-relocation contribute to the adjustment to new host country?] I will start by answering the sub-questions leading to it.

- How does relocation of SIEs affect their leisure perceptions?

Leisure perception of respondents prior and after the relocation is based in the enjoyment, personal well-being and satisfaction, while shaped and influenced by determinants such as life stage, age, gender and ethnicity (Shaw & Williams, 2002). The definition held by respondents most commonly supported the conceptual definition of leisure by Shaw and Williams (2002) as time being free from one's obligations and time free to do what one enjoys.

The outstanding experience presented within this research was perceived 'non-existence' of leisure during the initial post-relocation period, as one has to survive. The perception shared describes the leisure participation as one where the enjoyment part is missing due to intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints – lack of self-confidence, lack of trusted social network and language barrier. This finding is supported by Rublee & Shaw (1991), who state that leisure constrained by

factors, such as language barriers, lack of orientation in host environment and community involvement results in leisure time being difficult to fill constructively and with enjoyable activities.

- How do SIEs' leisure participation patterns change post-relocation?

The leisure patterns post-relocation have been perceived as more individual, home-based and structured (planned) compared to the time prior the relocation. This supports the findings of Rublee & Shaw (1991) on this matter. Due to the dual identity of SIEs (Li & Stodolska, 2006), their leisure participation patterns have been shaped by their own cultural history as well as factors that affect leisure of the host country locals. Such factors experienced have been time and money available, stage of life and the host country environment.

Also the frequency of leisure participation has been mentioned to have changed compared to the time prior to relocation. This finding has been explained by the relation to one's life stage, where significance of the role of leisure changes depending on responsibilities taken (Stalker, 2011).

- What are the leisure motivations of SIEs post-relocation?

The SIEs as a group of migrants can be seen as potentially more motivated to adjust, due to their self initiated expatriation and choice of the host country (Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010). The involvement in leisure is motivated by enhancing one's well-being and building a sense of belonging to the new community (Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Tirone et al, 2010). The perceptions of respondents have been found to be in line with these theoretical assumptions and the respondents have indicated them to be socialization, community involvement and leisure participation as contribution to one's well-being. The fact of relocation added additional motivations, such as getting to know the new environment and getting to know locals. This finding supports the assumption, which is also behind the main research question, that one's adjustment is based on comfort and familiarity with different aspects of host country and that leisure can be used in achieving this (Fischlmayr & Kollinger, 2010).

- What constraints do impact leisure participation in the new host country?

Leisure of the respondents has been seen as constrained due to a number of reasons originating from the fact of relocation, as well as from one's personality and life stage. The dominant constraints were named as lack of finances and time, as well as expatriation related factors – loss of trusted social network and support, language barrier, differences in cultural norms and values, loss of self confidence, stress and depression.

Structural factors, such as lack of money or time are commonly experienced by both the migrant population (Stodolska, 2002) and the general population (Stalker, 2011). Stalker (2011) has also argued that diversity of leisure decreases with advancing age. This statement has been repeatedly supported by what was expressed during the interviews acquired within this research. Respondents pointed out an increase of obligations due to the change of their life stage.

The expatriation of SIEs commonly involves leaving friends and family behind. The interpersonal constraints experienced as loss of trusted social network and friends have been frequently found to be constraining (see also Stodolska, 2000; Stodolska, 2002; Fischlmayr & Kollinger, 2010). Within this thesis research respondents have found this factor to be limiting, but not preventing leisure participation. Nevertheless, it was argued to change the nature of leisure, which is in line with the

statement of Stodolska (2000), explaining that leisure participation, although continued, may change in nature, meaning, content and intensity.

Relocation between culturally and environmentally similar countries is perceived to be easier than countries more culturally and environmentally diverse (Stodolska, 2002; Peltokorpi, 2008). Although cultural norms and values more often were found similar to the country of one's origin, the language barrier and minimal interpersonal interaction with locals within the leisure setting was found to be constraining. The presence of these constraints indicate the relation expressed by Yu and Berryman (1996), Stodolska (2000) and Scott (2007), where leisure participation constrained by language barriers, social isolation, cultural differences and lack of orientation on everyday life of the host country indicate the level of social adjustment.

As experienced by respondents, loss of self-confidence, stress and depression have been found to make people feel not at ease among locals (also indicated by Stodolska, 2002). The post-arrival depression is an example of the more severe influence of the constraints discussed above and has been found as a reason to cease past time leisure participation and prevent the respondents from the acquisition of new activities (also found by Stodolska, 2000).

After establishing a broader picture of what meaning the concept of leisure holds and how it has been shaped by relocation and other factors, it is possible to place it within the process of adjustment in order to see how it relates to the socio-economic and cultural host environment. Therefore, the answer to the main research question of this study can be formulated:

- How does leisure participation post-relocation contribute to the adjustment to new host country?

Adjustment is likely to impact leisure behavior in terms of participation, constraints and motivations (Stodolska, 1998) as with greater adjustment level the perceived constraints on leisure participation are decreasing (Stodolska, 2002). Equally leisure participation has been indicated to be a tool for increasing the level of adjustment. Previous scientific findings in the field of leisure and the results of this thesis suggest that leisure may be seen as a tool for engagement into the new society – to meet neighbors, develop friendships, connect to the local community and to build a sense of belonging (Iso-Ahola (1989) quoted by Stodolska, 2000; Yu & Berryman, 1996; Wang, 2002; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Tirone et al, 2010).

To overcome feelings of unease within the host environment experienced during their leisure time, SIEs have learned, as also suggested by Van den Bergh and Du Plessis (2012), to adapt their point of view and expand existing behaviors and values formed prior relocation. As suggested by respondents, such transformation is easier to achieve in the leisure setting where one feels least constrained and is surrounded by people of trust. The degree of psychological comfort and familiarity with different aspects of the host culture indicates the adjustment level as defined by Black (1988 quoted by Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010).

The relationship between leisure and adjustment is a complex matter. One's leisure participation is influenced by aspects deriving from changing countries and factors comparable to the general population. Furthermore, leisure is only part of the adjustment process alongside work, orientation in the new environment and community involvement (Ruble & Shaw, 1991). Therefore, the

perception of leisure held by the SIE him/her-self would indicate the role of leisure in the adjustment process.

5.2 Recommendations

Throughout the process of writing this thesis and carrying out the research I have gained knowledge of personal importance about being an expatriate in Enschede. By sharing these experiences described with other SIEs, more awareness can be created over the issues some of us are struggling with. Therefore, for SIEs arriving in the area, I would suggest to begin with creating a social support network by reaching out to other expatriates who share similar experiences and can share their knowledge. This can be achieved by joining already existing social organization or, as proven by one of the respondents, by creating a new group sharing the same interests.

For organizations employing SIEs, national and international, this thesis's findings would implore to stimulate overall orientation in the host area for new arrivals. Conclusions of this thesis also acknowledges the significant role of employment as a bridge to local society and provider of aid for leisure participation. As stated by Rublee & Shaw (1991) leisure, work and community involvement are all equally important for successful adjustment to the host country. Therefore, for Human Resource officers it can be suggested to recognize the unique position of SIEs within the company even though the person has been employed under the same conditions as home nationals.

As I have discovered while carrying out this research – the World Trade Center Twente Expat Center, which is a central point for expatriates living and working in the area, is planning to complete its pilot phase by the end of 2013 (WTC Twente, 2013). So far the center offers assistance to expatriates with registration at the municipality. To further extend their services I would suggest creating a social support group that facilitates social networking between the existing expatriates in the area and new arrivals. The network could be run on voluntary basis and provide a platform for expatriates to meet and share personal and professional experiences and provide a basic orientation. The Twente Expat Center could benefit from such a network by advertising their other services whereas SIEs would form a social support network in the host area to facilitate their social needs and in case of need also legal and professional requests.

For the municipality of Enschede I would strongly suggest to consider the outcomes of this thesis. As SIEs are a growing group of skilled workforce, leisure may be seen as a tool for their engagement into the host society (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Wang, 2002). Therefore, a municipality like Enschede, could benefit of acknowledging the potential of attracting SIEs to the region. By focusing policy developments towards providing more accustomed services and facilities to the SIEs, Enschede city can make a use of a global labor migration. In this way Enschede could overcome some of the disadvantageous positions comparable to Randstad as respondents have indicated the perceived lack of leisure facilities and perception of local society as 'closed' which in turn does slow the adjustment.

5.3 Future research

There are several fields I would like to suggest further research in. Firstly, deriving from the findings of this thesis, the role of stage of life and gender in the process of adjustment would need a more in-depth investigation. As it has appeared in the outcomes of interviews there is gender and stage of life related influence on the level and 'speed' of adjustment. The findings showed distinction between respondents (mainly female) who experienced difficulties in leisure participation and adjustment time lasting between 2-3 years, and respondents (mainly male) who did not refer to hardship with leisure participation and adjustment was experienced between few months to 2 years. Another distinguishable characteristic between these two groups of respondents was stage of life. Nevertheless due to the small respondent sample no definite conclusions can be made and would require an in-depth future research.

Within this thesis research the focus has been on the relation between adjustment and leisure and the factors impacting the leisure participation. According to different sources adjustment is formed by much wider diversity of factors than leisure. To gain more complete picture about the SIE's adjustment, an in-depth study of factors impacting the process of adjustment to the host location is needed.

Additionally a study of experiences and perceptions of SIE in other locations would be beneficial to acquire comparable results and draw more general conclusions about SIEs as a growing group of migrants and the difficulties they face post-relocation.

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Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Participant:

Date & Time:

I Introduction

- An overall purpose and aim of the research is provided.

II Demographical information about the participant:

Gender	Age	Nationality & (Ethnicity, cultural background)	Marital status	Children & their ages
Employment status & occupation	Education	Reasons for moving to the Netherlands	Length of stay in the Netherlands so far	Expected length of stay

III Perception of Leisure

- What is leisure to you? How would you describe it in your own words?
 - Was it any different back home?

IV Leisure patterns

- Can you tell about your home based experiences before and after moving to the Netherlands – what do you do at home for enjoyment? (Please describe - what are you doing, with whom, where, how often, does it include other participants)
- Can you tell about your out-of-home based experiences before and after moving to the Netherlands – what do you do elsewhere for enjoyment? (Please describe - what are you doing, with whom, where, how often, does it include other participants)
- What would you name as the change if you would compare the leisure (free time) activities before and after coming to the Netherlands?
- Do you feel like there are appearing some 'typical Dutch' leisure activities in your leisure? Or are they still typical to you own cultural background?
- For how long would you say your leisure did change after arrival in the Netherlands?/ Do you feel your leisure is still changing due to the fact of relocation?

V Leisure motivations

- What would you say are the reasons for you to engage in leisure activities? (relaxation & recreation, socialization and interaction, physical fitness etc)
- How might these reasons be different from the reasons back at home?

VI Leisure constraints

- If you refer to the time of arrival, the first months, years, where there any constraints for your participation in leisure? And back in your country of origin/home country, were there some factors that did limit what you did for leisure? (knowledge about leisure possibilities, lack of transportation, lack of time, lack of money, lack of friends & relatives)

- Do you now have more or less – time/financial resources for your leisure activities?

VII Other factors that influence leisure participation

- There are several factors mentioned in scientific literature to impact leisure. Can you relate to leisure at different aspects of your life?
 - age;
 - gender,
 - education,
 - employment status,
 - nationality/ethnicity/race,
 - language barrier,
 - environmental factors – city, rural areas, nature accessibility;
 - mobility – hard to access, far away;
 - differences in cultural norms and values.
- Did you know anyone in the Netherlands before relocating? (Social networks – who, what is the relation and has this person played any role – helping, doing things together)
- Can you describe how the change in your social network (friends and family left back home, acquainting new friends, building family in the Netherlands) have affected the way you spend and enjoy your free time? (Any activities you do/don't do because of it?)

VIII Leisure & Adjustment

- How comfortable do you feel with your work life (performance standards, expectations, work values) in the Netherlands? Do you feel that leisure at any point has helped you to better adjust to the work-life in the Netherlands? (going out with colleagues, exercising with colleague, sharing experiences with other expatriates etc.)
- Leisure and host culture? How comfortable do you feel with interacting with locals in Twente – Dutch language, interpersonal communication style, cultural background? Do you see any role of your leisure time in helping with making local friends and establishing new personal relationships in Twente, in the Netherlands?
- How comfortable do you feel with general aspects of living in Netherlands – legal & housing arrangements, infrastructure, transportation? Do you see any role of your leisure time in helping to adjust to the life in Twente, in the Netherlands?
- Do you think leisure has influenced your better adjustment to the life in Netherlands? Or would you see that happening in future? Can you, please, give an example?

IX Social networks

- Have you joined any expatriate clubs/organizations/social networks to meet other expatriates?
- If so, what are you perceived benefits/disadvantages from doing that?

X Conclusion of the interview

- Thanking the participant for the interview
- Asking for permission to use their first name in quoting
- Offering to send a copy of this thesis if wanted

Appendix 2

Interview Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Marital status	Children	Employment status & occupation	Education	Reasons for moving to the NL	Length of stay in the NL so far	Expected length of stay
Justyna	f	36	Polish	Living together	Son - 8m	Unemployed; accountant	MSc	relationship	1,5 years	indefinite
Julie	f	-	Liberian	In relationship	Daughter	Self-employed – hair&nail stylist	n/a	relationship	8 years	indefinite
Nicki	f	-	British	Living together	n/a	Textile designer	higher	relationship	15 years	indefinite
Melanie	f	43	American	Living together	n/a	Nurse, unemployed	Bachelor	relationship	3 years	indefinite
Nuno	m	29	Portuguese	Single	n/a	ICT	MSc	Search for international job experience	4,5 years	indefinite
Chiara	f	22	Italian	In relationship	n/a	working	n/a	relationship	1 year	4 years
Luka	m	24	Italian	In relationship	n/a	student; working ICT	MSc	Study	2 years	4 years
Dimitris	m	27	Greek	Single	n/a	unemployed; student	MSc	career opportunities	2 years	indefinite
Olga	f	45	European (Portuguese decent)	Married	Son - 11y, daughter - 7y	full time employment	higher	job offer	14 years	indefinite
Jannis	m	28	Greek	Single	n/a	student; paid intern	MSc	Study	2 years	indefinite
Dimitris	m	20	Greek	Single	n/a	student; not working	Bachelor	Study	1 year	indefinite
Panagiotis	m	22	Greek (grew up in Germany)	Single	n/a	student; not working	Bachelor	Study	10 months	indefinite
Ivana	f	39	Serbian	Married	Son - 2y	full time employment	higher	relationship	9 years	indefinite
Irene	f	31	Indonesian	Single	n/a	full time employment	MSc	job offer	7 years	indefinite
Csaba	m	23	Romanian	Single	n/a	full time employment	PhD cand.	PhD placement	2 years	indefinite