

Leisure-oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Sites for Active Citizenship

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Abstract

Immigrant entrepreneurship's social and political dimensions remain largely overlooked in leisure studies scholarship. In Canada, investigations of immigrant entrepreneurship have, with very few exceptions, been limited to the economic sphere. Through the theoretical work of Michel Foucault, critical discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, in this dissertation I expose and explore the intersections between multicultural citizenship discourses and leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. Written in the publishable paper format, this dissertation is comprised of three stand-alone papers: paper one illustrates how citizenship discourses produced and exercised through Canada's Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988) simultaneously inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits; paper two demonstrates how non-European immigrants use leisure-based entrepreneurship to affirm and resist constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses; finally, paper three demonstrates how non-European immigrants use leisure-based entrepreneurship to expand their possibilities for recognition and equal rights in the social, cultural, and political spheres of Canadian society.

My findings indicate that leisure-based entrepreneurship is an important site for immigrant minorities' civic engagement. It is a space and a medium to express and sustain distinctive cultural traditions and practices. Further, it serves as a strategy for immigrant minorities to break down barriers and create opportunities for themselves and others to participate in and experience a wide range of leisure traditions and practices. In short, through this dissertation I show that leisure-based entrepreneurship is a technique employed by immigrant minorities to assert their membership in Canadian society and to lay claims to

full and equal citizenship rights. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship, I argue, is an important site for active citizenship.

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I wish to express my deepest appreciation to the study participants who generously gave of their time and wisdom in the course of my research. Study participants gracefully welcomed me into their “worlds”: they introduced me to practices and traditions foreign to me; they invited me to parties, festivals, and community events; they allowed me to partake and in some cases assist with their day-to day business activities.

No PhD can be completed without an extensive support network. To Team Giles, thank you for being an ear to listen, a careful eye to review numerous drafts, and a very fun

bunch to spend time with. I will miss this chapter of our lives. To mentors, friends, and family - who along this journey have been vital sources of encouragement, of guidance, and of love - THANK YOU! After two-plus years of asking the question “when will you be done,” I can now turn your attention to the question “what does it all mean?” To that end, I look forward to some wonderful discussions, which of course will require a glass of wine to properly digest. You have been an amazing support. I love you.

The best intentions are not the ones in which the author tries hard to give form to; rather, they are the ones in which the author’s temperament, her/his capacity for love, her/his sincerity, humanitarianism, and deep respectability find expression.

Hermann Hesse, The Glass Bead Game

This dissertation is dedicated to all those who have guided, supported, and most certainly influenced me to believe that I can make a difference in this world. Above all this dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Adriana and Juan Golob. As an immigrant to Canada, I am thrilled to dedicate my efforts to advance the ideals of multiculturalism, enhance the lives of future immigrants to Canada, and bear fruit to the efforts and sacrifices of my parents. Without you this would not have been possible; there would be no inspiration for this work, no prior knowledge to base my claims, indeed, no experience to ground my actions. After all, those who nourish and protect, guide and comfort set the seeds for our most ambitious dreams.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this dissertation I explore the role that constraints exercised in and through multicultural citizenship discourses play, or alternatively, might play, in the enablement of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship. Over the last two decades, program cuts and changes in the provision of social services, leisure and recreation included, have limited the capacity of public agencies in addressing minority rights (Cureton & Frisby, 2011; Golob, 2010; Thibault, Kikulis & Frisby, 2003). While the “undesirable” impacts of fiscal restraint measures for the leisure pursuits of disadvantaged populations have been well documented, leisure researchers have yet to grasp their normative implications for immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits (Stodolska & Walker, 2007). In the Canadian context, little scholarly attention has been devoted to understanding how constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses simultaneously inhibit and *enable* immigrant minorities’ capacities to (re)produce and preserve cultural traditions, practices, and networks.

Drawing on the theoretical work of Michel Foucault (1980, 1995, 2008), my research considered leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as sites for non-European immigrants (i.e., immigrant minorities) in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario to affirm and resist constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses. In general terms, entrepreneurship can be defined as the processes through which individuals and groups start and run a business by making use of socio-historically situated knowledge and resources (human, social, economic, and cultural) to initiate change for themselves and others (Drucker, 1985; Schumpeter, 2000). Building on prevailing conceptualizations of leisure in North America, where leisure is largely constructed as activities and experiences that people ‘freely’ pursue (Rojek, 2005; Shaw, 2006), in this study the term “leisure-oriented entrepreneurship” is used to conceptualize the processes of starting and running a business or

organization that offers opportunities for leisure engagement (e.g., dining establishments, sport clubs, dance studios, aesthetics salons). Written in the publishable paper format, my concern was with the ways in which non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region achieve opportunities to participate in the civic and political spheres of Canadian society through their involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented businesses or organizations. The three stand-alone papers that comprise this dissertation make an effort to expand the current literature by investigating if and how leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship contributes to non-European immigrants' capacities for civic engagement.

Chapter Organization

This chapter is organized into four sections. To provide a broad context of understanding for my dissertation, in the first section I qualify my use of the term(s) “multicultural citizenship discourses,” and “leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship.” Second, to establish the focus of my dissertation, I present a literature review that pertains to three relevant areas of study: Canadian multiculturalism; immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada; immigrants' leisure constraints. The third section of the chapter provides a description of my theoretical framework. Finally, the fourth section describes the methodology and methods used in this study.

Multicultural Citizenship Discourses

I use the term “multicultural citizenship discourses” to refer to the assortment of civic duties and privileges that influence an individual to pursue his/her rights and interests within Canadian society. I thus am interested in the “active” components of “belonging” in “multicultural” Canada — a subject that has garnered increasing attention from both scholars and policymakers (Banting & Soroka, 2012; Esses, Hamilton, Bennet-AbuAyyash &

Burstein, 2010; Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006), Changing immigration source countries and the heightened politics of security have triggered intense debate about immigrant integration and social cohesion (Wong, 2008). For some, contemporary Canadian immigration trends threaten the culture and traditions of the host population¹ (Centre for Immigration Policy Reform, 2014) — a reaction that has become widespread in a number of European countries and given rise to significant political movements in favour of reduced immigration (Ibbitson, 2010). While public opinion in favour of immigration remains strong (Dewing, 2009), such a discourse reflects a concern that immigrants to Canada originating from non-traditional source countries (i.e., non-European) have only a weak sense of attachment and commitment to their new society and do not engage in the civic and political life of the society around them (Banting & Soroka, 2012).

Equal opportunity for civic engagement is a central tenet of democracy. Formal citizenship rights alone, however, are insufficient for ensuring immigrant minorities have equal opportunities to engage in the social and political life of the society around them. As Castles (2000) wrote, “Equally important is the extent to which people belonging to distinct groups of the population actually achieve substantial citizenship; that is, equal chances of participation in various areas of society such as politics, work and social security” (p. 201). Following Leitner and Ehrkamp (2006), I employed an expanded notion of citizenship that encompasses both formal definitions of citizenship, as defined by the laws and regulations of the receiving nations, and substantive or participatory aspects of citizenship, lived practices, and identities that shape and are shaped by societal norms in a new host society. Empirical research has shown that while most immigrants to Canada gain formal citizenship, they often struggle for recognition and equal rights to participate in the social, economic, cultural, and

political spheres of life in Canadian society (Khan & Costa, 2002). To that effect, non-European immigrants' weak sense of attachment to and/or disinterest in civic and political life in Canada could be attributed to social exclusion (James, 2010; Li, 2003; Taylor, 1994), reduced public expenditures to facilitate the integration newcomers (Banting, 2010), and/or issues associated with globalization and how diverse individuals live together in local and transnational communities (Blunt, 2007; Harvey, 2011; Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006).

Researchers have not considered leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as a site and medium for non-European immigrants' affirmation and or resistance to constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses. As indicated earlier, entrepreneurship concerns the processes through which individuals and groups exploit or make use of existing knowledge and resources (human, social, economic, and cultural) to initiate change for themselves and others through new venture formation (Drucker, 1985; Schumpeter, 2000). Entrepreneurship is conceptualized as new value creation and entrepreneurs are seen as people who create value for themselves and others through the identification, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). Entrepreneurship, therefore, can act as a vehicle not only for economic development, but also as a means for civic engagement (Lin, 2010; Murdie, 2008; Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 2000). In this study, while not questioning the importance of economic objectives, I was interested in the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship.

Leisure-oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship

By "leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship," I refer to foreign-born citizens of Canada who establish and operate a business or organization that offers opportunities for leisure engagement. My interest lies in the intersections between citizenship discourses

produced by Canada's multiculturalism policies and non-European immigrants involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. In effect, how might multicultural citizenship discourses enable and make possible the formation of business or organizations where non-European immigrants, as minorities, gain the capacity for civic engagement? Following dominant conceptualizations of entrepreneurship, in this work I sought to expose and explore the ways in which non-European immigrants in Windsor-Essex draw on multicultural citizenship discourses to establish and operate a business or organization that offers opportunities for leisure engagement.

The notion of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as a site and medium for non-European immigrants' civic engagement underlies a growing body of scholarship that considers leisure as a social space for active citizenship (Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Glover, Parry & Shiness, 2005; Hemingway, 1999; Rojek, 2005). Since leisure is constructed and empirically described as activities and experiences that individual's "freely" choose to engage in, from this perspective leisure is conceptualized as a "cultural medium" that bridges the public and private domains and allows individuals to act out their social and political roles as democratic citizens (Hemingway, 1999), which compels researchers to address the political nature of leisure (Shaw, 2006). In this view, leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship could be conceptualized as a site that, in bridging the private/public domains, enables and make possible immigrant minorities' affirmation and/or resistance to multicultural citizenship discourses. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research on leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship and the potential contribution of broader socio-political conditions to these processes.

Practical Considerations: Multiculturalism and Leisure-oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship

This study's focus on the interconnections between leisure-oriented non-European immigrants' entrepreneurial practices and multicultural citizenship discourses is timely and important. It coincides with a growing awareness among Canadian policymakers that immigrant entrepreneurship is of intrinsic value for population centres faced with the particular challenges imposed by aging populations, out-migration, and skill-shortages² (Stubbs, 2012). Within contemporary public policy, however, immigrant entrepreneurship's economic dimensions have received the lion's share of attention (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2013), while the social and political dimensions have not been recognized or valued in the same way.

Though policies encouraging immigrants to settle outside Canada's three major metropolitan areas have been in existence for several decades, more recently policymakers have constructed immigrant entrepreneurship as an "economic development tool" for achieving a more balanced geographic distribution of immigrants to non-traditional cities, towns, and rural areas in Canada (see Esses et al., 2010; Green, 2003). Census data reveal that between 1981 and 2006, immigrant concentration in major urban centres increased and that Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto have become newcomers' settlement destinations of choice (Hou, 2005; Murdie, 2008; Papillon, 2002). Since the presence of employment opportunities is one of the most important characteristics that influences new immigrants' settlement destination³ (Esses et al., 2010), policymakers are attracted to a discourse that suggests immigrant entrepreneurship leads to "jobs and economic revitalization," and, in so doing, encourages new immigrant cohorts to settle in centres outside of the traditional

immigrant-receiving metropolises (CIC, 2013). Canadian policymakers have therefore framed immigrant entrepreneurship as a solution to a wide range of economic problems facing many small and medium sized communities: an aging population; a need for skilled labourers to expand a knowledge economy; and promoting regional economic growth by attracting and retaining other immigrants (Green, 2003).

Nevertheless, researchers have suggested that the presence of employment opportunities is insufficient in and of itself for immigrant attraction and retention, and that policymakers must also look to initiatives that foster an environment in which cultural diversity is not only welcomed, but flourishes (Akbari & Harrington, 2007; McDonald, 2004; Newbold, 1996). In a study that examined the determinants of immigrant location choice in Canada, Akbari and Harrington (2007) concluded that demographic variables have a stronger effect than economic variables on the location choice of newcomers to Canada, as immigrants across all immigration classes (i.e., economic, refugee, family reunification) were found to be more likely to settle in areas where they had family, friends, and other people from the same country and cultural background. In many instances, individuals who share a national and/or ethnic identity provide information about jobs and social services, generate opportunities for social engagement, and offer services and products that meet diverse cultural needs (McDonald, 2004). In effect, research has indicated that new immigrants to Canada are more likely to settle in population centres where the spatial concentration of co-ethnics provides a base for the development or expansion of settlement services and cultural facilities.

Compounding the challenge of supporting and promoting cultural diversity in small and medium sized Canadian communities is a lack of resources, both human and financial,

to systematically maintain and strengthen bonds of community while accommodating increased ethno-cultural diversity (Banting, 2010; Banting & Soroka, 2012; Esses et al., 2010). Within an environment of fiscal conservatism, there is a growing awareness among policymakers that more attention needs to be paid to bottom-up initiatives that facilitate and support the incorporation of cultural diversity while simultaneously forging a unified sense of community (Esses et al., 2010). In this regard, it may very well be in the interest of policymakers to consider not only the economic, but also the social and political contributions of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Arguably, many of the critical skills that would increase an individual's capacity to participate in various areas of social and political life are also skills that an entrepreneur would develop (and improve) through the establishment and management of a business. Because of their necessarily increased interaction with members of the broader community, immigrant entrepreneurs are more likely to learn the host country language. Additionally, immigrant entrepreneurs are uniquely positioned to assist co-ethnics in accessing mainstream institutions (Lin, 2010; Murdie, 2008; Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 2000). Entrepreneurs often serve as intermediaries between their respective ethnic networks and host institutions, a critical function for migrant communities (Waldinger et al., 2000). Moreover, immigrant entrepreneurs are important sources of employment opportunities for co-ethnics who sometimes themselves become entrepreneurs after a period of informal apprenticeship (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Zhou, 2004). Nevertheless, the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship remain largely underexplored in leisure studies scholarship – a gap that I sought to address through my research.

Study Setting

I specifically selected the Windsor-Essex region as my fieldwork site because it has, since 2008, incorporated immigrant entrepreneur attraction and retention into its overall strategy for economic growth and development (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2009). As a region faced with significant pressure imposed by the more recent global out-migration of the manufacturing sector and an aging population (Essex Community Futures Development Corporation, 2007), the potential benefits of immigrant entrepreneurship to reinvigorate and promote regional economic development, not to mention create jobs for prospective immigrants to the Windsor-Essex region, are great.

The Windsor-Essex region, located in the western tip of Ontario and the southernmost part of Canada, is an important settlement destination for immigrants to Canada. The eight municipalities that makeup the Windsor-Essex region — Amherstburg, Essex, Kingsville, Lakeshore, LaSalle, Leamington, Tecumseh, and Windsor — cover an area of 1,775 square kilometers and are home to more than 400,000 people (Statistics Canada, 2013). Roughly 87,000 of those people, or 22% of the region's population, were born outside of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013). The majority of the region's immigrant population (68.7%) lives in the City of Windsor, where immigrants make-up more than 28% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2013). In fact, Windsor claims to be home to Canada's fourth most diverse city with over 170 ethnicities represented and 70 languages spoken (Immigration Windsor-Essex, 2013). The number and percentage of foreign-born Canadians in the seven other municipalities within Windsor-Essex varies, with Leamington being the second largest settlement area (7, 485 or 26% of Leamington's population) and Essex the

smallest settlement area (1,920 or 9.7% of Essex's population) (Immigration Windsor-Essex, 2013).

Nevertheless, demographic data suggest the region's ability to attract and retain more recent immigrant cohorts may be slipping. According to local agencies (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2013), the high unemployment levels in the Windsor-Essex region – at the time of the study Windsor lay claim to the infamous title of unemployment capital of Canada, are largely to blame for both the exodus of existing residents and the reluctance of newcomers to settle in the region. Immigration statistics show a year-over-year decrease between 2005 and 2012 in the number of immigrants who choose to settle in the Windsor-Essex region (CIC, 2013). An estimated 1,210 newcomers settled in communities of Windsor-Essex in 2012, down 60% from 2005 numbers (2,981) (CIC, 2013). Moreover, census data indicate a large percentage of the foreign-born population in Windsor-Essex is made up of long-established immigrants from European origin (Statistics Canada, 2008). For example, more than 70% of the foreign-born population in Essex, Amherstburg, and Kingsville arrived before 1981 and were from European source countries (Statistics Canada, 2008) - despite that over 80% of immigrants who arrived to Canada between 2001 and 2011 originated from non-European source countries.

The selection of the Windsor-Essex region as my fieldwork site was based on a number of other factors. To begin with, the region was the site for my master's research (Golob, 2008, 2010). Between 2006 and 2007, and using a case study methodology, I explored the relationship between recreation policy discourses and constraints to Spanish-speaking immigrant adults' leisure pursuits. Through my research, I showed that discourses that construct leisure as both the prerogative and responsibility of the individual act as

constraints to Spanish-speaking immigrant adults' leisure pursuits, mostly because they limited the ability for community recreation centres to act as enablers and supporters of minority rights. Municipal recreation administrators whom I interviewed informed me that significant budget cutbacks had limited the ability for community recreation centres to meet the ethno-specific needs and interests of immigrant minorities. Spanish-speaking immigrant adults whom I interviewed cited a lack of social connections with co-ethnics, disinterest in activities offered by community recreation centres, and the absence of opportunities to participate in activities they were familiar with as factors that inhibited, limited, or restricted their leisure. Social isolation, cultural differences and, for some, a seemingly uninviting atmosphere acted as constraints to their participation in certain forms of leisure.

While the research provided several interesting insights (Golob 2010), the findings painted a rather pessimistic and bleak outlook of immigrant minorities' capacity for the preservation of diverse cultural traditions and practices in public leisure spaces. My findings and observations, generally speaking, contributed to a growing body of scholarship that has documented how fiscal restraint measures, generally attributed to the retreat of social welfarism and the rise of neo-liberal political rationalities (Harvey, 2005), have affected most directly the leisure of those who are socially, culturally, and/or economically excluded (e.g., Karlis, 2004; Thibault et al., 2003). I was left questioning the possible ways through which Spanish-speaking immigrant adults, and more generally immigrant minorities in the Windsor-Essex region, can and do sustain diverse cultural heritages in public leisure spaces. As a result, in this study I considered the possible links and intersections between multicultural citizenship discourses and non-European immigrants' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures.

My interest in the fieldwork site also stems from my own experiences as a leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneur in the Windsor-Essex region. As a young immigrant to Canada, leisure and recreation opportunities enabled me to learn a new language, to establish new social networks, to embrace new cultural values and traditions, and generally to promote my own sense of belonging in Canada; conclusions that have likewise been shown by previous research exploring the contributions of leisure pursuits to the integration and inclusion of immigrants (Juniu, 2000; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). Following the completion of a Human Kinetics degree from the University of Windsor in 2004, and in conjunction with the start of a master's degree in sport management from the same institution, I established a kinesiology practice (i.e., health business) devoted to assisting adults, and immigrant adults in particular, sustain physically active lifestyles into old age (e.g., by addressing musculoskeletal injuries and teaching them skills to facilitate their participation in leisure-oriented physical activity).

Upon reflecting on my experiences as both a researcher generating knowledge about immigrants' leisure pursuits and an entrepreneur putting that knowledge into action in Windsor-Essex, I came to the realization that through some of my actions I was "acting" upon (and most certainly resisting) a discourse that suggests immigrant entrepreneurs are only interested in financial gains. By way of example, for a national student-entrepreneur competition I submitted and presented a business case full of social and political aims, accomplishments, and targets; financial projections and their associated discourses (which as an academic I can now concede amounts to a great deal of *necessary* jargon) were not my preoccupation. Judges (CEOs of financial institutions) were quick to point out that my business concept did not provide sufficient profit margins for an investor, and as a result, I

did not move on in the competition. Knowing and to some extent expecting such an outcome (I was warned ahead of time judges were interested in financial projections), I nevertheless proceeded to challenge the assumption that entrepreneurs are people who first and foremost are interested in producing financial gains for themselves and others. In a follow-up newspaper article (*Globe and Mail*, 2010), I articulated the need for governments to support sport and fitness-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs who possess cultural-specific skills and knowledge for addressing increased health risks among more recent immigrants to Canada. The discourse I resisted - that the value of entrepreneurship is in turning “opportunity” into profits - enabled me to produce a discourse that stated that while immigrant entrepreneurship’s social and political dimensions remain subjugated, if not devalued, by policy makers, they hold much promise.

My aim in this dissertation, then, was to expose and explore the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship within the context of multicultural citizenship discourses. Notwithstanding the importance of economic objectives, and the diverse range of contributory factors influencing immigrants’ propensity for entrepreneurship, for this dissertation I investigated the productive effects of “constraints” exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses by studying the circumstances, actions, and perspectives of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs in Windsor-Essex, Ontario, in the course of their everyday business activities. While all Canadians, whether immigrants, minorities or official majorities, are influenced by multicultural citizenship discourses, my research focuses on non-European immigrants. I choose to explore the perceptions and lived realities of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant

entrepreneurs because, while largely classified as minorities, non-Europeans account for more than 80% of all immigrants accepted to Canada since 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Canadian Multiculturalism

Perhaps more than in any other Western state, multiculturalism has become a central element of Canadian national discourse and identity (Taylor, 1994; Wong, 2008). Canada is often held up as an example of a successfully multicultural society, encouraging of immigration from all corners of the world and supportive of programs to promote tolerance and diversity (James, 2010). Canadians in general are “proud” of this aspect of Canadian-ness (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Li, 2003) - or so we are told by reading the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988), attending cultural festivals, and in cultural sensitivity training workshops. But what does that mean? The notion of Canada as a “multicultural society” can be interpreted in different ways: descriptively (as a social condition of cultural diversity resulting from immigration), politically (as policy and laws for managing that diversity), or normatively (as discourses endorsing a free and diverse society) (Dewing, 2009; Forbes, 2002; Wong, 2008). As a social condition ensuing from immigration to Canada, multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (James, 2010). As public policy, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal domains (Dewing, 2009). Normatively, multiculturalism consists of ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada’s cultural diversity (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Taylor, 1994; Wong, 2008).

Multiculturalism as a Social Condition

Canadian society has been, and continues to be, shaped by immigration (James, 2010; Li, 2003). The 2011 National Census (Statistics Canada, 2013) revealed that Canada is home to approximately 6,800,000 foreign-born permanent residents, or 20.6% of Canada's total population — the highest proportion in more than 75 years. In large parts driven by discourses suggesting population growth leads to sustained economic growth, Canada has, since the late 1990s, welcomed roughly 250,000 immigrants annually; a target with little indication of impending radical change (Statistics Canada, 2013). Canada's 150-year immigration history, however, reveals stark differences in the sources (i.e., countries) of immigration, which have important implications for an understanding of contemporary Canadian society as a “multicultural mosaic” — that is, as culturally diverse, plural, and varied.

Before 1962, immigration to Canada was made up almost exclusively of migrants who could trace their racial or ethnic origins to Europe (James, 2010; Li, 2003). This was because only immigrants from other Western European countries were allowed entry into Canada. According to Li (2003), immigration regulations were introduced beginning in the late 19th century primarily to safeguard the two colonizing nations' (Great Britain and France) cultural security and social cohesion. For the most part, central authorities during the long period of national development (1867 to 1962) dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, and considered racial and ethnic differences as detrimental to Canada's character and integrity (Dewing, 2009). Policies such as the *Chinese Immigration Act* (1885), the *Act of Continuous Passage* (1908), and *An Act Respecting Immigration* (1910) functioned to strictly limit non-European (i.e., non-white) migrants from gaining citizenship

in Canada (Li, 2003). To illustrate, *An Act Respecting Immigration* (1910) gave Cabinet the right to refuse “immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada” (section 38, para. “c,” cited in Li, 2003, p. 76). Scholars (e.g., James, 2010; Taylor, 1994) have aptly described immigration regulations during Canada’s early history as discriminatory and exclusionary.

The post-World War II period, in contrast, marked a significant shift in Canadian immigration trends. According to Simmons (2010), by the 1960s the declining number of European immigrants with desired skills was an important factor, along with “ant-racist” sentiment, in the federal government’s decision to change its immigration strategy, including abandoning the “White Canada policy” (p. 59). In 1962, revisions to immigration regulations revoked the special admission provisions that applied to British, French, and American citizens; and, in 1967, a universal point system⁴ was introduced that emphasized educational and occupational skills as selection criteria for admitting immigrants (Kymlicka, 2007). These developments paved the way for the admission of immigrants from outside Western Europe and the United States, including those from Asia and Africa who were historically unwelcome in Canada (Li, 2003). Of the 5.4 million immigrants Canada admitted between 1968 and 2000, 45% arrived from Asia, 9% from South America, Central America, and the Caribbean, 8% from Africa, and only 28% from Europe (Li, 2003).

The proportion of non-European immigrants continued to grow at the onset of the twenty-first century. The 2011 National Census (Statistics Canada, 2013) revealed that 13.7% of new immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2011 were born in Europe, while another 3.9% were born in the United States. The remaining 82.4% came

from Asia (including the Middle East), the Caribbean and Central and South America, Africa and Oceania, and other regions.

Changing immigration source countries have produced increased “cultural diversity” in contemporary Canadian society. At the beginning of the 21st century the proportion of Canadian citizens with British, French, and/or Aboriginal ethnic origin had dropped below one-half of the total population (Dewing, 2009). This increased diversity was evident in the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2013), in which more than 200 ethnic origins were self-reported with 13 different ethnic categories surpassing the one million mark. Census data (Statistics Canada, 2013) have also shown that the number of people classified as visible minorities⁵ increased from 4.0% of the total population in 1971 to 19.1% in 2011, and that visible minorities accounted for 78.0% of all the immigrants who arrived to Canada between 2006 and 2011. Additionally, census data (Statistics Canada, 2013) have indicated that the percentage of the population in 2011 whose mother tongue was a language other than English or French was 20.6%. In 2011, languages other than English, French and Aboriginal languages – also known as immigrant languages – were the mother tongues of one fifth of the population (more than 6.8 million people). The immigrant languages reported spoken most often at home were Punjabi, Chinese (not otherwise specified), Cantonese, Spanish, Tagalog, Arabic, Mandarin, Italian, Urdu and German. In effect, changes to Canada’s immigration policies have produced dramatic changes to Canada’s ethno-cultural makeup.

Multiculturalism as Public Policy

A perceived need to manage a culturally diverse society - driven primarily by the circumstances of changes to Canada’s immigration policies (Simmons, 2010), have

produced public policies centred around the concept of multiculturalism, which have subsequently been written into statutes, institutionalized, and produced new social circumstances for immigrants to Canada. In 1971 Canada became the first state to officially introduce a “multiculturalism” policy to foster harmonious relations between “diverse” cultural groups (Simmons, 2010). Produced in large part to counteract Quebec nationalism and to appease the new wave of non-European immigrants that began to arrive in Canada during the late 1960s, the *Multiculturalism Policy* of 1971 (Canada, 1971) established the normative framework for a society that purportedly recognizes, respects, and reflects three founding nations (Anglophones, Francophones, and Aboriginal peoples), two official languages (English and French), and a diversity of cultural heritages (James, 2003; Li, 2003; Simmons, 2010). According to James (2003), then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau conceived of multiculturalism as supportive of group identity in cultural terms.

With the introduction of the Multiculturalism Policy (Canada, 1971), Canada formally repudiated a cultural assimilationist approach to immigrant incorporation—in which immigrants are encouraged and even expected to adopt the values and practices of dominant groups (Gordon, 1964)—and replaced it with a cultural pluralism approach, which accepts that “many immigrants will visibly and proudly express their ethnic distinctiveness, and which imposes an obligation on the part of public institutions to accommodate these ethnic identities” (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 49). The *Standing Committee on Multiculturalism* (Canada, 1987) defined multicultural integration as “a process, clearly distinct from assimilation, by which groups and/or individuals become able to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country” (p. 87). Subsequently, the state’s commitment to cultural pluralism was affirmed in the Canadian

Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988). Expanding on the *Constitution Act* (Section 15, Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982), the Canadian *Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988), “acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage” (section 3.1[a]), and, “that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future” (section 3.1[b]). Thus, discourses produced by the state suggest the Canadian government is committed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, and political life of Canada.

Multiculturalism as Normative Prescriptions

Contemporary multicultural citizenship discourses produced by the state imply not simply an acceptance of diversity, but also recognition of the positive value of diversity in itself and how it enriches Canadian society (Canada, 1988). It means that all Canadians should have the ability to participate fully and effectively in all aspects of social, cultural, political and economic life and that there is equal access to appropriate services and resources (James, 2010; Li, 2003). It suggests that immigrant incorporation is a process through which newcomers become part of the social, cultural, and institutional fabric of the host community, while at the same time they retain part of their own cultural identity (Frideres, 2008). Finally, it also insinuates that cultural diversity can strengthen and add to an ever changing, ever developing Canadian society. For this reason, multicultural citizenship discourses are seen as encouraging if not prescribing a shared identity, where immigrants from all parts of the world are viewed as culturally and racially enriching to Canadian society (Simmons, 2010).

Nevertheless, scholars (e.g., Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Hall, 2000; Li, 2003; Papillon, 2002; Taylor, 1994; Wieviorka, 1998) have expressed concern that multicultural citizenship discourses produced by the state - based on liberal conception of personal freedom and cultural neutrality of the state, do not protect minorities from oppression and suppression from the majorities. While the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988) has, arguably, benefited immigrant minorities in many ways, for these scholars the discourses produced by the Act have also created an institutional landscape that pushes community organizations towards cultural fixity, competition, and fragmentation (Taylor, 1994). The basis of liberal political philosophy is the equality of individuals, and since only “free” people can be equal to one another individual freedom then must take precedence over social equality (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). In this view, the cultural neutrality of the state is said to secure an individual’s autonomy and freedom to pursue his/her own conception of the good, provided it is done in private (Hall, 2000); newcomers to Canada can maintain their cultural distinctiveness in their private life, but otherwise participate collectively in the same major institutions of society under the conditions as prescribed by acceptable norms and practices of the dominant groups (Li, 2003). Thus, it is dependent on the separation of the public and private spheres, which has been criticized, notably from a feminist perspective, where it is argued that the personal *is* the political (Wearing, 1998). For Hall (2000), the liberal conception of multicultural citizenship, based on universalism, attempts to assimilate differences, and as such, can be seen to assimilate cultural differences in the name of equity and equality. In a similar vein, Kymlicka (2001) argued it is “manifestly false that liberal-democratic states are ethno-culturally neutral, as they aim to promote their own societal culture through language, education, and citizenship policies that are designed to assimilate

immigrants and national minorities” (pp. 24-25). Taylor (1994) suggested that, “liberalism is not a possible ground for all cultures, but is the political expression of one range of cultures, and quite incompatible in other ranges” (p. 62). In other words, it is through the judgments of the dominant cultures that minority cultures are given value or worth, recognition or rejection.

Papillon (2002) argued that the prevailing citizenship discourses constructed by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) “falsely” suggest it is possible to build cohesive and inclusive communities without requiring everyone to share a single cultural, social or even political space. James (1995) proposed that the discursive production of the term “visible minority” in and of itself indicates the relative power position of certain groups within Canadian society, with the dominant groups holding economic, social, and political privilege and controlling access to political, economic, and cultural resources. By way of example, the original *Multiculturalism Policy* (Canada, 1971) included cultural maintenance as one of its key objectives and thus included funds dedicated specifically to ethnic organizations and activities (James, 2003). When the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was passed in 1988, however, the focus shifted away from cultural communities and toward “all Canadians” (Biles, 2008). It could thus be argued that the stipulations produced by contemporary multicultural citizenship discourses represent an erosion of support for ethno-cultural preservation, which at one time received core funding from the federal government (see Biles, 2008; Sadiq, 2004). Hence, although liberal advocates claim the neutrality of the state safeguards personal freedom and choice, the prevailing arguments suggest Canada’s official multiculturalism platform is merely “symbolic” since the two charter groups’ (i.e., English and French) norms and practices prevail in the public sphere.

Scholars (e.g., Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003; Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008; Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006) have, however, criticized these positions for being too normative and theoretical. For these scholars, discourses on and about multiculturalism and social justice require empirical research exploring immigrant minorities' notions and practices of citizenship. In other words, more attention needs to be paid to the active construction resulting from the interactions between state and civil society (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003). Such a view infers that a central aspect of participation in a nation's social and political affairs is knowledge about one's rights and responsibilities, and that such knowledge shapes people's capacities for civic engagement. In this study, I focus my attention on immigrant minorities' ever-present capacity, as citizens of a democratic state, to both affirm and resist constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses.

Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Canada

In Canada, and in many other industrialized nations, the heightened interest in immigrant entrepreneurship both in practice and in the development of policy has been attributed to a diverse range of contributory factors including the belief that it can act as an economic development engine, particularly in regions affected by challenges imposed by aging populations, out-migration, and skill-shortages (Stubbs, 2012). The federal department responsible for developing immigration policy in Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, has made the encouragement of immigrant entrepreneurship in small and medium population centres an important aspect of its immigration policies (CIC, 2013). Although only a very small proportion (less than 2%) of immigrants to Canada are selected on the basis of their financial capital and entrepreneurial skills and plans, data from the 2006 census showed that 17% of working age foreign-born Canadians were self-employed, compared

with 12% of the native-born population (Hou & Wang, 2011). Hence, while the number of entrepreneur-class immigrants admitted is minimal, immigrants have higher rates of self-employment.

Within the mainstream entrepreneurship literature, the term “immigrant entrepreneur” has been broadly used to identify immigrants who start businesses in their countries of settlement (for an overview see Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). For the most part, this literature has constructed immigrant entrepreneurship as a necessary and or preferred labour integration strategy that in many cases allows for the continuation of an original profession, addresses unemployment or under-employment, or represents a significant avenue for socioeconomic progress (Light & Gold, 2000; Zhou, 1992, 2004). It has also emphasized that the motives for immigrant entrepreneurship are to be found largely in the challenges and opportunities imposed by their “immigrant” status and conditioned by a host society socio-political context (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003; Light & Gold, 2000).

A number of researchers have attempted to identify and describe how socio-cultural factors explain the high incidence of immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada (e.g., Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Bauder, 2008; Hou & Wang, 2011; Li, 1997; Zhou, 2004). For the most part, the literature has suggested immigrants to Canada establish businesses to address their labour market integration. Researchers have shown, on the one hand, that immigrants are “pushed” to entrepreneurship as a result of exclusion and discrimination from the waged-labour market (Li, 1997; Light, 1979). In an analysis of a recent Canadian self-employment survey, Hou and Wang (2011) found that Canadian immigrants were more likely than native-born Canadians to report that they pursued entrepreneurship due to a lack of job opportunities in the waged-labour market. Sometimes referred to as the “blocked mobility

thesis,” this phenomenon suggests that by starting their own businesses, immigrants create their own jobs, which enables them to circumvent some of the structural constraints that they may encounter in the waged-labour market including language skills and unrecognized foreign credentials (Li, 1997). In other words, some immigrants, discouraged or excluded from the normal channels for occupational and economic entry and/ or advancement, are “pushed” into entrepreneurship (Bauder, 2008; Li, 1997).

Other researchers (e.g., Waldinger et al., 2000; Zhou, 2004) have placed more emphasis on agency by showing that immigrant entrepreneurship is based on the ability, perception, and conversion of an opportunity offered by the host society. From this point of view, immigrants are also “pulled” into entrepreneurship to serve ethnic customers or niche markets that are underserved or abandoned, that exhibit low economies of scale, or that are composed of customers with exotic tastes (Waldinger et al., 2000); immigrants generate jobs for themselves and others by capitalizing on an opportunity to meet for unmet needs; that is, immigrants draw on their human and social capital to bring new products, services, and business models into existence (Waldinger et al., 2000). To illustrate, in a recent study on immigrant entrepreneurs in York Region, Ontario (Workforce Planning Board [WPB], 2010), researchers found that a significant number of immigrant entrepreneurs started a business because they saw an opportunity to provide a necessary cultural service or product to their own community that would otherwise be unavailable, such as cuisines that meet dietary restrictions or come from a certain region, beauty services, translation services, and traditional clothing and artifacts. This is exemplified in, among other things, in the ever-broadening range of leisure-oriented products and services available in many Canadian centres, which now include things such as Ethiopian restaurants, Tai-Chi instruction, Latin

dance studios, and Bollywood movies. Researchers (Hou & Wang, 2011; Light & Gold, 2000; Yoon, 1997) have documented how entrepreneurship may therefore be a form of marginalization for immigrants, and in particular for those who suffer from discrimination and social exclusion. Entrepreneurship may thus be seen as a marginal space, one where immigrants struggle for recognition and equal rights in the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres of the host society (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). Nevertheless, there continues to be a clear absence of data on leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship and the potential contribution of broader socio-political conditions to these processes.

Leisure-oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship

The social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship are underexplored in leisure studies scholarship. In the prevailing literature, there are no studies that have investigated the links and intersections between constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses and immigrant minorities' involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented ventures. Despite mounting evidence showing that "fiscal restraint" measures introduced in the early 1990s have limited the ability for publicly-funded recreation providers to support and protect minorities' rights (e.g., Cureton & Frisby, 2011; Golob, 2010; Karlis & Dawson, 1995; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000), researchers have thus far overlooked leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as a site and medium for immigrant minorities' affirmation and or resistance to constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses.

Contemporary multicultural citizenship discourses, I argue, encourage immigrant minorities to embrace elements of the host society while retaining parts of their traditional cultures; normative support for cultural pluralism means that immigrants to Canada are not

expected to adopt a uniform way of life, but are instead encouraged and even expected to construct, share, and retain ethno-cultural distinctiveness. For this reason, multicultural citizenship discourses should be understood to enable, invite, and produce multiple ways for people to participate in and experience leisure.

In a society that is increasingly marked by commercialization, where the market is constructed as a “natural” arrangement and the supplier of people’s leisure needs and interests (Golob, 2010), it may appear peculiar that leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship has thus far escaped the attention of leisure researchers. Indeed, in many Canadian cities we now see many ethnically inspired leisure and consumption businesses. The reason, I contend, has much to do with the issue of how leisure constraints are conceptualized and empirically described in the prevailing literature on and about immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits.

Immigrant Minorities’ Leisure Constraints

In North America, and in many Western societies, leisure researchers have broadly defined leisure as activities and experiences of freedom, choice, and self-actualization (Kelly, 1996; Neulinger, 1981; Rokej, 2005; Shaw, 1994). From this viewpoint, leisure pursuits are conceptualized as activities that people freely pursue 1) once the necessities of life have been fulfilled (e.g., work); 2) for enrichment and pleasure; and/ or, 3) to achieve socially-defined ends (e.g., integration into a new host society) (Rojek, 2005). Leisure constraints researchers have predominantly concerned themselves with the “problematic” aspects of initiating and sustaining participation in desired leisure activities (Jackson & Scott, 1999; Mannell, Kleiber, & Staempfli, 2006). Jackson (2000) defined leisure constraints as “factors that are assumed by researchers and/ or perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of

leisure preferences and/ or to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure” (p. 62).

Interest in constraints and how and why they shape immigrant minorities’ leisure practices and experiences is relatively recent in the field of leisure studies (see Floyd, 2007). Nevertheless, according to Stodolska and Yi-Kook (2005), “Any study of minorities’ and immigrants’ leisure would be incomplete without acknowledging the effects of the constraints they face” (p. 54). Much of the empirical work done to date has shown that immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits are “characterized” by social exclusion and discrimination (see Stodolska & Walker, 2007). In the last two decades, leisure constraints researchers have drawn on various theoretical constructs (e.g., marginality-ethnicity, discrimination, immigrant integration) to identify and describe factors that prevent, limit, or exclude immigrant minorities’ leisure participation and preferences (see Stodolska & Yi-Kook, 2005). Studies of this kind have suggested that, in addition to being affected by constraints experienced by the general population (e.g., lack of time, cost of participation), immigrant minorities experience certain unique types of constraints related both to their minority status and to resettlement patterns that can be found neither in the general population nor in any other special group. These include difficulties with a new language (e.g., Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 1998), lack of familiarity with the local environment (e.g. Deng, Walker, & Swinnerton, 2005), ethnic and or racial exclusion (e.g. Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Tirone & Pedlar, 1997), religious accommodations (Stodolska & Livengood, 2006), and social isolation due to limited social networks and restricted mobility (Golob, 2010), just to name a few.

Notwithstanding the valuable contributions of prevailing research on and about immigrants' leisure constraints — the impetus for this research is most certainly indebted to those knowledge claims — the notion that constraints are repressive exhibits a number of important theoretical limitations for generating a broader analysis of immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits. In the first place, the prevailing literature has overlooked the productive and enabling aspects of leisure constraints. Insofar as constraints are viewed *solely* as factors that limit, restrict, and thus act to repress immigrant minorities' leisure, the predominant literature has paid little attention to the actions and experiences that materialize not in the absence of but as a result of constraints. The discourse that existing research has produced, implicitly based on the idea that certain leisure pursuits are desirable (Shaw, 1994), provides us with a limited understanding of how constraints emerge and function to shape immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits; particularly, it does not make it possible to consider how constraints may simultaneously both inhibit and enable particular actions (Shogan, 2002). After all, identifying and describing factors that inhibit, prohibit, and restrict people from participating in “desirable” leisure forms and practices does not mean that they do not participate in or experience leisure (Crompton, Jackson & Witt, 2005). As a result, research within this paradigm has led to only partial understandings of how constraints shape immigrant minorities' leisure.

Leisure constraints models have been critiqued for largely overlooking how the socio-cultural context shapes immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits (Samdahl, 2005; Paraschak & Tirone, 2008; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Samdahl (2005) stated factors like lack of resources and discrimination “are much more than constraints to leisure; they are the consequences of a structural order in our society by which some people benefit at the

expense of others” (p. 343). Paraschak and Tirone (2008) accused traditional leisure constraints research of exploitation and manipulation of ethnic minorities because they normalize mainstream cultural practices as the “appropriate” behaviour for all. That is to say, leisure constraints research framed in light of discourses that suggest appropriate leisure pursuits for immigrant minorities could be seen as imposing the leisure meanings and practices of dominant groups and thus be seen as exploitative and manipulative (Paraschak & Tirone, 2008). In this view, the prevailing literature on and about immigrants’ leisure constraints could be interpreted as an exercise of domination, the imposition of the will of the majority on that of a minority, or the celebration and preservation of dominant leisure forms and practices. As such, much of the existing literature on immigrants’ leisure constraints constitutes an exercise of power that can act to reproduce the very inequalities that multicultural citizenship discourses seek to address. Indeed, the widespread assumption that constraints are repressive has deflected attention from analyzing the creative possibilities, freedoms, tensions, and contradictions in people’s actions (Foucault, 1983), which are arguably the defining features of leisure (Shaw, 2006).

Not satisfied with the predominant theorization of constraints in the literature on and about immigrants’ leisure pursuits, my research follows that by scholars such as Shogan (1999, 2002) and Giles (2004, 2005) who have questioned the emphasis of constraints as negative and inhibiting leisure and, using the work of Foucault, ask how these trends are connected to relations of power. Drawing on Foucault’s (1983, 1990) unique conceptualization of constraints, or power, as productive and necessary for action, through my research I have sought to understand how constraints exercised through dominant

multicultural citizenship discourses simultaneously act to both inhibit and enable immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits.

Yet, this also raises other important questions for my research: If constraints are exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses, how are they (re)produced and challenged? Particularly, how do immigrant minorities actively reproduce and challenge constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses? Following Foucault, power is ultimately located at the individual level; power is “anchored in the multiplicity of what he called ‘micropractices,’ the social practices that constitute everyday life in modern societies” (Fraser, 1989, p. 18), which has the general implication of a call for a “politics of everyday life.” Thus, it is by studying the impact of social constraints at the micro-level or, more specifically, it is through an in-depth investigation of non-European immigrants' everyday practices as leisure-oriented entrepreneurs in the Windsor-Essex region that we may better understand how constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses are (re)produced and challenged at the micro level. Below, I outline key tenets of Foucault's work and the ways in which they relate to my research.

Theoretical Framework

While Foucault did not engage specifically with leisure studies scholarship, his work on power and power relations presents a number of important considerations that challenge the theoretical assumptions made in prevailing leisure constraints research. His theoretical contributions thus served as the theoretical framework for my dissertation. In this section, I outline how from a Foucauldian lens constraints exercised through dominant discourses imply the ever-present possibility for action. A Foucauldian approach to constraints allows researchers to explore how discourses—understood here as written, spoken, nonverbal, and

visual communication strategies that, in expressing a knowledge claim about a specific subject, mediate or organize an individual's interactions with the social world (Foucault, 1980)— act as constraints that simultaneously inhibit and enable an individuals' self-formation as objects and subjects of power relations (Miller & Rose, 2008). Given this notion of how humans construct reality, Foucauldian theory proposes that there are multiple realities, rather than a "single external reality," and that these multiple realities derive through the interaction of human abilities and historically situated systems of power/knowledge. Accordingly, a Foucauldian perspective offers a means to analyze the effects of constraints exercised through dominant multicultural citizenship discourses through the everyday practices of leisure-based immigrant entrepreneurs — what Foucault (1980) called the micro-dynamics of power.

Power as Constraints on Action

Given that power has been conceptualized and defined in a number of ways by different scholars, it is important to begin with its conceptualization within a Foucauldian approach. In contrast to the juridical account of power, which rests on the assumption that some individuals and groups of individuals are positioned outside of power relations, Foucault (1980) did not view power as a commodity that can be accumulated, possessed, and therefore redistributed. Power, according to Foucault (1990), is not inherent within “powerful” individuals and groups; rather, “power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (p. 93). In other words, power does not emanate from a central source but circulates throughout the entire social body. In this view, power circulates through the various and shifting positions that individuals occupy within a complex network of discourse, practices, and relationships that position some as powerful

and that justify and facilitate their authority in relations to others (Clegg, 1989). Therefore, individuals are never in a position that is exterior to relations of power.

Foucault (1980) argued that power is not just a negative force that functions to repress and dominate; instead, he suggested it is better understood as an effect: an action or strategy exercised by some to guide and shape others' conduct. This is because for Foucault (1980, 1995), power is fundamentally always productive of *something*. For example, in *Discipline and Punish* (1995) Foucault showed that punitive measures “are not simply ‘negative’ mechanisms that make it possible to repress, to prevent, to exclude, to eliminate; they are also linked to whole series of positive, productive and useful effects” (p. 24). Incarceration measures in modern society, for example, do not simply lock away people; they are also productive in that they discipline the general population to avoid “criminal” actions and behaviours. Incarceration measures act as constraints to people's actions because they

Reduce the desire that makes the crime attractive; increase the interest that makes the penalty be feared; reverse the relation of intensities, so that the representation of the penalty and its disadvantages is more lively than that of its crimes and its pleasures.

(Foucault, 1995, p. 106)

According to Foucault (1980), power is not a force that simply says no; rather, power is productive. It “traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse” (p. 119). Foucault did not say that power never functions repressively, nor did he suggest that the repressive function of power is unimportant or uninteresting. On the contrary, his point is simply that the repressive model is too narrow. For Foucault, power

is productive in that it acts as constraints on action, but in way that simultaneously always both inhibits and enables action (Fraser, 1989).

Constraints as Productive

Drawing on the work of Foucault (1983, 1990, 1995, 2008), there is no separation between the public and the private, as all the actions of individuals, including the private or personal are conditioned by configurations of power/knowledge. Rather than a model where the activities of governing and the exercise of power are ascribed to a state, a Foucauldian approach locates the apparatuses of the state as part of a larger network of institutions and practices that governs the lives of the population (Miller & Rose, 2008). From a Foucauldian perspective, governing is an ongoing process that is engaged in constructing and regulating the social, political, and economic fabric of society; state institutions and other elements in this network (e.g., researchers, educators, policy makers) are all engaged in the project of the biopolitical management of populations (Gane, 2012). Governing the conduct of others, in this sense, is therefore not a matter of a dominant force having direct control over the conduct of individuals; rather, it is a matter of constraining and thus producing the conditions within or out of which individuals are able to freely conduct themselves (Foucault, 2008). Correspondingly, for Foucauldian scholars questions such as “who has power?” or “where, or in what, does power reside?” are changed to what Foucault termed the “how” of power: “How do institutions, dominant groups, and individuals exercise power through the use of strategies, techniques, and procedures?” and “how do these strategies, techniques, and procedures give power its effect?”

In his later works, Foucault (1983, 2000, 2008) conceived of the exercise of power as a necessary precondition for the possibility of self-formation, for the possibility of

recognition. According to Foucault (2000, p. 286), “a person understands and constructs him/herself as a particular subject through “models that he [sic] finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group.” In other words, because a subject cannot be positioned outside of power relations, the self is understood as constituted by power relations, yet as capable of constituting oneself in and through her/his affirmation of and or resistance to a set of historically situated discourses. Indeed, Foucault (1990) rejected the assumption that exercises of power and practices of resistance are mutually exclusive: “Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (p. 95).

Moreover, Foucault (1983) maintained that the exercise of power is “always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action” (p. 220). Hence, a “minimal freedom” is possible — and only possible in a field defined precisely by the structuring work of power relations (Thompson, 2003). Correspondingly, the discursive constructions of multicultural citizenship produced by public policies not only transmits and reproduces power, but following Foucault (1990, p. 101), also “undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (p. 101), which thus implies that an individual’s self-transformation is inherently always a possibility.

A Foucauldian Approach to Immigrants’ Leisure Constraints

To summarize, Foucault’s understanding of power and power relations has far reaching implications for thinking about how constraints exercised through the operation of discourses do not only inhibit or limit particular types of actions; rather, constraints *produce*

social action. By emphasizing the productive dimensions of constraints, or power, Foucault's work draws our attention to the positive and productive aspect of constraints exercised through discourse, not least an individual's capacity to draw on constraints exercised through the operation of discourses to actively shape the world around them. After all, power, from a Foucauldian lens, is ultimately located at the individual level. Contrary to the repressive conception of leisure constraints in the prevailing literature, where constraints are viewed as an essentially negative, repressive and prohibitive force, Foucauldian theory suggests that because power is the product of force relations between free subjects, the exercise of power does not only inhibit, but in fact can enable individuals to engage in practices that have the potential to transgress relations of domination.

Foucault's work thus provides a rich lens through which to explore the role that constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses play, or alternatively, might play, in the enablement of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. Such an application of Foucault's work, I argue, not only offers a more optimistic account of leisure constraints, but also presents researchers and practitioners with important insights that can help broaden understandings of the productive effects of constraints exercise public policy discourse.

Methodology

My research was guided by the extended case method (ECM) approach. Developed in sociology by Burawoy (1991, 1998, 2009), researchers who employ the ECM approach explicitly privilege macro-sociological theory to thematize their participation in the worlds they study. In the ECM approach (Burawoy, 2009), theory acts as a cognitive map through which the researcher can locate micro-practices within a wider social context, and thereby

illuminate the micro-macro links. In this sense, theory in the ECM approach is akin to a road map for a driver, as theory is used by the researcher to devise the initial research questions, choose data collection methods, analyze the data, and report the research findings (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009). Burawoy (2009) suggested that by “dwelling in theory” — that is, by focusing on the broader social and political forces that shape everyday life, participant observation and other data collection methods can be used to “extract the general from the unique, to move from the ‘micro’ to the ‘macro,’ to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on preexisting theory” (p. 21).

The argument of “extending out” by dwelling in theory is at the basis of what Buroway (2009) called the reflexive model of science: “a model of science that embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge” (p. 20). According to Buroway (2009), the ECM approach “enjoins what positive science separates: participant and observer, knowledge and social situation, situation and its field of location, folk theory and academic theory” (p. 21). In the view of reflexive science intervention is not only an unavoidable part of social research but a virtue to be exploited. Indeed, Buroway (2009) called the ECM approach the “reflexive model of science” (p. 20) because, while it employs many of the data collection strategies of ethnographic studies, the ECM approach “embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge” (p. 21).

In the ECM approach knowledge production is premised upon the researchers’ participation in the world she/he studies; theory offers an initial avenue into the research site where it may be exemplified, modified, or challenged through the interaction and perspective of those being studied (Buroway, 1991, 2009). Hence, theory itself becomes an “intervention” into the world the researcher seeks to comprehend; a point of departure for studying the

everyday world of study participants as simultaneously shaped by and shaping an external field of forces (Burawoy, 2009). In the ECM approach, then, theory and research are inextricably connected: theory is used by the researcher to situate empirical observations, and empirical observations as a way to re-think the boundaries of the case already implicit in the narrative of theory (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009).

For qualitative methodologists (e.g., Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2002), strong preconceptions and delineations are not seen as a danger to validity, but rather a strength that enables new insights and deeper understandings to emerge. From this perspective, all reality is socially constructed and, therefore, the purpose of case studies is to present multiple interpretations of a contemporary phenomenon that can produce new insights and redraw generalizations. Subjectivity provides for greater contextual understanding of the case, which can bring to attention issues that are not well understood.

Many researchers who have used the ECM approach have drawn on Marxist theories, namely neo-Marxist theories of hegemony and globalization to explore the macro-micro links (e.g., Burawoy et al., 1991). Burawoy (1998) argued, however, that the neo-Marxist emphasis is not necessary: “we begin with our favorite theory but seek not confirmations but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory (p. 16). The researcher thus chooses among a range of macro-sociological theories that suggest in advance what kind of findings could emerge from empirical observations. In my own use of the ECM approach I have drawn on Foucauldian theory to expose and explore the intersections between constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses and leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship — observations that may contradict the predictions/expectations of the prevailing literature on and about immigrant minorities’ leisure constraints. Because the

ECM approach makes it possible to employ ethnographic data collection methods to explore the interconnection between the individual and the broader social context, the approach was useful to reveal how leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs in the Windsor-Essex region affirmed and resisted constraints imposed by multicultural citizenship discourses.

Sampling

Following Buroway (1998, 2009), insofar as meaning, attitudes, and even knowledge do not reside with individuals but are constituted in social situations, researchers should be sampling participants from a population of social situations and not a population of individuals. While most qualitative research does not have broad-ranging and representative sampling as a component of its research design (Stake, 1995), in the ECM approach, in-depth investigation of a single case provides a window into both the effects of broader social and political conditions as well as the constitution of macro-oriented social change through the actions of individuals (Burawoy, 1998). In the ECM approach, therefore, sampling is *purposeful* (Burawoy, 1998); that is, it includes the selection of participants from which the researcher can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the study (Patton, 2002).

In deciding whom to recruit and study, I attempted to select an “illustrative sample” in accordance with my research questions. Choosing an illustrative sample for my project meant that I purposefully recruited non-European immigrant residents of the Windsor-Essex region who at the time of this study privately operated a leisure-oriented business or organization. In an attempt to capture a diverse array of leisure-oriented businesses and organizations operated by non-European immigrants, I decisively communicated, in

recruitment posters and initial meetings, a broad definition of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs (immigrants to Canada who established and or operated business with a focus on leisure engagement such as sports, dining establishments, arts, dance, hobbies, and culture).

In terms of gaining access to prospective participants, I started by contacting organizations in the Windsor –Essex region that serve small business owners (e.g., the Windsor-Essex Small Business Centre, Workforce Windsor-Essex) and new Canadians (e.g., Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County, the New Canadian Centre of Excellence). I sent emails to 12 organizations and agencies in early February 2012, and in some cases I sent a follow-up email again in March 2012. I made initial contacts with staff members at several immigrant-serving agencies, small business associations, and community organizations in the Windsor-Essex region, at which time I informed them about the study, and asked them to post the flyer and forward the recruitment poster to individuals who they perceived met the participation criteria. Interested individuals contacted me by email and provided their phone numbers. I telephoned prospective participants, at which time details of the study were provided, ethical issues and participant criterion explained, and, the extent of the participant's potential involvement in the study if s/he wished to participate discussed. Following each conversation, I informed the prospective participant that I would email him/her a letter of information and the consent form, and asked him/her to email or phone me if should he/she wish to participate in the study. In total, six prospective participants contacted through the use of a recruitment poster between February 5th and May 31st 2012; all six telephoned me to tell me they agreed to participate and to arrange for an initial meeting time. Prior to participating in the research, all participants were assured of

confidentiality and anonymity. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any time during and after the study.

After my initial meetings with study participants, I was able to employ “snowballing” – using initial contacts to gain further contacts, based upon mutual trustworthy recommendations (Secor, 2010; Valentine, 1997). This strategy produced, initially, another five contacts. Further use of the snowball sampling strategy produced another four contacts. Prospective participants were initially contacted by email with information about the study and a note indicating that a study participant forwarded their name and contact information to the researcher. Interested individuals telephoned me, at which time I followed the same protocol (as described above) with the prospective participants.

Kuzel (1999) encouraged researchers to consider both appropriateness and adequacy in choosing a sampling strategy for one’s project – considering if the sample is appropriate for their research purpose, subject of interest, and style of inquiry, and adequate in terms of what information has already been gained and how the researcher’s theories and interpretations are developing. Initially, I had sought to recruit 10 participants; in total, there were 12 participants. The sample was by no means homogenous; differences amongst the participants are evident in relation to country of origin, sex, length of time in Canada, and the type of business or organization that they operated at the time of this study. My sample included non-European immigrants who at the time of this study were involved in the establishment and/ or operation of: martial arts studios (four participants); fitness and dance studios (three participants), “Mexican” dining establishments (three participants), a basketball organization (one participant); and, an aesthetics salon (one participant). To

protect the identity of the research participants and the businesses they operate, I have assigned pseudonyms to all participants.

Characteristics of Sample

Participant # 1: Phillip, founder and co-operator of a martial arts studio in Windsor, Ontario. Phillip immigrated to Windsor from Iran in 2000 to study engineering at the University of Windsor. Following the completion of his degree, he returned to Iran in 2005. In 2006 he and his wife were accepted as permanent residents to Canada and returned to settle in the City of Windsor. In 2010, after the encouragement and support of his ethnic community, Phillip established a “dojo” in a neighbourhood with a high concentration of members from his community. Phillip is an architect by day (full-time), and Karate instructor and operator of the dojo in the evenings (four evenings a week) and weekends. With the help of the community, Philip is able to focus on his Karate teachings, while others assume the financial responsibility of the dojo. Members of his community provide the financial support for the dojo; fees for students are determined based on operating costs, individual needs (i.e., newcomer family costs are subsidized).

Participant # 2: Leopold, founder and co-operator of a martial arts studio in Windsor, Ontario. Leopold is a North America Karate Champion, and an International Karate and Kickboxing Hall of Fame Inductee, with 40 years’ experience as a martial arts instructor and coach. Born in Lebanon, Leopold arrived to Canada in 1964 at the age of 8, and learned about entrepreneurship through his father and other family members. Leopold established his martial arts business in 1984 in Windsor, Ontario. He, along with a team of coaches (most of whom are themselves exiting and current students of Leopold’s), provides training, guidance, and coaching in a variety of martial arts disciplines (e.g., karate,

kickboxing, mixed martial arts, judo) to a variety of groups (youth; adults; law enforcement students). The business site, or “dojo” is most commonly referred to, is located in the West side of the city, and occupies a large warehouse style facility.

Participant # 3: Vladimir, founder and co-operator of a Tai-Chi Academy in Windsor. Vladimir, a Buddhist monk, immigrated to Canada in 2007 from Korea. At the time of the study, Vladimir operated a Tai-Chi Academy in a space arranged and managed largely by some of his most ardent students. Vladimir is responsible for the services offered by his business, including Tai-Chi instruction, traditional Chinese medicine, and meditation; however, the operations of the business are mostly left to the students. Students largely volunteer to handle the development and distributions of promotional materials, financial matters, and otherwise day-to day operations of the business. The business is located in the second floor of the city market.

Participant # 4: Mike, founder and co-operator of martial arts studio in Lasalle, Ontario. In 2002, Mike, along with his wife and two children, immigrated to Lasalle, Ontario. At the time of the study, Mike operated a Brazilian Jiu Jitsu and Capoeira studio on a part-time basis, which he established in 2012. He immigrated to Lasalle, Ontario, because a job opportunity was presented to him and he had family in the region (Mike’s brother). Mike is employed full-time as a millwright and runs the studio on a part-time basis. Mike teaches all the classes offered, which take place in community centres or other rented spaces throughout the Windsor-Essex region.

Participant # 5: Charlie, owner and co-operator of dance/fitness studio in Tecumseh, Ontario. Charlie established a dance/fitness studio in 2010, six years following his arrival to Canada from the Philippines. The business provides dance inspired fitness

classes (e.g., Zumba) and on-on-one dance coaching and fitness training. Charlie and a team of instructors lead classes, which are offered in the mornings and evenings. In addition, Charlie provides one-on-one and coaching and fitness training in the afternoon hours.

Participant # 6: Rosa, founder and co-operator of dance/fitness studio in Windsor. At the time of the study, Rosa operated a Polynesian-inspired dance/fitness studio in Windsor, Ontario. The studio was strategically based in the basement studio of a Chiropractic clinic. The studio offers classes that combine Polynesian culture and Pilates. Rosa settled in Windsor in 2006 after spending the first six years residing in Toronto. Rosa draws on her Polynesian cultural heritage to offer unique and “chill” dance and fitness classes to her students. Rosa also contracts other instructors, who provide classes such as hula-hoop dancing.

Participant # 7: Ivanka, founder (2007) and sole operator of dance studio in Amherstburg, Ontario. Ivanka is an established and renowned dancer in the field of Indian Classical dance from India. She got married in India, and settled in the Windsor-Essex region in 2006 after her husband was offered a job. She lives in Amherstburg where she runs a Classical Indian Dance Academy out of her home (basement studio). Ivanka is the Artistic Director of the dance studio she established in 2007, and is actively involved in the training of a new generation of dancers. She also holds an annual show with the students and with the invited artists from overseas. Ivanka is funded by the Arts Council of Ontario and supported by the local South Asian community.

Participant # 8: Roberto, co-founder and Chef of Mexican dining establishment in Windsor, Ontario. Roberto arrived to Windsor in 2001 from Mexico and worked at several high-end restaurants in the Windsor-Essex region before he, together with his wife

Cynthia (introduced below), established a Mexican inspired restaurant in 2011. Roberto credits the restaurant to his grandmother, who taught him her love of cooking along with the importance of eating healthy by choosing the freshest ingredients and not using cans or preservatives.

Participant # 9: Cynthia, co-founder and Manager of Mexican dining establishment in Windsor, Ontario. Cynthia arrived to Windsor in 1988 from El Salvador. In 2002 she met Roberto, whom she married in 2004. Together, they opened a Mexican restaurant in 2011. Cynthia manages the restaurant, including staff, marketing, and financials.

Participant # 10: Fred, founder and co-operator of Mexican dining establishment in Kingsville, Ontario. Fred established the business inspired by his Latin roots. Fred immigrated to Canada from Cuba in 1998, but his parents originated from Mexico. In 2005, with the support of his family and friends, Fred established a restaurant inspired by his Mexican heritage. Fred manages the restaurant, and he has a team of staff to oversee the day-to-day operations.

Participant # 11: Kobe, co-founder and co-operator of basketball organization in Windsor, Ontario. Kobe is to co-founder of a local Filipino basketball organization established in 1989, originally to bring together the local Filipino community. Kobe has also spearheaded the creation of a North American Filipino basketball tournament. Kobe is a full-time social worker; he runs the organization in the evenings and especially on weekends. Saturdays are devoted to coaching, league play, and youth development; Sundays are dedicated to tournaments and executive committee meetings (more like social gatherings!).

Participant # 12: Ludmila, co-founder and co-operator of aesthetics salon in Kingsville, Ontario. Ludmila arrived to Canada in 1997 from Vietnam. She settled in

Kingsville to join her sister and her husband, who immigrated to the Windsor-Essex region in 1991. Unable to find employment in the waged-labour market (as a refugee entrant to Canada, and therefore not official citizens, individuals are not permitted to obtain work), Ludmila helped out at the nail salon where her sister was employed as a technician. In 2002, Ludmila was granted formal citizenship rights and with it formal employment as a technician at a nail salon. In 2010, after having saved for over a decade, Ludmila, her sister, and two other women who also originated from Vietnam, established a nail salon in Kingsville. The salon is open 7 days a week, from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. The four women share in the operations of the business and provide services to clients through a rotation of shifts.

Methods

Generating knowledge and understanding in the ECM approach is a reflexive, ongoing process in which the participant and observer engage in dialogue to construct and reformulate meaning and assumptions (Burawoy, 1998). The ECM approach does not suggest a plan of action for data collection and data analysis, but rather a conceptual frame that can guide a researcher's choice of questions and point to a mix of data sources appropriate to the questions posed (Burawoy, 1998). Drawing on Foucault's notion of constraints, or power, as productive, I conducted semi-structured interviews and employed participant observation to expose and explore how multicultural citizenship discourses shape, and are shaped by, the everyday business practices of 12 leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs in the Windsor-Essex region. Using several methods and sources of information, such as participant observations and interviews, increases the possibility of understanding the complexities of immigrants' lives in order to draw out the influence that Canadian social norms and concepts have on their practices in Canada (Pratt, 2007). The

combination of multiple methods is best understood then, as a strategy that adds breadth, complexity, richness and depth to an inquiry (Flick, 2002).

Prior to entering my fieldwork, and employing critical discourse analysis, I conducted a critical review of the prevailing leisure studies literature to illustrate the ways in which constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses shape, and in this sense both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits. As the next section will demonstrate, the insights generated provided a framework for the development of the interview guide; they guided also the participant observation phase by providing a reason to explore certain "objects of knowledge" that emerged. In what follows, I describe the methods used for my research, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, and how I used these methods to "extend out" from the local to analyze the macro-micro link.

Positionality

The influence of the interviewer on the production of the interview narrative cannot be ignored (Fontana & Frey, 2005). By the same token, I was anything but a non-intervening observer. The data I gathered were very much contingent on my own personal experiences as an immigrant to Canada and as a leisure-oriented non-European immigrant in Windsor-Essex, and by my privileged social position as a white, male, graduate student. Every one of these characteristics shaped my entry and performance in social situations and how participants spoke to me about their respective businesses, about their experiences as an immigrant to Canada, and about multiculturalism, among other things. In the course of my research, this meant that the people I talked to sometimes treated me as a peer and source of insight into their business activities.

My experiences were advantageous to the extent that they provided me with deeper understanding into issues that those under study experience. Moreover, as a leisure-based immigrant entrepreneur from the region, participants considered me not only as a researcher, but also as advocate who is working to have entrepreneurs' work recognized as important. Finally, because government agencies and immigrant serving agencies in the Windsor-Essex region are actively involved in researching and promoting immigrant entrepreneurship, the site offered opportunities to participate in and learn from existing projects and initiatives; such opportunities helped me to comprehend the wider context in which initiatives for promoting immigrant entrepreneurship take shape. Indeed, I entered the field with one set of questions and ended with some different ones. Recruiting Spanish-speaking participants was beneficial in that it allowed me to use my Spanish language fluency to engage in and comprehend everyday conversations and business transactions conducted in Spanish. Moreover, it made it possible to offer Spanish-speaking participants the choice to use their language of preference (Spanish or English) during the interviews. Correspondingly, anyone subsequently wishing to replicate my study would come up with different observations. As Buroway (2009) argued, "history is not a laboratory experiment that can be replicated again and again under the same conditions" (p. 34). There is then something inextricably unique about my research.

Semi-structured Interviews

Following the ECM approach, the interview process should be dynamic in the sense that it connects the discourses and experiences of individuals to the broader sociopolitical context that inform their actions and experiences (Burawoy, 1998). I began my data collection with each participant with an informal meeting where I learned, *inter alia*, about

the purpose of the participant's business or organization, and his/her motivations and aspirations for establishing the business or organization. To guide these meetings and discussing therein, I employed the semi-structured interview process. The meetings were completed at a time and place convenient to the participant (see Table 1, fieldwork map). Before the start of the meeting, I reviewed confidentiality concerns with the participants and had each individual sign a consent form regarding his/her voluntary involvement in the study. Furthermore, it is important to note that during the course of the initial meeting, I spoke of my background and of my interest in their business practices (i.e., the links between business formation and multiculturalism discourses).

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection tool where the researcher asks open-ended questions to participants and records their responses (Bowling, 2002; Kirby, Greaves, & Reid, 2006). In this way, a semi-structured interview is flexible and allows the participant to comment on what s/he feels is relevant, which allows for conversational flow between the researcher and the participant (Bowling, 2002). This means that although a list of questions was developed to use as a guide (see Appendix B), generating knowledge and understanding is a collaborative, ongoing process in which the interviewer and the interviewee interactively negotiate to construct and reformulate meaning (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Thus, although I approached the interviews with a pre-defined agenda, I also attempted to understand the ways that respondents organized, interpreted, and constructed their social worlds (Bercovitz, 1996; Kirby et al., 2006). I utilized semi-structured interviews because they gave me the opportunity to probe for clarity and ambiguities, I could ask complex questions, they cultivated more information and greater depth, and I could clarify inconsistencies and misinterpretations throughout the process

(Bowling, 2002; Kirby et al., 2006). These meetings proved quite important for my study, as they allowed for an understanding, for example, of the ways in which study participants conceptualized their practices as "entrepreneurs." Additionally, they allowed for an initial exploration of how study participants identified and gave meaning to their work as leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs. I used an interview guide to cover topics and issues related to participants' propensity for leisure-oriented entrepreneurship, mainly to expose and explore the various ways in which study participants' mobilized multicultural citizenship discourses in and through their everyday business practices.

A researcher employing a semi-structured interview uses an interview guide to ensure that certain information is elicited from all respondents (Bowling, 2002; Kirby et al., 2006). While a number of predetermined questions are asked of all interviewees, the interviewer has sufficient flexibility to digress when approaching the "world from the subject's perspective" (Bercovitz, 1996, p. 377). In other words, the interviewer is free to probe and clarify information in greater depth. This enables the interviewer and the interviewee to create and participate in conversation. Although I approached the interview with a pre-defined agenda, I also attempted to understand the ways that respondents organized, interpreted, and constructed their social worlds (Bercovitz, 1996; Kirby et al., 2006). The initial meeting was thus an encounter that provided insights into the meanings that study participants attributed to their lives and work, the lives of others, and the social processes in which they are imbued. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview format was beneficial in that it facilitated data analysis through quick location, organization, and comparability of responses across respondents (Bercovitz, 1996).

I conducted the interviews in English and, in several cases, Spanish. Field notes and interviews in Spanish were initially recorded in Spanish and later translated into English for analysis. The transcribed and translated text was read over several times and verified with the participants to ensure that the translation captured the meaning of the dialogue.

Table 1, Fieldwork Map

Participant	Initial meeting date, time, and location	Participant observation period and location(s)
Leopold	March 16, 2012, 10:00 a.m., office within Leopold's place of business (dojo)	March 17 – June 15, 2012. To best understand his business, Leopold urged me to immerse myself in the practice of martial arts through observation of his teachings to a variety of groups (i.e., kids, adults, students of law enforcement). During the course of three consecutive weeks, I spend three full days (7 am – 8 pm) at Leopold's business site – a large gymnasium, or "dojo," with equipment for the training and development of various martial disciplines. Following the three weeks, I continued to visit the dojo three times a week for morning and evening kickboxing and mixed martial arts classes.
Charlie	February 28, 2012, 2:00 p.m., coffee shop.	March 1 – June 30, 2012. The participant observation was conducted at Charlie's business site – a large warehouse-style fitness and dance studio complete with a stage and large booming speakers. Charlie invited me to participate in Zumba and other dance classes. Classes took place in the mornings and evenings; during the days, Charlie provided one-one one coaching to clients, and also renovated the building. He encouraged me to join him for the whole day, and asked me to help out with the renovations and his work on a business plan. For two consecutive weeks in March, I spent five full days at the Studio. Following the two weeks, I continued to meet with Charlie sporadically at a nearby Tim Horton's (he loved coffee and I was asked to help with his business plan).
Kobe	March 28, 2012, 8:00 p.m., coffee shop.	March 31 – June 30, 2012. In April, May, and June 2012, I joined Kobe on six different weekends at the gymnasium (leased from the City of Windsor) where he runs a basketball organization. A large indoor basketball court, which at times is divided

		into two courts, is used from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m. most Saturdays and Sundays year round by the organization. I also attended meetings of the executive committee at Kobe's house and other homes of committee members. I attended one tournament (held in Windsor), a birthday party, and several community events.
Roberto	April 9, 2012, 3:00 p.m., restaurant dining room	April 16 – May 19, 2012. As the Chef of the restaurant, Roberto follows a weekly schedule: Monday is shopping day; Tuesday is the creation of a weekly recipe; Wednesday through Saturday is dedicated full-time to cooking at the restaurant; Sunday is family day – restaurant is closed. I spent a full week (Sunday excepted) with Roberto, including trips around the county to shop for ingredients and cooking equipment, time in the kitchen with Roberto learning how to prepare authentic Mexican dishes, and helping in the kitchen during busy times of the day (mostly to move dishes around). I also participated in the setup and activities of the community event he and Cynthia organized to celebrate the “Cinco de Mayo” holiday (Mexican independence).
Cynthia	April 9, 2012, 4:00 p.m., restaurant dining room	April 16 – May 19, 2012. As new restaurateur in the community, Cynthia's work at the time of this study was focused on the promotion of the restaurant and the hiring and training of new staff. I spent four weekdays with Cynthia, mostly at the restaurant where she had an office. We also travelled to city Hall to obtain a liquor license. Upon learning that I had a “smart serve” certificate to serve alcohol (In Ontario there is a requirement that anyone selling alcohol must possess this certificate), Cynthia asked if I would help behind the bar (they had yet to hire a bartender). I bartended/ participated in the evening dining service for two weekends (Friday, Saturday). I also bartended for the “Cinco de Mayo” celebration, again at the restaurant.
Vladimir	May 9, 2012, 1:00 p.m., office within Vladimir's place of business	May 12 – June 30, 2012. At the time of the study, Vladimir had a limited comprehension of the English language. Vladimir's wife, who also served as his official translator, invited me to join them in observing and participating in their day-to-day activities. In fact, Vladimir later informed me he was just as interested in learning about me as I was in learning about him. Over the course of two

		months, I spent a minimum of two mornings a week with Vladimir. Most of the time was spent at the primary business site; however, I also accompanied and helped with Tai Chi demonstrations at two area high schools.
Rosa	April 29, 2012, office within Rosa's place of business (studio)	May 1 – June 30, 2012. Rosa invited me to partake in classes, observe her conduct classes, and help her with community outreach events. During the month of May, I participated in classes and attended events hosted by Rosa's business. In total, I spend 54 hours with Rosa. I assisted with promotion of events and spent time with her before and after classes to discuss the business and promotional strategies. I also assisted and participated in two charitable events put on by Rosa.
Phillip	March 5, 2012, 4:00 p.m., office within Phillip's place of business (dojo)	March 7 – April 8, 2012. Phillip ran his Karate school three evenings a week (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday) and Saturday mornings. Evenings in between (Tuesday and Thursday), Phillip focused on his own practice of Karate, on new teaching for his students, and business administration. Phillip invited me to join him on both evenings when he taught and also those evenings he dedicated to his own practice and the running of the dojo. In total I spent 54 hours with Phillip.
Mike	May 26, 2012, 7:00 pm., coffee shop	May 29 – July 16, 2012. At the time of the study, Mike operated classes and workshops out of community and privately operated facilities in the Windsor-Essex region. He operated his business out of his home. I attended and participated in five different workshops, held at three different locations within the Windsor-Essex region. I also met with Mike at his home, where we discussed his business, among other things, and attended community demonstrations and trade show events.
Ivanka	April 26 th , 2012, 2:00 p.m., Coffee shop	May 5 – May 26, 2012. At the time of the study, Ivanka provided coaching and training in Classical Indian Dance out of a studio constructed in the basement of her home. Upon the invitation from Ivanka, I attend a two-day (May 5 & 6, 2012) dance festival put on by her organization, which took place in the theater of a LaSalle high school and the Windsor Art Gallery. Following the festival, I observed Ivanka provide coaching and training to her students in the basement of her home during four separate evenings, and I also met with Ivanka

		on three other occasions.
Fred	June 12 th , 2:00 p.m. restaurant dining room	June 14 – July 6, 2012. Following the initial meeting, Fred invited me to dinner and to observe his day-to-day activities. I spent a total of 34 hours with Fred over the course of three weeks; most of this time was spent following Fred around the restaurant as he greeted guests, gave instructions to the kitchen and dining room staff, and generally administered the day-to-day operations of the business.
Ludmila	June 4 th , coffee shop	June 6 – June 15, 2015. The participant observation was conducted over a period of two weeks in accordance with Ludmila's work schedule. She invited me to observe as she performed services to clients (she asked for their permission beforehand), taught be the basics of nail care, and treated me to nail services. In total, I spent approximately 42 hours at the salon.

Participant Observation

Following the initial meeting, participants invited me to observe and partake in their day-to-day business activities (see table 1). Schensul and Lecompte (1999) defined participant observation as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (p. 91). The method enabled me to check discourses or terms that participants used or described in the interviews, observe events that participants may otherwise be unable or unwilling to share, observe situations and spaces participants described in interviews, and observe or participate in unscheduled events, thereby allowing for a rich description and interpretation of the data. Participant observation is characterized by such actions as having an open mind, nonjudgmental attitude, being interested in learning about others, being aware of the propensity for culture shock and for making mistakes (ref); factors that can be employed to the researcher's advantage by being a careful observe and a good listener, and being open to

the unexpected of what is learned (Dewalt & Dewalt, 1998). Bernard (1994) suggested participant observation is the process of establishing rapport within a community and learning to act in such a way as to blend into the community so that it's members will act naturally, then removing oneself from the setting to immerse oneself in the data and interpret and analyze the data. In keeping with the ECM approach (Buroway, 1998), I employed participant observation to expose and explore the links between multicultural citizenship discourses and participants' everyday business activities.

Fieldwork involves "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002, p. vii). Being ultimately subject to the participants' availability and work schedule, I organized my schedule as best as I could to accommodate and spend a minimum of 30 hours with each participant. Fine (2003) suggested that ethnographic work is most effective when one observes the participant in settings that enable her/him to "explore the organized routines of behavior" (p. 41). Initially, I had planned to spend a week, uninterrupted, with each participant; however, participants' schedules varied greatly (e.g., some of the participants worked full-time in addition to running their businesses and some businesses only operated during weekends) and many suggested a number of future events (e.g., tournaments, festivals) that would be worthwhile for me to attend and participate in. Accordingly, the time spent observing each participant varied greatly; in some cases, I spent an uninterrupted week with the participant (e.g., in the restaurants and aesthetic salon). In other cases, my observations took place in accordance with the participants' preferences and work schedules, which meant in some instances that the participant observation phase continued on and off for well over a month. As a result, there were many days in which I

was a participant observer in more than one location. My field notes indicate a number of occasions in which I arranged blocks of time during the day and week to observe the business activities of multiple participants. For example, there were days where my mornings would include a 90-minute martial arts “fitness” class followed by a 90-minute tai chi class and meditation; the afternoons were divided between pilates and martial-arts classes; and, the evening was devoted to welcoming guests to a newly established Mexican eating establishment.

Generating knowledge and understanding in the ECM approach is a reflexive, ongoing process in which the participant and observer engage in dialogue to construct and reformulate meaning and assumptions (Burawoy, 1998). By taking part in the participants’ daily activities and interactions, it was possible to understand the explicit and tacit aspects of their business activities and to draw out the influences that multicultural citizenship discourses had on these observed practices. Throughout the participant observation phase I made field notes and notes from informal conversations that I later analyzed in conjunction with the interview transcripts. As a participant observer, I looked for ways in which study participants used their business activities to establish and or sustain diverse cultural traditions, practices, and networks. I also considered ways in which study participants used their business activities to create inclusive spaces for all members of the Windsor-Essex community to participate in a wide array of leisure traditions and practices.

Over the course of my fieldwork I was introduced to diverse cultural traditions and I participated in many leisure forms and practices; among them: Zumba, Capoeira, Polynesian, and Classical Indian dance; Isshinryu and Shushinkan Karate; and, Chen style Tai-chi. I learned how to cook some fantastic Mexican dishes. I was treated to manicures and

pedicures. I was invited to attend and or participate in birthday parties, cultural festivals, and promotional events. One of the participants invited me to his daughter's 16th birthday party; another participant invited me to a "family bbq." Though my project was not designed to include the "individuals" who visited and actively participated in producing the products and or services offered by the businesses of study participants, the interactions between study participants and patrons of their respective business or organization proved to be quite instructive towards understanding the meanings study participants provided about their work. The rich data collected through PO revealed the importance of personal memories, stories and experiences of migration, and the links to the legal and normative framework of multicultural citizenship in Canada.

According to Stodolska and Walker (2007), many members of minority groups and ethnic organizations are becoming resentful of scholars employing their help in the research process only not to be ever seen again after the data collection has been completed. Walker and Stodolska suggested that researchers should ascribe to the highest ethical standards in the research process and, if possible, that the participants see some tangible benefits of their co-operation. I feel I did this by offering study participants my assistance, if they so wished, with the day-to-day operations of their respective businesses. At the request of several participants, I assisted with business development and promotion. For example, I helped some of the participants organize promotional events (e.g., community demonstrations). Some participant asked me if I could connect them with local organizations that support local businesses, which I did. Others asked for help in developing a business plan, and one participant asked for my help in the planning of an international basketball tournament being

hosted in the Windsor-Essex region in 2014. I was invited as a guest to observe and at times participate in planning meetings.

Over the course of my fieldwork I not only gathered important insights pertaining to the research question; through my participation in the day-to-day business activities of study participants I was also exposed to the strengths of diversity: I learned a great deal about the rituals of a Buddhist monk who unwearyingly took his time to show the benefits of tai-chi and meditation to each and every one of the individuals who expressed interest; I was amazed by the strong community values driving the activities of Filipino and Mexican participants; I witnessed the beauty of classical Indian dance, not only through my own eyes, but also through the vivid description of the ritual provided by the choreographer, who also happened to be a study participant.

Data Analysis

Given the centrality of discourse and power to this study, I chose critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the principal mode of analysis. In its most basic form, CDA is a method used by researchers to uncover the ways in which individual experience and action is constructed, by whom, and for what purposes (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). MacDonald (2003) explained, “While discourse analysis details the intricacies of communicative practices for their own sake, the methodology that has become known as ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA) explores what these reveal about power relations” (p. 3). In this view, society and culture are shaped by discourse and at the same time constitute discourse; every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations (Wodak, 2002). Researchers with political aims most often use CDA to expose and examine the means by which discourse affects relations of power, dominance, and inequality

between social groups (Van Dijk, 2001). Foucauldian scholars employ CDA to explore how historically and culturally located discourse affects subject positions, and how individuals, as subjects in discourse also simultaneously shape the discourse that constitutes social reality (Gubrium & Holstein, 2011). In other words, how discourses, as “a form of social practice,” shape and are shaped by the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) that frame them (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). In this study, I used CDA to analyze the texts generated from field notes and interview transcripts.

To do so in a systematic fashion, I drew on Wodak’s (2002) discourse-historic approach. Following Wodak (2002), I used my review of the literature presented earlier and Foucault’s work on constraints to develop a sense of the social-historical context surrounding my research problem and to produce the research questions and other aspects for consideration in this study. Interviews were transcribed and then sent to the interviewees for verification. Over the course of the fieldwork phase, I continually scanned and re-read all transcribed texts, situated them within the socio-historical context, and bridged them with my theoretical framework in order to obtain an overall impression of the data and to understand the possible implications of repeated discourses. Following the completion of the data collection phase, the data were then analyzed to provide an overall interpretation of the findings and to address the original research questions and the issue under investigation.

Dissertation Format

Written in the publishable paper format, this dissertation is comprised of three stand-alone papers: paper one illustrates how constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses simultaneously inhibit and enable immigrants’ leisure pursuits; paper two demonstrates how non-European immigrants use leisure-based entrepreneurship to

affirm and resist constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses; finally, paper three demonstrates how non-European immigrants use leisure-based entrepreneurship to expand their possibilities for recognition and equal rights in the social, cultural, and political spheres of Canadian society. Footnotes for all papers are located at the end of the dissertation.

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Chapter 2:

Canadian Multicultural Citizenship: Constraints to Immigrants' Leisure Pursuits

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Abstract

The proliferation of empirical research on immigrants' leisure constraints as restrictive and negative, which is implicitly based on discourses that present particular leisure forms and practices as positive and desirable (Shaw, 1994), has provided scholars with a limited understanding of constraints. In contrast, Foucault's (1995) understanding of constraints as necessary for any social practice suggests that power acts as constraints on action in a way that is never wholly inhibiting; thus constraints must be seen as both inhibiting *and enabling* individuals' actions. Indeed, from a Foucauldian perspective, constraints make many leisure actions and experiences possible (Shogan, 2002). This paper offers a critical Foucauldian review of constraints research to demonstrate how multicultural citizenship discourses in Canada both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits.

The prevailing leisure constraints literature suggests factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, language, and discrimination function to prevent, limit, or exclude immigrants' leisure participation and preferences (Stodolska & Yi-Kook, 2005). In other words, constraints are presented in the literature as wholly restrictive and negative. Such a conceptualization, which is implicitly based on discourses that present particular leisure forms and practices as positive and desirable (Shaw, 1994), provides us with a limited understanding of how constraints emerge and function to shape immigrants' leisure pursuits. In contrast, Foucault's (1995) understanding of constraints as productive suggests that constraints are never wholly inhibiting, and should instead be considered to simultaneously both inhibit *and enable* individuals' actions. Thus, rather than being conceived as only restrictions or limitations, from a Foucauldian perspective, constraints also make many leisure actions and experiences possible (Shogan, 2002).

My aim in this paper is to demonstrate the relevance and application of Foucault's work on power or constraints as productive through a critical review of existing literature pertaining to immigrants' leisure pursuits - not to provide an exhaustive account of multicultural citizenship discourses. Employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Wodak, 2002), I demonstrate that multicultural citizenship discourses act as constraints to immigrants' leisure pursuits, but in a way that simultaneously inhibit and enable a variety of actions, activities, and experiences. Following Wodak (2002) "critical" could be understood as embedding the data in a social context, taking an explicitly political stance, and having a focus on self-reflection as a scholar. What follows then is a first step aimed at generating a broader analysis of how constraints exercised through public policies both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits.

This paper is organized into three sections. The first section describes how a Foucauldian approach diverges from the assumptions made in prevailing leisure constraints research.

Specifically, I draw on Foucault's (1980, 1995, 2008) work to suggest that since power is productive, conceptualized as "constraints on action" (Shogan, 1999, p. 4), and is exercised through discourse, constraints must be seen to be exercised through discourse and as productive. The second section briefly traces the history of Canadian immigration policy to outline the ways in which contemporary multiculturalism policies have been organized, shaped, and positioned to produce multicultural citizenship discourses. Finally, the third section draws on the existing literature -specifically empirical research pertaining to the leisure pursuits of immigrants to Canada since the passing of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 (Canada, 1988), and contemporary practical examples to illustrate how constraints produced by multicultural citizenship discourses simultaneously act to both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits.

A Foucauldian Approach to Leisure Constraints

While Foucault did not engage specifically with leisure studies scholarship, his work on power and power relations presents a number of important considerations that challenge the theoretical assumptions made in prevailing leisure constraints research. Foucault (1980) argued that power is not a force that functions to repress and dominate; instead, he suggested it is better understood as an effect: an action or strategy exercised by some to guide and shape others' conduct. Hence, for Foucault power is fundamentally always productive of *something*. For example, in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* Foucault (1995) traced how, during the 17th and 18th century, a shift in punitive measures—from violent spectacles involving torture and public executions to incarceration—marked the beginnings of a modern form of power comprised of procedures, practices, and expert inquiries that focused on the control and discipline of individual bodies. Foucault (1995) showed that punitive measures "are not simply

‘negative’ mechanisms that make it possible to repress, to prevent, to exclude, to eliminate; they are also linked to whole series of positive, productive and useful effects” (p. 24).

Foucauldian theory also recognizes that there exists a mutual interrelationship between constraints and discourse. Since for Foucault power is conceptualized as constraints on action (Fraser, 1989), and power is exercised through discourse, constraints must therefore be seen to be exercised through the operation of discourses. In other words, discourses produce the parameters within which some practices become more acceptable than others. According to Foucault (1980), discourses should be considered as practices that shape perceptions of reality; practices that, because they form the “rules of right, the mechanisms of power, the effects of truth” (p. 94), regulate individuals’ conduct.

Understanding power as constraints on action that simultaneously enables and inhibits action allows researchers to explore, in more detail, the ways in which constraints shape individuals’ leisure activities. Shogan (2002) engaged Foucault’s theoretical propositions to show that constraints are necessary for leisure activities and experiences to occur: rules of games frame possibilities for participants’ actions; spatial and temporal constraints on movements enable participants’ skill acquisition; and, constraints exercised through discourses of identity (e.g., gender, ethnicity, class) produce expectations for who will engage in particular leisure activities and experiences. By way of example, the rules of golf produce particular actions by restricting an individual from throwing the ball towards the hole; yet these rules simultaneously also enable an individual to test his or her skills of hitting the ball with a golf club (Shogan, 2002). Likewise, the “golf course,” with its space and time constraints, can be understood as a “functional site” (Foucault, 1995, p. 144) that enables an individual to acquire the skills of the game of golf. And, like spatial and temporal constraints, constraints exercised through discourses

that produce golf as a masculine game enable males to develop the skills of golf from an early age.

Building on Shogan's (2002) work, Kleiber and McGuire (2008) posited that constraints play an important role in enriching older adults' leisure through the aging process. Kleiber and McGuire argued that constraints often cause adjustments that can bring benefits to an older adult that would not otherwise have been foreseen, beyond simply the learning of resilience and perseverance. They suggested constraints to older adults' leisure might be beneficial not only as parameters that define engagement in activities, but also as personal growth and development tools: "constraints that restrict choices may result in focusing on depth, rather than breadth, of experience in activities" (p. 355). In short, Kleiber and McGuire found that leisure pursuits and experiences are defined not by the absence of constraints, but - on the contrary, by their presence; thus, constraints are never wholly negative, and "simply removing constraints is not a solution to improving leisure choices and participation" (Shogan, 2002, p. 36).

Also taking up Shogan's (2002) work, Giles (2004, 2005) illustrated the ways in which cultural practices can act as constraints. In her research on Dene women's involvement in Dene games in the Canadian sub-Arctic, Giles noted that Dene women's menstrual traditions often resulted in them being unable to participate in Dene games. Rather than arguing that such practices acted as solely inhibiting constraints, however, Giles argued that such constraints were productive, in that they produce discourses that serve to recognize Dene women's medicine power, which is said to be heightened during menstruation and thus conflicts with men's medicine power, which is drawn upon during Dene games. Menstrual traditions thus simultaneously inhibit Dene women's participation in Dene games, but enable the recognition of Dene women's medicine power.

Taken together, Shogan's (2002), Kleiber and McGuire's (2008), and Giles' (2004, 2005) research reveal the ways in which constraints are never solely inhibiting, but that they are, following Foucault (1995), always simultaneously enabling of action. Having established the dual nature of constraints and the ways in which they operate within leisure contexts, we now turn to constraints related to Canadian multicultural citizenship and the ways in which they are exercised through discourse.

Canadian Multicultural Citizenship Discourses

A review of the literature reveals that discourses surrounding the management of ethno-cultural diversity have framed citizenship regulations in Canada throughout its history (see Li, 2003). For example, during the long period of national development from 1867 to the 1962, the selection of immigrants deemed suitable for Canadian citizenship was based on immigrants' ethnic backgrounds, with British, western Europeans, and Americans individuals deemed to be the most desirable citizens. Policies such as the *Chinese Immigration Act* (1885), the *Act of Continuous Passage* (1908) and *An Act Respecting Immigration* (1910) functioned to strictly limit non-European (i.e., non-white) migrants from gaining citizenship in Canada (Li, 2003). For example, the *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1885 imposed a \$50 head tax on practically every Chinese who entered Canada. In 1903, the head tax was raised to \$500. In 1923 changes to the *Chinese Immigration Act* virtually prohibited Chinese immigration into Canada until its repeal in 1947. In the same manner, the *Act of Continuous Passage* functioned to limit immigration from the Indian subcontinent by requiring that all immigrants to Canada arrive via a continuous voyage from their country of origin (Li, 2003). At that time there was only one company (Canadian Pacific) able to offer a continuous journey from India to Canada, and the Government

of Canada issued a directive to that company not to sell any through tickets from India to Canada (Li, 2003).

The post-World War II period, in contrast, marked the beginning of a new era in ethno-cultural diversity management in Canada (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Simmons, 2010). Driven by antiracist movements and declining numbers of skilled European workers, political leaders called for more tolerant immigration policies that emphasized educational and occupational skills as selection criteria for admitting immigrants, irrespective of country of origin or ethnic background (Kymlicka, 2007). In 1962, revisions to immigration regulations revoked the special provisions of admission that applied to British, French, and American citizens and replaced it with a policy in favour of admitting immigrants according to their skills and means of support, and not on the basis of national origin. According to Simmons (2010), it was in the midst of these immigration policy reforms that the Canadian state introduced multiculturalism, as a concept and as a political platform, in order to develop the legal parameters for the nation's social, cultural, and symbolic boundaries.

In its most basic form, multiculturalism policies may be conceived as a state response, or set of responses, to govern and manage the “problems” of diversity and multiplicity, and to articulate the social conditions under which cultural pluralism can be incorporated (Alexander, 2001; Hall, 2000). Following the recommendations made in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1969), a multiculturalism policy was first introduced in 1971 (Canada, 1971) that made sure successive governments foster a society that recognizes, respects, and reflects a diversity of cultures (Li, 2003; James, 2010). According to Li (2003), multiculturalism emerged to combat a dualist understanding of Canada, and to “accommodate” ethno-cultural minority groups within the Canadian project. For then Prime Minister Pierre

Trudeau, because biculturalism (English-French) represented a threat to Canadian unity, multiculturalism was seen as the best alternative to counteract Quebec nationalism and appease the new wave of immigrants that began to arrive in Canada during the 1960s.

Subsequently, the state's commitment to cultural pluralism was affirmed in the *Constitution Act* of 1982, and the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988. Expanding on the multiculturalism policy of 1971, the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 (Canada, 1988) states that, Canada's official policy of multiculturalism acknowledges that diversity is an essential element of Canadian society and establishes individuals' rights to maintain their cultural heritage, to have their cultural needs accommodated, and to be treated as equals under the law. Discourses produced by the Act therefore suggest that all Canadians are able to participate fully and effectively in all aspects of social, cultural, political and economic life and that there is equal access to appropriate services and resources (James, 2010; Li, 2003).

Multiculturalism may thus be viewed as policies that the Canadian state introduced to foster harmonious relations between "diverse" Canadian cultural groups and to assist members of all cultural groups overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society (Simmons, 2010). Normative support for cultural pluralism means that immigrants are not expected to adopt a uniform Canadian way, but are instead encouraged and even expected to retain and express their cultural heritage (Li, 2003); this entails a rejection of an overriding national identity or culture to which all various groups must conform. In other words, a multiculturalism platform produces discourses that suggest Canada is committed to immigrants' integration and not assimilation, prescribes heterogeneity as opposed to homogeneity, and encourages immigrants to retain and express their cultural distinctiveness in primary group relations that take place mainly in their private lives (Li, 2003; Weivorka, 1998; Wong, 2008).

Canadian Multicultural Citizenship and Immigrants' Leisure Pursuits

Some scholars (e.g., Li, 2003; Reitz, 2009; Wieviorka, 1998) have argued that the prevailing citizenship discourse constructed by Canada's *Multiculturalism Act* does not provide a viable option for new immigrants to escape the forces of conformity in major institutions; these scholars have suggested that cultural pluralism may be merely "symbolic" since the two charter groups' (i.e., English and French) norms and practices prevail in the public sphere. Such arguments, however, are in my opinion overtly negative and deterministic; they do not acknowledge immigrants' capacity to both affirm and resist dominant discourses. Indeed, within the context of Canada's official multiculturalism policy, immigrants' leisure pursuits can be seen as representative of individuals' right to maintain their attachment to their ethno-culture and of groups' right to build communal institutions that maintain their heritage within the limits prescribed by the Canadian constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Normative support for cultural pluralism means that immigrants are not expected to adopt a uniform Canadian way of life, but are instead encouraged and even expected to retain and express their cultural heritage. For these reasons, citizenship discourses produced by Canada's official policy of multiculturalism can be understood to enable, invite, and produce multiple ways for individuals to participate in, and experience leisure.

Canadian Multicultural Citizenship Discourses as Leisure Constraints

The existing literature demonstrates that Canadian multiculturalism has produced several (sometimes paradoxical) discourses that are particularly relevant to immigrants' leisure participation: Ethnic enclaves are the places in which immigrants' non-Euro-Canadian leisure activities should be pursued; immigrant communities should be self-sufficient in the provision of non-Euro-Canadian leisure activities; immigrants must be willing to put their culture on

permanent display for Euro-Canadians; immigrants should participate in Euro-Canadian leisure activities to help to ensure that these activities continue to exist and benefit Euro-Canadians. In what follows, I draw on contemporary examples and existing research on and about Canadian immigrants' leisure pursuits (journal articles published between 1989 and 2012) to illustrate how constraints exercised through these discourses of multicultural citizenship act to both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits. Following the CDA approach (Woodak, 2002), I was especially interested in demonstrating the enabling aspects of constraints by showing that immigrant populations exercise power when they affirm and or resist multicultural citizenship discourses. In doing so, I am explicitly presenting a set of discourses that exemplify the ways in which discourses produced by Canada's official multiculturalism platform operate to constitute social reality for immigrants to Canada. Never wholly determinate, multicultural citizenship discourses act to frame the parameters for action, and as such should be seen to always both inhibit and enable action.

Ethnic enclaves as leisure sites for immigrants. The introduction of a multiculturalism policy enabled the formation of cohesive ethnic communities, what Foucault (1995) would have called "functional sites" (p. 144), where the preservation of ethno-cultural traditions can take place. These enclaves, organized and made possible by a discourse that prescribes ethno-cultural distinctiveness (Wong, 2008), produce spatial and temporal constraints that enable immigrant individuals and groups to enact and preserve ethno-cultural traditions through leisure pursuits.

Leisure studies literature provides numerous examples that suggest immigrants engage in leisure pursuits that foster the preservation of ethno-cultural traditions (e.g., Karlis, 1990; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Taylor & Doherty, 2005). For example, Stack and Iwasaki (2009), in a study that explored the role of leisure pursuits among Afghan refugees who immigrated to an urban

Canadian city, reported leisure activities organized by the local Afghan association were instrumental in providing opportunities for the participants to preserve aspects of their ethno-culture. Karlis (1990) described a similar pattern of ethno-cultural preservation through leisure provision and participation in Greek ethnic enclosures. Karlis' examination of Greek immigrants who resided in Toronto, Ontario revealed that the opportunity to participate in leisure activities organized by the local Greek community fostered and maintained their homeland's cultural traditions. Likewise, in a study that explored the sport and recreation experiences of adolescent newcomers to Canada, Taylor and Doherty (2005) reported that a majority of the participants made a conscious effort to keep their ethno-culture identity alive through their leisure pursuits, even when some of the traditional leisure pursuits in which they reported participation were not practiced prior to their arrival. As such, using a Foucauldian perspective, normative support for multiculturalism can be seen to produce spatial and temporal constraints that enable immigrants to organize ethnic enclosures in leisure.

At the same time, the discourses that enable ethnic enclosures in leisure can also be seen to limit other actions by suggesting that it is not necessary for immigrants to participate in the host society's social practices. For Bibby (1990) and a number of other scholars (e.g., Stoffman, 2004; Wieviorka, 1998), multiculturalism leads to social fragmentation, or the segregation of diverse racial and ethnic groups in Canada. Instead of encouraging attachments to some form of national identity to which all new Canadians will integrate, discourses produced by multiculturalism encourage group membership in particularistic communities.

The leisure research literature provides numerous examples that suggest multiculturalism produces constraints that inhibit immigrants' leisure pursuits in the leisure spaces occupied by the mainstream (e.g., Stodolska, 1998; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). For example, Tirone and Shaw

(1997), in a study that examined leisure in the lives of women who had immigrated to Canada from South Asia, reported that leisure as it is typically enjoyed by the dominant cultural groups in Canada was not something that was pursued by South Asian immigrants. For the South Asian participants, life in Canada meant that they had the opportunity to hold on to the leisure traditions they valued in their homeland, and if they so chose, pursue those pursuits exclusively with their extended family and ethnic network (Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Likewise, Stodolska (1998) reported that the Polish immigrants perceived feelings of comfort around individuals from the same ethnic background, and emphasized the importance of ethnic enclosures for life in the new host country. Stodolska argued that the encouragement of ethnic distinctiveness serves as a means for immigrants to distance themselves from the leisure spaces occupied by the mainstream:

Immigrants who are largely confined to the ethnic community both with respect to their personal contacts as well as economic and social interactions may become more likely to perceive out-groups (i.e., the mainstream) as alien or threatening, which in turn may contribute to their uneasiness in leisure engagements outside of their community. (p. 544)

Accordingly, these examples demonstrate that constraints exercised through discourses of multicultural citizenship enable immigrants to organize and sustain leisure in ethnic enclaves, while it may also inhibit their participation in the host society's leisure practices.

Immigrants must be willing to be put their culture on public display. Ethnic enclosures in leisure not only organize spaces for immigrants to preserve ethno-cultural traditions, but also enable opportunities for immigrants to share their ethno-culture with other Canadians. This is an important point. For ethno-cultural groups to be recognized in a multicultural Canadian society, members of such groups are encouraged and even expected to

place themselves on public display (Stoffman, 2004; Weiviorka, 1998). Hence, multicultural citizenship discourses enable the organization of useful leisure spaces for immigrants to display ethno-cultural distinctions.

The Community Cup, an annual soccer tournament that is held in various Ontario communities to bring together long-time residents with newcomers, is a strong current example of the ways in which discourses of multicultural citizenship enable immigrants to display their ethno-cultural distinction from Euro-Canadian society. Like many other multicultural festivities, the Community Cup program lists numerous opportunities for groups of individuals to express and share their ethno-cultural traditions: live music and entertainment; an international food bazaar; cultural crafts workshops; a musical language village; and a “seniors sharing circle” for elders to share stories. Likewise, multicultural sport leagues are established in many Canadian communities with most teams display ethnic emblems and/or the names of various countries as teams names. The league standings of the Multicultural Soccer Association of British Columbia, for example, lists names such as Estrella De Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, IFC Polonia, Centro America, and Real Romanian. These examples demonstrate how constraints associated with multicultural citizenship discourses do not only function to prevent, limit, or exclude immigrants’ leisure participation and preference; constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses also enable immigrants to engage in leisure pursuits that preserve ethnic distinctiveness.

Self-sufficiency of ethno-cultural traditions. In effect, a multiculturalism policy that prescribes self-sufficiency for ethno-cultural traditions in the private sphere can also be understood to proscribe public leisure providers from addressing the particular needs and interests of ethnic minority groups (Golob, 2010). In a study that explored constraints to sport

and recreation among recent immigrant in Windsor, Ontario, Golob (2010) reported that an emphasis on leisure autonomy inhibited public leisure providers from delivering diverse sport and recreation opportunities to recent immigrants in depressed socio-economic and cultural positions. The municipal recreation administrators interviewed in Golob's study indicated that community centre workers aim to provide equitable leisure opportunities to all citizens; however, they also suggested ethnic community organizations are responsible for initiating and sustaining culture-specific leisure programming. In other words, the public leisure providers felt that they were not charged with the preservation of diverse cultural practices.

The operation of a discourse that prescribes or enables self-sufficiency for cultural traditions can thus also be seen to produce constraints that inhibit the leisure pursuits of ethnic minority immigrants. That is to say, immigrants belonging to ethnic groups that are small in size, who do not have organized infrastructure, or have limited access to facilities or resources may not have the same opportunities for ethno-cultural preservation. By way of example, non-traditional games brought by more recent immigrant groups, such as kite-flying by Afghan immigrants, are being restricted in Canadian parks because they pose an apparent *danger* to the public's safety (Grant, 2010). Interestingly, no physical or environmental harm has been cited or reported, which suggests the discourse of kite-flying as dangerous stems from the dominant culture's view of the practice as foreign and a threat to its own cultural practices. Thus, normative support for self-sufficiency in the preservation of cultural traditions can be seen to enable the leisure pursuits of large, more established ethnic groups in Canada, and simultaneously act to inhibit the leisure pursuits of less established or smaller ethnic groups.

Immigrants' participation in the host culture's leisure activities ensures their continuation. In the last 40 years, leisure research has produced a growing body of knowledge

on ethnic/racial minorities' leisure preferences (Stodolska & Walker, 2007) that not only enables essentialist notions of ethnicity, but also produces expectations for immigrants' leisure pursuits. By way of example, studies that have compared Chinese Canadians with Anglo-Canadians (e.g., Deng, Walker, & Swinnerton, 2005) have suggested that Chinese immigrants place less importance on leisure in outdoor spaces, and are less likely to visit national parks. The knowledge that is produced by such discourses in turn enables service providers and policymakers to centre on the productive capacity of ethno-cultural differences to increase immigrants' participation in certain forms of leisure – to the dominant group's benefit. Parks Canada, for example, has introduced a number of programs aimed at Asian newcomers: Rogers Pass National Park has created exhibits to tell the stories of Asian and East Indian immigrants who worked on the Rogers Pass railway to give new Canadians from these origins a sense of connection to Canadian parks' histories. Other national parks are offering organized camping trips, all-inclusive turnkey camp experiences, and encouraging immigrants to enjoy their traditional foods in the outdoors environment (Grant, 2010).

Discourses that proscribe public agencies from delivering culture specific leisure programming to ethnic minority groups also allow leisure providers to direct resources that preserve the leisure practices of the majority. Hockey, for example, is a practice that is enabled by discourses that prescribe self-sufficiency for the preservation of cultural traditions: public funding is made available to build arenas and maintain outdoor ice rinks; mass communication channels (e.g., television, print media) readily discuss hockey news; multiple forms of consumption are produced (e.g., spectatorship, ball hockey); increased technicality reduces physical risks (e.g., protective hockey gear); opportunities are been created for skill acquisition (e.g., learn to skate programs); and overt political support promotes hockey as a national sport.

As a result, ethnic hockey leagues are established in Canadian communities; National Hockey League (NHL) games are telecast in Punjabi; community ice rinks in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of new Canadians are refurbished (Jimenez, 2010). In short, proscribing public agencies from delivering culture specific leisure programming to ethnic minorities can concomitantly enable the preservation of mainstream leisure pursuits, which in turn also can also be seen to enable immigrants' participation in mainstream leisure pursuits.

Conclusion

Fundamentally, this paper was developed to challenge the assumption made in leisure constraints research that constraints only function to prevent, limit, or exclude immigrants' leisure participation and preference. By taking a Foucauldian approach to constraints, I demonstrated that power acts as constraints to immigrants' leisure pursuits, but in a way that is never wholly inhibiting. Drawing on contemporary examples, I showed that a multiculturalism discourse that prescribes the preservation of ethnic distinctiveness suggests that it is not necessary for immigrants to participate in the host society's social practices, and thus enables the organization of ethnic enclaves where immigrants can pursue non-Euro-Canadian leisure activities. Likewise, I showed that discourses of multiculturalism that prescribe self-sufficiency of ethno-cultural traditions restrain public leisure providers from delivering diverse sport and recreation opportunities, while simultaneously enabling the preservation of the dominant groups' leisure pursuits. Together, these examples demonstrate how, from a Foucauldian perspective, constraints produce social practices (Fraser, 1989). As such, I believe this work offers a fruitful starting point for the application of Foucault's work to immigrants' leisure pursuits.

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Chapter 3:

Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism, and Immigrant Minorities' Involvement in the Formation and Operation of Leisure-Oriented Ventures

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Studies

Abstract

This study draws on Foucault's concept of the "entrepreneur self" to broaden understandings of the links and intersections between the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship in Canada and immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. Using participant observation and semi-structured interviews, my findings indicate that participation in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented organizations is an important medium for immigrant minorities' effective use of power: A space and a channel to assert and uphold or resist and challenge ethno-cultural identities and a strategy to break down barriers and create opportunities for themselves and others to participate in a wide range of leisure traditions and practices—in short, a technique employed by study participants to assert their membership in Canadian society and to lay claims to full and equal citizenship rights.

In the late 1970s, Foucault gave a series of lectures published under the title *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008) in which he addressed the rise of neoliberal thought in modern Western democracies and its implications for the *biopolitical* management of populations. In and through these lectures, Foucault (2008) remarked that individual autonomy lies at the heart of disciplinary control in democratic societies characterized by “market socialism.” While some authors proclaim an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade safeguards individual freedom and autonomy (see Harvey, 2005), Foucault (2008) argued responsible self-governance (i.e., the fabrication of individual freedom and autonomy) is in itself a “product” or an “effect” made possible and produced by way of forms of knowledge and relations of power that encourage and reinforce individual practices of subjectification. From a Foucauldian perspective, neoliberal political rationalities compel individuals to assume market-based values in all of their judgments and practices and thereby become “self-entrepreneurs” (Hamann, 2009, p. 37). In this regard, the rationality of the market, central to neoliberal practices (Harvey, 2005), extends “to domains which are not exclusively or not primarily economic” (Foucault, 2008, p. 323).

Foucault’s (2008) concept of the “entrepreneurial self” may be particularly useful to expose and explore the links and intersections between public policies installed for the production and management of ethno-cultural diversity [e.g., the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988)] and immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits. In the prevailing literature, scholars argue that ethno-cultural diversity “constrains” immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits (see Stodolska & Yi-Kook, 2005). Empirically research to date has suggested ethno-cultural differences act to prevent, limit, and restrict immigrant minorities from participating in “mainstream” leisure pursuits (see Stodolska & Walker, 2007). Notwithstanding the valuable

contributions of such work, researchers have paid relatively little attention to actions and experiences enabled and made possible by public policies encouraging immigrants to preserve and sustain diverse cultural traditions and practices.

Dissatisfied with how ethno-cultural differences have been described and empirically tested in the literature, Golob and Giles (2011) conducted a review of the literature to illustrate how discourses produced by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988) simultaneously inhibit and *enable* the leisure pursuits of immigrants to Canada. Golob and Giles demonstrated how the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship in Canada — notably, that the responsibility for preserving ethno-cultural traditions and practices falls to individuals and groups of individuals themselves — inhibit public leisure providers from attending to the ethno-cultural needs and interests of immigrant minorities. Yet, such a situation simultaneously enables immigrant minorities to establish and operate privately operated leisure organizations where ethno-cultural traditions and practices may be ascertained (Golob & Giles, 2011).

There is large body of literature on immigrant entrepreneurship in general (see for example Zhou, 2004) and on cultural production via entrepreneurship in particular (see for example Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). Such research has suggested that for some immigrants entrepreneurship might present enhanced opportunities to resist cultural assimilation and to preserve and share their cultural heritages. Drawing on “opportunities” produced by multiculturalism, some immigrants, or “ethnic entrepreneurs” as they are most commonly called, create ventures that serve the needs of their respective ethnic group(s), niche markets that are underserved or abandoned, that exhibit low economies of scale, or that are composed of customers with exotic tastes (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 2000). Most of this work, however,

has been conducted from the management and economics fields; contributions from the leisure field are still rare. This is the gap in the literature that I seek to address in this paper.

Building on Golob and Giles' (2011) research, for this study I used participant observation and semi-structured interviews to explore the intersections between the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship in Canada and immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. Following the extended case method approach (Buroway, 1991, 1998, 2009), I used Foucauldian theory as a cognitive map through which I examined the everyday business practices of study participants. My findings indicate that participation in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented organizations is an important space and a medium for immigrant minorities' to assert and uphold diverse cultural tradition and practices, and a strategy to break down barriers and create opportunities for themselves and others to participate in a wide range of leisure traditions and practices. In short, the findings suggest leisure-oriented entrepreneurship it is a technique employed by study participants to assert their membership in Canadian society and to lay claims to full and equal citizenship rights.

Fieldwork Site

The Windsor-Essex region, located in the Western tip of Ontario and the southernmost part of Canada, is an important settlement destination for immigrants to Canada. According to census data, over 22% of the population of Windsor-Essex – roughly 87,000 residents – were born outside of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). Between 2001 and 2006 alone, over 12,000 newcomers settled in Windsor-Essex, making up roughly 6 percent of the total population (Windsor Essex Local Immigration Partnership Council [WELIP], 2010). The majority of the region's foreign-born population (68.7%) lives in the City of Windsor, where it makes up more

than 28% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2008). As a prominent second-tier immigrant settlement destination, the City of Windsor lays claim to Canada's fourth most ethnically diverse city, with over 170 ethnicities represented and 70 languages spoken (WELIP, 2010). The number and percentage of foreign-born populations who have settled in the seven other municipalities and towns within Windsor-Essex varies, with Leamington being the second largest settlement area (7,485 or 26% of the total population) and Essex the smallest settlement area (1,920 or 9.7% of the total population).

Canadian Multiculturalism, Neoliberalism, and Immigrants' Leisure Pursuits

An overview of the main features of Canadian multiculturalism and neoliberalism, and of their points of intersection, is essential because of their central roles in my analysis of non-European immigrant minorities' propensity for leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to introduce a "multiculturalism" policy as an answer to manage a culturally diverse population. The *Multiculturalism Policy* of 1971 (Canada, 1971) established the normative framework for a society that recognizes, respects, and reflects three founding nations (Anglophones, Francophones, & Aboriginal peoples), two official languages (English and French), and a diversity of cultural heritages (Li, 2003). According to Banting and Kymlicka (2010), a multiculturalism platform was envisioned by the then ruling Liberal government as a way to promote creative encounters and interchange amongst diverse Canadian cultural groups, and to assist members of all cultural groups overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society. In this regard, Canada's multiculturalism policy repudiated a cultural assimilationist approach to social cohesion and replaced it with a cultural pluralism approach, which accepts that "many immigrants will visibly and proudly express their ethnic distinctiveness, and which imposes an obligation on the part of public institutions to

accommodate these ethnic identities” (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010, p. 49). By way of example, beginning in the 1970s extensive state funding was made available to incorporate the ethno-cultural traditions and practices of immigrants to Canada through cultural festivals in public spaces and the establishment of ethnic community organizations, among others (James, 2003).

The state’s role in the preservation of ethno-cultural traditions and practices changed in the late 1980s with the passing of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 (Canada, 1988). While the core principles of the original multiculturalism policy, respect for cultural diversity, equality, and antidiscrimination, remained fairly stable, the Act shifted the focus of funding away from ethno-specific activities and toward issues related to the integration and inclusion of ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic minorities in Canada (see Biles, 2008). Faced with the “problem of factions” (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010) and fiscal austerity measures in all levels of government, the prevailing discourse constructed by the Act implies that public agencies should remain culturally neutral in the provision of social services, and that the responsibility for constructing, sharing, and preserving ethno-cultural distinctiveness falls primarily into the hands of individuals and groups of individuals (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; James, 2010). Evidence for this lies in the substantial reductions made to heritage programs during the 1990s (Sadiq, 2004).

Arguably, a reduction in direct provision of state resources for the preservation of ethno-cultural traditions and activities can be attributed to the neoliberal shift that began to infiltrate Canadian public policies in the late 1980s. Neoliberalism discourses advocate a preference for reduced state intervention and greater individual responsibility (Harvey, 2005). Coexistent with an emphasis on reduced state intervention is the valorization of individual freedom and autonomy (Rose, 1992), which under neoliberal political rationality is safeguarded through the deregulation of the private sector (Kotz, 2002). Subsequently, the role of the state is to create,

regulate, and preserve the capacities for freedom and autonomy through market extensions (Harvey, 2005). In this regard, those aspects of government that state welfare construed as public responsibilities are, as far as possible, transformed into individual responsibilities regulated according to market principles (Miller & Rose, 2008). Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to address the range of sociopolitical and economic imperatives that led to a disjuncture with state welfarism (see Harvey, 2005), it is worth highlighting some important links between neoliberalism and multiculturalism, and their implications for a critical understanding of immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits.

Neoliberalism finds an interesting sort of expression in and through the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988), largely because of the normative capacities it installs for the governance of cultural pluralism. According to Banting and Kymlicka (2010), the premise upon which Canada's multiculturalism platform was built — that all cultures are of equal merit and deserving of equal respect (Canada, 1971) — counters contemporary policy recommendations that prioritize freedom over equality. By reducing the state's responsibility for ethno-cultural preservation and placing it on the shoulder of individuals and groups of individuals, citizenship discourses produced by the Act do not protect minorities from oppression by the majorities (Li, 2003; Taylor, 1994; Wieviorka, 1998). In this view, constraints produced by the Act can be seen to enable the authority of dominant groups' views, traditions, and practices, and at the same time inhibit and repress those of minorities. After all, if we're concerned with identity, then what is more legitimate than one's aspiration that it never be lost? (Kymlicka, 1988).

Leisure scholars have, for over two decades now, argued that neoliberal political rationalities do not prioritize the alleviation of social inequalities for disadvantaged groups, but

instead exacerbate them (see Thibault, Kikulis, & Frisby, 2003). For example, Helly (2003) contended that in a market-oriented style of leisure service provision minority groups are unable to escape the forces of conformity in public institutions. Research has suggested that ethno-cultural differences act to prevent, limit, and restrict immigrant minorities' leisure participation and preferences in the public leisure spaces (see Stodolska & Walker, 2007).

Nevertheless, research has also demonstrated that immigrant minorities in Canada sustain ethno-cultural traditions and practices through leisure pursuits (e.g., Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Stodolska, 1998; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). For example, Tirone and Pedlar (1997) reported that leisure as it is typically enjoyed by the dominant cultural groups in Canada is not something that is pursued by South Asian immigrants (i.e., immigrants originating from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka). The South Asian study participants suggested that life in Canada meant that they had the opportunity to retain the leisure traditions they valued in their homeland and, if they desired, to pursue those pursuits exclusively with their extended family and ethnic network (Tirone & Pedlar, 1997). Likewise, Stodolska (1998) reported that less acculturated Polish immigrants to Canada perceived feelings of comfort around individuals from the same ethnic background, and emphasized the importance of ethnic enclosures in leisure for life in the new host country. Stodolska argued that the encouragement of ethnic distinctiveness served as a means for immigrants to distance themselves from the leisure spaces occupied by the mainstream; as a result, ethnicity should be considered as a contributing factor to immigrants' exclusion from the public sphere (Stodolska, 1998). At the same time, however, ethnic enclosures in leisure may present enhanced opportunities for some immigrants to resist cultural assimilation and to sustain ethno-cultural traditions and practices.

In light of the literature review, the following central question emerges: What are the intersections between the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship in Canada and immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures? In other words, how might constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses enable immigrant minorities' propensity for and involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship? The economic and management literature has implied a relationship between multicultural citizenship discourses and immigrants' propensity for entrepreneurship (Waldinger et al., 2000; Zhou, 2004). What remains to be explored is if and how multicultural citizenship discourses shape immigrant minorities' propensity for and involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. Leisure researchers have thus far paid little attention to leisure-oriented ventures as a medium and a space for immigrant minorities' to identify with, or otherwise engage with, the civic and political sphere of life in a new society. In this study, I draw on Foucault's (2008) notion of the "entrepreneurial self" to explore the links and interconnections between multicultural citizenship discourses and non-European immigrants' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario — what Foucault (1980) called the micro-dynamics of power.

Theoretical Framework

Foucault's (2008) notion of the "entrepreneurial self" as a limited type of agency produced by neoliberal political rationality (Miller & Rose, 2008) has been a source of inspiration for researchers in what is now known as the governmentality school (Vintges, 2012). For the most part, these researchers have drawn focus on Foucault's (2008) analysis of neoliberal governmentality explore the way in which discourses exercised through public policy, laws, and citizenship rights "conducts the conduct" of people in an indirect way, namely through proposing

or imposing self-techniques to or upon them, such that they can act as “self-entrepreneurs” who maximize their existence by choosing what they want out of life and how to get it (e.g., Gane, 2012; Hannan, 2009; McNay, 2009; Miller & Rose, 2008; Vintges, 2012). We become rational human agents, capable of understanding and directing our lives, of realizing a potentiality that is properly our own, through principles or moral codes we find in our societies, in our culture, and in our interactions with others. According to Foucault (2000), “a person understands and constructs him/herself as a particular subject through “models that he [sic] finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group” (p. 286). In this view, the *biopolitical* management of “free” autonomous individuals is achieved through market regulations, laws, and citizenship rights that install the capacities for individuals to organize their lives and judgments therein (Gane, 2012; Hannan, 2009; McNay, 2009; Miller & Rose, 2008). In other words, knowledge/power constrains and conditions the “free” practices of individuals. By way of example, knowledge practices (e.g., statistics) used to track Canadian adults’ body fat (body mass index) make possible the installation of market-based institutions and practices (e.g., health clubs, weight scales, nutritional labels) where individuals gain the capacity to pursue, through their own means, practices of responsible self-government in the leisure domain (i.e., maintain recommended weight through leisure-based physical activity). Correspondingly, citizenship norms and practices exercised in and through discourse should be seen to act as constraints that simultaneously inhibit and enable the leisure pursuits and preferences of individuals (Golob & Giles, 2011; Shogan, 2002). To conceptualize how multicultural citizenship discourses could be seen to enable immigrant minorities’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures, and more generally to understand the potential contributions of Foucault’s work (2008) for studies of leisure and migration to Western

societies, it is imperative to provide an overview of Foucault's conceptualization of power and power relations in modern democratic societies.

Power as Constraints on Action

Throughout his studies, Foucault (1980, 1990, 2008) maintained that systemic operations of power in modern societies are contingent upon relations between “free” subjects, where one attempts to direct the behaviour or action of another without the use of force or violence. Power, according to Foucault (1990), is not inherent within “powerful” individuals and groups; instead, “power is everywhere” (p. 93); power circulates through the various and shifting positions that individuals occupy within a complex network of discourse, practices, and relationships that position some as powerful and that justify and facilitate their authority in relations to others (Clegg, 1989). Governing others, in this sense, is therefore not a matter of a dominant force having direct control over the conduct of individuals; rather, it is a matter of constraining and thus producing the conditions within which individuals are able to freely conduct themselves. Foucault did not say that power never functions repressively, nor did he suggest that the repressive function of power is unimportant or uninteresting. On the contrary, his point was simply that the repressive model is too narrow. For Foucault, power is productive in that it acts as constraints on action, but in way that simultaneously always both inhibits and enables action (Fraser, 1989).

Self-Governance through Leisure Pursuits as a Disciplinary Practice

In keeping with the last point, Foucault (1983, 2007, 2008) maintained that strategies and practices exercised for the biopolitical management of populations do not imply coercion in and of themselves. According to Foucault (1983), “effective” governance in modern democratic societies is achieved when individuals, as “free” subjects of power relations, comply with the

authoritative claims made within the discourses that organize their daily lives. Foucault proposed that neoliberal governmentality is fundamentally about the cultivation of responsible self-governance, and that individual autonomy is not the opposite of or limit to neoliberal governmentality, but rather lies at the heart of its disciplinary control. From a Foucauldian lens, choice and autonomy, central to Western conceptualizations of leisure (Shaw, 2006), are never outside of power relations; rather, activities of choice and autonomy are in and of themselves disciplinary practices. Discourses make possible a re-working of the self. Foucault (2008) informed us the fabrication of *homo oeconomicus* as the rational agent capable of choosing and directing actions is produced by way of forms of knowledge and relations of power that encourage and reinforce individual practices of self-government in all aspects of life. Leisure pursuits could thus be understood as practices by which an individual constitutes him/herself as an ethical subject; that is, as actions that denote and exemplify the intentional work of an individual on itself in order to subject itself to a set of moral recommendations (i.e., dominant discourses) for conduct and, as a result of this self-forming activity or “subjectivation,” constitute its own moral being (Foucault, 1982).

Following Foucault, if in my current *milieu* one of the effects of neoliberal governmentality is to produce self-governing subjects, then the issue is not so much a matter of liberating individuals from certain constraints, but rather examining the ways in which policies, laws, and citizenship rights construct and manage the “free” choices of “free” subjects and the strategies or mechanisms by which individuals draw on these historically situated social constraints to create their subjectivities (Cotoi, 2011; Miller and Rose, 2008). For this study, I used Foucault’s analysis of neoliberal governmentality, and in particular its application with regards to the notion of the entrepreneurial self, to expose and explore the links and intersections between

multicultural citizenship discourses and immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario.

Methodology

My research was guided by the extended case method (ECM) approach. Researchers who employ the ECM approach explicitly privilege social structures to comprehend the social processes/worlds they study (Burawoy 1991, 1998, 2009). The researcher purposively draws on an appropriate macro-sociological theory to devise the initial research questions, choose data collection methods, analyze the data, and report the research findings (Burawoy, 1998). In this regard, the ECM approach treats theory and research as inextricably connected (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009). In my use of the ECM approach, Foucault's concept of the entrepreneurial self was employed as a cognitive map and a point of departure for exploring non-European immigrants' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures as simultaneously shaped by and shaping multicultural citizenship discourses.

Sample

As the literature has indicated that a market-oriented style of leisure service provision may inhibit or limit immigrant minorities from constructing, sharing, and preserving ethno-cultural traditions and practices in public institutions, I purposively recruited minority immigrants who established and/ or operate a leisure-oriented venture in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. In total, there were 12 participants. The sample was by no means homogenous; differences (see Table 1) amongst the participants are evident in relation to country of origin, sex, length of time in Canada, and business concentration. Pseudonyms were assigned to all participants.

Table 1. Characteristics of sample

Participant	Municipality	Sex	Product/service offered	Country of Origin (Length of time in Canada)
Leopold	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Lebanon (48 years)
Phillip	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Iran (12 years)
Vladimir	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Korea (5 years)
Mike	Lasalle	Male	Martial Arts	Brazil (10 years)
Charlie	Tecumseh	Male	Dance/ Fitness	Philippines (8 years)
Rosa	Windsor	Female	Dance / Fitness	Lebanon (12 years)
Kobe	Windsor	Male	Basketball	Philippines (35 years)
Ivanka	Amherstburg	Female	Dance	India (7 years)
Roberto	Windsor	Male	Restaurant	Mexico (10 years)
Fred	Kingsville	Male	Restaurant	Cuba (14 years)
Cynthia	Windsor	Female	Restaurant	El Salvador (24 years)
Lyudmila	Kingsville	Female	Aesthetic Salon	Vietnam (15 years)

Methods

Over the course of six months (February-July, 2012), I used participant observation and semi-structured interviews to expose and identity how multicultural citizenship discourses shape and are shaped by immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures.

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection tool where the topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance (i.e., interview guide), yet flexible to allow the participant to comment on what s/he feels is relevant, which allows for conversational flow between the researcher and the participant (Bowling, 2002). I developed an interview guide based on the existing literature, my theoretical framework, and my research questions (see Appendix B). Following a telephone conversation with each participant, at which time details of the study were provided, ethical issues and participant criteria explained, and the extent of the participant's potential involvement in the study if s/he wished to participate discussed, I began my data collection with each participant with an informal meeting where I learned, *inter alia*, about the purpose of the participant's business or organization, and his/her motivations and aspirations for establishing the business or organization. These meetings proved quite important for my study, as they allowed for an understanding, for example, of the ways in which study participants conceptualized their practices as "entrepreneurs." Additionally, they allowed for an initial exploration of how study participants identified and gave meaning to their work as leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs. The initial meeting took place at a time and place of the participants' choice. Semi-structured interviews were useful in this study because they gave me the opportunity to probe for clarity and ambiguities, I could ask complex questions, they cultivated more information and greater depth, and I could clarify inconsistencies and misinterpretations throughout the process (Bowling, 2002). With the permission of the participants, interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, read over several times, and sent to the participant for review and additional comments or amendments.

Participant observation is the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those

activities (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002). Schensul and Lecompte (1999) defined participant observation as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (p. 91). As a participant observer, I had planned to spend a week, uninterrupted, with each participant; however, participants’ schedules varied greatly and many suggested a number of future events that it would be worthwhile to attend and participate in. By taking part in the participants’ daily business activities and interactions, it was possible to understand the explicit and tacit aspects of their everyday practices and to draw out the influences that multicultural citizenship discourses have on those practices. Significant occurrences, observations, and details of conversations held with participants were recorded in a notebook and/or audio recorded at appropriate junctures for further analysis.

Data Analysis

Given the centrality of power relations to this study, I chose critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the principal mode of analysis. In its most basic form, CDA is a method used by researchers to uncover the ways in which individual experience and action is constructed, by whom, and for what purposes (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Foucauldian scholars employ CDA to explore how historically and culturally located discourse effects subject positions, and how individuals, as subjects in discourse also simultaneously shape the discourse that constitutes social reality using technologies of the self (Gubrium & Holstein, 2011).

To analyze the data gathered in a systematic fashion, I followed Wodak’s (2002) discourse-historic approach. I began by drawing on Golob and Giles’ (2011) research and the existing literature on and about immigrant minorities’ leisure behaviours to develop a sense of the social-historical context surrounding the research and to produce theoretically relevant

research questions for entering the field. As data were generated, they were organized into theoretically relevant categories (e.g., sustenance of ethno-cultural traditions and practices; actions that generated feelings of pride). As the fieldwork progressed, I continually scanned and re-read all texts and organized any anomalies into emergent categories, which provided the lens for further observations. Following the fieldwork phase, I drew on all the data collected to look for discourses that converged to provide an overall interpretation of the findings.

Results

In what follows, I identify discourses that expose the links and intersection between the normative prescriptions for multicultural citizenship in Canada and immigrant minorities' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures. The discourses presented here is not an exhaustive list of my findings; rather, it represents key discourses relevant to my discussion of immigrant minorities' self-formation as shaped by and shaping the normative prescriptions for multicultural citizenship in Canada.

Financial Gain is not the Targeted Action

Participants revealed a clear orientation towards non-financial motives for business creation. Most of the participants in this study established their respective businesses to promote and achieve a desired way of living. While for some financial gain through business activities is important and even necessary, especially for those running a restaurant, none of the participants conceptualized themselves as “typical” entrepreneurs who, according to one participant, Charlie, “are only interested in making lots of money.” In fact, three study participants (Kobe, Phillip, Mike) operated their respective businesses in addition to holding full-time employment. For participants who established restaurants, being in business was described as “a great way for individuals to showcase their uniqueness.” Fred explained, “it is really important for immigrants

in the [restaurant] industry to find their uniqueness. That's something that makes them special versus everybody else. No one will hire you to do that." Roberto informed me that prior to establishing a Mexican restaurant he worked in the "best" fine-dining restaurant in the region and was well compensated; yet, it did not enable the capacity for self-stylization that he gained as a business owner. Accentuating many of Mexico's famous recipes, such as Chiles Rellenos and Chiles en Nogada, has been important for Roberto in honour of his grandmothers' Latin teachings. The love and dedication that he has learned from her has been put into every dish he creates by choosing the freshest ingredients and not using cans or preservatives. Cynthia told me that she believes most restaurant chains in Canada are primarily interested in "making a buck" at the expense of quality and innovation. In effect, a perceived opportunity for culinary innovation was articulated as a primary reason why these participants launched their own restaurants.

Business Formation Enables the Sharing and Preservation of Ethno-Cultural Traditions and Practices

For many, the businesses were created primarily as a medium through which diverse cultural traditions and practices could be portrayed and preserved. For example, Vladimir established a venture to share expertise in Chen style Tai-Chi with people of different cultural backgrounds. As Vladimir explained, he migrated to and established the business in Canada because of its diverse population: "Canada has many peoples from around the world — in China, only Chinese. I plant my seeds in Canada with the hopes that my ancestors' traditions are shared around the world." Moreover, Vladimir informed me that he viewed income generation as important only to the extent that it allowed for the continuation of his ancestors' traditions, which became evident in observations: there were no set fees for instruction or class attendance. Instead, he suggested donations, where possible. Vladimir generated revenue primarily through offering

traditional Chinese medicine, such as acupuncture. Another participant, Rosa, established a “Polynesian-inspired” pilates studio to honour her mother’s cultural heritage. Rosa explained, “I realized there is such a similarity between Polynesian dance and Pilates! So I thought, why not try to combine both the Pilates and the Polynesian dancing?” During our conversations, Rosa expressed deep fulfillment from creating a business that provides her with opportunities to share her traditional roots with the broader community:

[Operating a business] makes me feel special because people know I'm the Polynesian girl in the community. It gives me sense of identity. I struggle a lot to be honest with you — you know it is a lot of work to have my own business, but then I consider what I'm doing it for and things like that. I recall what I have here, the name that I have built for myself and the fact that I have...single-handedly, spread what my ancestors have been doing.

In the participant observation phase, I helped Rosa at several community events, created to raise awareness and donations for Cancer research (at the time of the study her mother was battling breasts cancer). Rosa described why she participated in community events:

Everybody is there to help other people right, but I do it in my own way. But one of the other things that I've learned over the years is people watching what I do. So what I do is I position myself in place where people can see me. I'm always the one on stage, people know me as that crazy Polynesian girl that was screaming at us on stage right.

Several of the participants articulated that involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented businesses enables them to resist and challenge stereotypical ethno-cultural representations as they produce, express, and share diverse ways to experience and participate in leisure pursuits. For example, Roberto and Cynthia opened a Mexican restaurant, “one where

you experience true Mexican hospitality,” because Roberto’s former employer did not acknowledge his ideas for improving service and offering “more than a place to eat.” Through their business they seek to create a space where people come to enjoy food and Mexican hospitality in the presence of family and friends, as evidenced through the example of a one-day “community” celebration they organized to mark the anniversary of Mexican Independence (May 5th). According to Roberto, “In Mexico, the holiday is about family.” Cynthia added, “What we want is to promote the event as a community or family thing. Family is very important for Hispanics and we want to promote and push it to the rest of the community.” During the day-long celebration, I witnessed adults dancing to live Mexican music, children having their faces painted and being presented with Mexican sombreros, local shopkeepers decorating their shops with traditional Mexican celebratory artifacts, and neighbours sharing in special celebratory food offerings offered by Roberto and Cynthia’s restaurant.

Some of the participants emphasized the value of attachment and allegiance to their respective ethnic networks supported as sources of support for the business. For example, Phillip described the importance of utilizing ethnic networks when starting a new business:

You see, because they know me more in the Arab community, now it’s [the business] getting larger and larger, because you have to start somewhere. If you belong to let’s say the Greek community, you get their support; if you belong to the Italian you get their support. This is how it works. I mean, it’s just networking. And my community, that was my biggest networking.

Another participant, Leopold, who has operated a martial arts academy for over thirty years, also described his attachment and allegiance to the Arab community as beneficial, particularly in attracting new immigrants from Arab countries to his dojo:

The new people coming into the city don't know me. And you know I had to get the word out that I'm an Arab. We have a lot of Arabs that are coming here [the dojo] because I'm an Arab, and you know it's the kind of support you need, especially in a small community. Make your own group strong and you are a pioneer in your own group.

While ethnic networks were found to be powerful allies for the business activities of some participants, not all participants agreed. Charlie informed me that, “the Filipino community is heavily divided and they do not like to see other's doing better so they don't support the businesses of co-ethnics.” He then proceeded to tell me that he feels excluded from the local Filipino community because his business focus is not basketball or food:

Filipinos here they like eating, party, and basketball. It's community standards, but I don't like basketball. I go there [Filipino basketball league] to watch once in a while maybe, just to say hi but most of the time they [Filipinos] are there mostly because of basketball; I don't care for basketball.

For Charlie, operating a business in Canada means you need to know everyone's culture, “Because if you want to sell service product and everything, your customer is most likely Indian, Asian, Arabic, middle-eastern - you don't even know; in Canada you need to know every culture, not only the Canadian culture but sometimes you need to know beyond that. During the participant observation phase I noted how Charlie spend time during his day to learn about his cultural background and that of others. When I asked him about his interest in other cultures, he replied, “A lot of people won't go out of their way to learn your culture because they even have - they don't even know what their culture is...and if you know your culture and you don't have the information than you're thinking you have a better culture than anybody else.”

Transregional and Transnational Networks Enable the Preservation of Diverse Cultural Heritages

In the course of my field research, I found that although I was concerned with the local and domestic context of participants' actions, some of the participants affirmed and advanced a variety of discourses associated with multicultural citizenship in and through transregional and transnational networks. For example, Kobe helped to create a North American network of Filipino basketball organizations, which has provided the foundation and sustenance for an annual North American Filipino basketball tournament. According to Kobe, over 120 teams representing Filipino communities from 26 North American cities and towns meet in an annual tournament to share and express traditional cultural heritage under the pretext of basketball. Kobe explained,

The tournaments are not about winning but developing friendships with other players from other cities. Players as well as coaches and parents try to speak in Tagalog but the main spoken language is definitely English. We always remember where we are from.

Of interest, I learned that the 2014 tournament will be hosted in the city of Windsor, Ontario, and that it will draw an expected 5,000+ people from across North America to the region for the two-day event; nevertheless, Kobe reported that the city's administration has shown little interest in the event and had thus far not committed to any financial support. In fact, Kobe asked me to attend meetings of the basketball organization's executive board, where I was asked to help with the planning of the event. It was during those meetings that I observed and noted the ways in which transnational and transregional networks foster and nurture the political resources necessary for local-scale action.

Interestingly, the monthly “business meetings” were not only for the benefit of the executive; I noted that Kobe used these occasions to bring together players, coaches, executives, and their families, who were all vital to the success of the organization. It was through their involvement with a network of national and international Filipino basketball organizations that Kobe and volunteers were able to organize themselves politically to seek the support and resources necessary for the basketball tournament. Hence, involvement in the development of transregional and transnational networks, in this case made possible through the establishment of a privately owned and operated business, is a pipeline for ethno-cultural preservation.

Another participant, Ivanka, informed me that she draws on her extensive international network of classical Indian dancers and choreographers to “develop a new generation of dancers who can present India’s rich diversity to the local community.” At the time of the study, Ivanka was the Artistic Director for the Indian Dance Academy, and hosted a festival every year with the students and with invited artistes from overseas. During our first meeting, she specifically described the way in which connections with international artists facilitate the sharing and promotion of India’s cultural diversity, and the opportunities to do so in Canada:

My colleagues and I, we look for opportunities everywhere [around the world] to share the stage to present different genre of Indian dance. With the academy, I am on the threshold of an amazing experience in Canada. I feel ready to investigate the many possibilities that Canada provides. I want to be accepted as a dancer with my own individual style yet be able to co-present with different genre of local and international artists sharing the stage space.

I attended the two-day festival, which included dance performances by local and international dancers, lectures and demonstrations, and a dinner and awards gala. Although Ivanka had

performed at many local and international festivals, during informal conversations she expressed deep fulfillment from the opportunity to both affirm and resist aspects of her cultural heritage as she produces and shares her identity with the community through her business practices:

Dance has always been the medium of expression for me. I can sense an artistic freedom in Canada that will allow me to create and share new extensions of my tradition with family and friends without compromising its integrity or fundamentals. I feel that our classical dance forms hold a vast heritage of knowledge, yet it needs not be mummified pieces of movements and expressions.

Discussion

Informed by Foucault's (2008) analysis of neoliberal governmentality, and specifically the notion of the entrepreneurial self, my findings indicate that participation in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures is an important medium for immigrant minorities' effective use of power. In what follows, I discuss two important findings that highlight how multicultural citizenship discourses shape and are shaped by the business practices of study participants: 1) Leisure-oriented business formation as a site and medium for immigrant minorities to affirm and uphold citizenship rights and entitlements as conferred through multicultural citizenship discourses; and, 2) business formation as a disciplinary practice that can internalize neoliberal social relations and even promote a neoliberal agenda.

Leisure-Oriented Business Formation as a Site and Medium for the Affirmation of Multiculturalism

The data revealed a clear orientation among participants towards non-economic motives for business creation, which opened an area of reflection concerning the relationship between business activities and multicultural citizenship discourses. I found that for the majority of

participants, the value of operating a leisure venture was not grounded in income generation, but rather in the enjoyment and promotion of a desired way of life; specifically, as a means to uphold and sustain ethno-cultural practices, traditions, and networks. For participants with established restaurants, their business sites served as important sites for the mobilization of ethno-cultural knowledge and skills. Participants whose businesses were oriented towards sports and martial arts, for example, overwhelmingly reported a desire to use their businesses to develop ethnic solidarity. Others, such as Vladimir and Ivanka, perceived business formation as an opportunity to share and preserve their ancestors' ethno-cultural traditions and practices. In this sense, the majority of participants in this study were "pulled" into entrepreneurship to enact Canada's multiculturalism platform.

For some participants, business formation is a strategy employed to bring co-ethnics together to share, express, and preserve cultural distinctiveness — what Foucault (1990) would have called a "functional site" (p. 144). Leisure-oriented businesses offered a "stage" for the participants to create and offer cultural-specific products, services, and events that attracted interest, involvement, and consumption among co-ethnics in the local community. Other participants drew on multicultural citizenship discourses to share and preserve diverse cultural traditions and practices with the broader community. Indeed, some participants articulated a discourse that promoting others' cultural heritages through their business practices can be leveraged as a tool to develop their own sense of belonging. This is an important point, as research (see Esses, Hamilton, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Burstein, 2010) has indicated an immigrant's sense of belonging is crucial to feeling positive about oneself, to feeling trust and positive regard from and for others, as well as to making a commitment to stay in the country of destination. For these participants, operating a leisure-oriented business meant they could break

down barriers and to create opportunities for themselves and others to affirm and uphold rights conferred through multicultural citizenship discourses.

Multiculturalism as a Technology of Power

Taylor (1994) suggested that, “we become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression. My data point to the productive effects of constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses, as they can be used to illustrate the process through which study participants established businesses to uphold diverse cultural traditions, practices, and networks via a conscious awareness of the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship discourses. Participants with health and fitness-oriented businesses, for example, articulated an understanding that ethno-cultural skills and knowledge (cultural resources) can be leveraged to improve the health of Canadian populations. Other participants reported perceived feelings of frustration in dealing with exclusion and discrimination inside mainstream organizations as a primary reason why they left to launch their own ventures. These participants indicated that their business activities are not only developed to make local residents aware of their ethno-cultural traditions, but to also create a space where a shared multicultural identity may be constructed. Although most participants cited a number of barriers to establishing their business, the majority reported satisfaction with their business and considered it to be helpful in terms of improving language skills, learning about the Canadian way of life and preserving their cultural heritage.

Business creation not only organizes spaces for immigrant minorities to share and preserve cultural distinctiveness with co-ethnics, but it also enables opportunities for participants to share cultural traditions and practices with other Canadians. My findings suggest that multicultural citizenship discourses are not only leveraged by participants to further their own

integration, but are also drawn on to promote and market their respective business: the organization of festivals and community events and the creation of welcoming spaces through the use of “ethnic” symbols (e.g., flags, music), among others, are practices that arguably are enabled by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988). An original identity needs and is vulnerable to the recognition given or withheld by others (Taylor, 1994). Correspondingly, the participants’ business practices ought to be seen as practices of civic and political engagement, and as techniques employed for themselves and others to be “recognized.” This is an important point. For minority groups to be recognized in a multicultural Canadian society, members of such groups are encouraged and even expected to place their cultural distinctiveness on public display (Taylor, 1994; Weivorka, 1998). Following Foucault (1980, 1990, 2008), to be heard or to have one’s utterances granted credibility, one has to speak the language in which those truths and falsehoods figure.

Business Formation as a Disciplinary Practice

While business formation served to contest dominant representations of “business” aspirations, they also revealed how business practices can be used by individuals to internalize neoliberal social relations and even promote a neoliberal agenda. Indeed, while the business practices of the study participants can be seen to disrupt and challenge the leisure traditions and practices of dominant groups, they do not necessarily challenge neoliberal discourses. Following Foucault (2008), immigrant minorities’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures is enabled and made possible by multicultural citizenship discourses that encourage and reinforce self-responsibility for asserting cultural identities in and through the market place. Involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship could be understood as non-European immigrants’ capacity, in the current socio-political context, to uphold and preserve

ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. In this regard, the participants in the study established businesses in order to fit the “responsible” and “entrepreneurial” models of citizenship encouraged and reinforced by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988). For example, through their everyday business practices, study participants promoted values such as ethnic solidarity and individual responsibility for ethno-cultural preservation, which serve a neoliberal agenda of reduced social service provision and cutbacks to municipal recreation departments. In this sense, participants’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures is not so much a critique to Canada’s neoliberal agenda as it is a representation of immigrant minorities’ understandings and practices of Canadian multicultural citizenship. Thus, I argue that business formation serves as a medium and a space for immigrant minorities in Windsor-Essex to assert their membership in Canadian society and to lay claims to full and equal citizenship rights.

While the particularities of my findings cannot be used to generalize or anticipate how immigrant minorities’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures can transgress power relations, my findings do suggest it is through the interrogation of the limits and creative possibilities of constraints exercised in and through multicultural citizenship discourses that immigrant minorities evoke the possibility for transgression of dominant leisure forms and practices. Following Foucault (2008), choice and autonomy are never outside of power relations. Leisure-oriented entrepreneurship should therefore be seen as an important social space through which an immigrant constitutes him/herself as an ethical subject through the interrogation of constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses.

Conclusion

There are many good arguments for taking a critical stance towards the normative prescriptions for ascertaining cultural distinctiveness in Canada, how they act to constrain and condition the freedom and choices of individuals, and how immigrant minorities act upon them. Likewise, there are many good arguments for taking a critical stance towards the discourse on leisure as a self-governed activity, how it is used in public policy and how it impacts immigrant minorities' leisure behaviours. Neoliberal political rationalities are important and integral parts of these discourses that have so far been neglected.

My findings are insightful in that they show how citizenship discourses, in my case those produced by Canada's Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988), act as constraints that produce the 'norms' by which immigrants in Canada constitute their leisure pursuits. I argue that researchers should attend to the ways in which power relations act as constraints that also enable leisure pursuits and the experiences therein. In addition, researchers ought to consider leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as social spaces that enable marginalized individuals' capacity to problematize and potentially dismantle essentialist notions of the self. In this respect, researchers may find it useful to think of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as sites where ethnic identities are constituted, appropriated, contested and transformed — a "space where the entanglement of subjectivity, identity and politics is performed" (Brah, 1996, p. 234). While acknowledging that the socio-political conditions that facilitate the preservation of cultural distinctiveness in the realm of leisure —space, encouragement, and legislation—have changed considerably since the introduction of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988), it is possible to submit that immigrant minorities have developed a new strand of identity politics through the practice of business formation. Although a detailed discussion of identity politics in Canada is beyond the

scope of this study, a notable finding from this study is that business creation may be an important arena for immigrant minorities' civic and political engagement. The findings from this study allow us to reflect upon the issue of immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits, multiculturalism, and neoliberalism, and point out the need to investigate further the possibilities, constraints, and contradictions that emerge as immigrants seek to create spaces for their practice of citizenship in contemporary society.

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Chapter 4:

Leisure-Oriented Entrepreneurship in Canada: Sites for Non-European Immigrants' Civic Engagement

Abstract

In this paper I investigate the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship within the context of citizenship discourses produced by Canada's official multiculturalism platform. Using participant observation and semi-structured interviews, I exposed and explored how 12 leisure-oriented non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario mobilize business activities to affirm and/or resist multicultural citizenship discourses. Employing the theoretical work of Michael Foucault, I found that through their business activities, study participants mobilized multicultural citizenship discourses to produce socially and politically valuable interactions with local, national, and international networks that expanded their possibilities for recognition and equal rights in the social, cultural, and political spheres of Canadian society. My findings identified the central significance of business formation as an important site and medium for non-European immigrants' capacity to preserve diverse cultural traditions, practices, and networks, and in so doing, inform our understanding of the potential and limitations of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship for non-European immigrants' civic engagement in small and medium sized Canadian communities.

Immigrant entrepreneurship has been largely overlooked in the leisure studies literature. In Canada, and many other industrialized nations, immigrant entrepreneurship has most often been associated with immigrants' economic integration and advancement in a new host society (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2013; Lin, 2010; Zhou, 2004). Immigrant entrepreneurship's impacts, however, extend beyond the realm of the economic sphere. Notwithstanding the importance of economic objectives, and in particular for immigrant populations excluded from the waged-labour market, entrepreneurship concerns the processes through which individuals and groups exploit or make use of existing knowledge and resources (human, social, economic, and cultural) to initiate change for themselves and others through new venture formation (Drucker, 1985; Schumpeter, 2000). Entrepreneurship, therefore, can act as a vehicle not only for economic advancement, but also as a means for civic engagement. Arguably, this is reflected in, among other things, the ever-broadening range of leisure-oriented products and services available in many Canadian centres, which now include businesses such as Ethiopian restaurants, Latin dance studios, and Bollywood cinemas. Nevertheless, there continues to be a paucity of data on leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship, particularly its social and political dimensions.

To begin to address the gap in the literature, in this paper I investigate the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship within the context of the normative prescriptions espoused by Canadian multicultural citizenship discourses. I do so by drawing on findings from an ethnographic study conducted to expose and explore how 12 leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario mobilize businesses activities to affirm and or resist discourses⁶ produced by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Canada, 1988). Informed by the theoretical work of

Michael Foucault, through my data analysis I identified the central significance of business formation as sites and media for non-European immigrants to (re)produce and preserve ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. Through their involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented businesses, non-European immigrants affirmed self-responsibilization for the preservation of diverse cultural traditions and practices, which serves a neoliberal agenda of reduced state intervention. In this regard, an observer may conclude that leisure-oriented entrepreneurship is a disciplinary practice for non-European immigrants, and that business creation is an exclusionary practice - a minimalist freedom – granted by the dominant cultural groups (In Canada's case, Anglophones and Francophones). Far from viewing business formation as a marginalized space, however, most of the participants considered their business activities as a manifestation of their social and civic duties. In effect, non-European immigrants' participation in leisure-based entrepreneurship indicates a certain level of civic engagement, as it suggests an investment in host-country life, and the recognition that Canadian policy has an impact on their lives and capacity for self-determination. These findings inform our understanding of the potential and limitations of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship for non-European immigrants' civic engagement in Canadian society. Further, they inform our understanding of the potential ways leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship may contribute to the attraction and retention of newcomers to smaller Canadian communities.

Background and Context

This study's focus on the intersections between multicultural citizenship discourses and non-European immigrants' involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship is timely and important. It coincides with a growing awareness among scholars and policymakers that one of the most compelling challenges facing Canadian society is how to maintain and strengthen bonds

of community while accommodating for increased ethno-cultural diversity (Banting & Soroka, 2012; Esses, Hamilton, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Burstein, 2010). Immigrants originating from countries in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, and Africa increasingly account for a larger portion of immigration into Canada⁷ (Statistics Canada, 2013), introducing cultural and racial differences that have triggered intense discourse about multiculturalism, immigrant integration and social cohesion (Banting, 2010; Esses et al., 2010; Hall, 2000; Wieviorka, 1998; Wong, 2008). For some, increasing ethno-cultural diversity creates competition and organization problems among ethno-cultural groups; namely, between members of dominant groups (e.g., Anglophones and Francophones) and less established ethno-cultural minorities who largely originate from non-European source countries, with implications for the development of inclusive and welcoming communities⁸ (Esses, Hamilton, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Burstein, 2010). Compounding the challenge is a lack of resources, both human and financial, to support the successful integration⁹ of immigrants to Canada from around the globe (see Banting, 2010; Esses et al., 2010). Within an environment of fiscal conservatism, there is a growing awareness among policymakers that more attention needs to be paid to bottom-up initiatives (i.e., in which people work together to solve their own problems) that facilitate and support the incorporation of ethno-cultural diversity while simultaneously forging a unified sense of community (Esses et al., 2010).

In this regard, it may very well be in the interest of policymakers to consider the social and political contributions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship. In general terms, entrepreneurship concerns the initiation of change through business formation, be it economic, social, cultural, or political. Within contemporary public policy, however, immigrant entrepreneurship's economic dimensions have received the lion's share of attention (CIC, 2013),

while the social and political dimensions – the focus of my research - have not been recognized or valued in the same way.

Fieldwork Site

The Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario, located directly across from Detroit, Michigan, was specifically chosen as the site for this research because since 2008 it has incorporated a range of supports for immigrant entrepreneurs with the anticipation that the businesses they create can generate employment opportunities for themselves and for prospective immigrants to the region (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2009). Historically, the region has been an important settlement destination for immigrants to Canada, and more recently for non-European immigrants who settled outside of Toronto, Canada's largest city (Statistics Canada, 2013). Nevertheless, statistical data have shown the region's ability to attract and retain immigrants may be slipping. Data compiled and analyzed by CIC (2013) have shown a sharp year-over-year decrease between 2005-2012 in the number of new immigrants who choose to settle in the Windsor-Essex region — an estimated 1,210 newcomers settled in communities of Windsor-Essex in 2012, down 60% from 2005 numbers (2,981) (CIC, 2013). Dubbed the “unemployment capital of Canada,” local policymakers have attributed the comparative decline in immigration trends to the out-migration of the automotive manufacturing sector and the inability of newcomers to find suitable employment in Windsor-Essex (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2013). With many population centres across Canada seeking to attract and retain skilled immigrants (Stubbs, 2012), business development agencies in the Windsor-Essex region have given primacy to immigrant entrepreneurs who can help diversify the economy from more traditional industries (e.g., manufacturing, agriculture) into knowledge intensive industries (e.g., web-based technologies and applications) (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2013). Local agencies have not,

however, considered the potential social and political contributions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship for the attraction and retention of newcomers. In this study, I investigated how multicultural citizenship discourses are affirmed and or resisted through the business activities of 12 leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs in the Windsor-Essex region. Among other things, the findings presented in this paper may be of use for local agencies in Windsor-Essex and other Canadian communities interested in the potential contributions of immigrant entrepreneurship for the attraction and retention of newcomers to Canada.

Literature Review

Over the last two decades, program cuts and changes in the provision of social services, leisure and recreation included, have limited the capacity of public agencies in addressing and or accommodating for the cultural-specific needs and interests of immigrant minorities to Canada (Cureton & Frisby, 2011; Golob, 2010; Karlis & Dawson, 1995; Thibault, Kikulis & Frisby, 2003; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). During the 1970s and 80s, extensive state funding was made available to incorporate the ethno-cultural traditions and practices of immigrants to Canada¹⁰ through cultural festivals in public spaces and the establishment of ethnic community organizations, among others (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; James, 2003). The state's role in the preservation of ethno-cultural traditions and practices changed however in the late 1980s with the passing of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 (Canada, 1988). Faced with the “problem of factions” and fiscal austerity measures in all levels of government, the prevailing discourse constructed by the Act implies that the liberal state should as far as possible remain “culturally neutral” in the provision of social services, and that that the responsibility for constructing, sharing, and preserving ethno-cultural distinctiveness falls primarily into the hands

of individuals and groups of individuals (Bating & Kymlicka, 2010; James, 2010). This has created a serious challenge for immigrant minorities to Canada, as I shall discuss below.

Canada's official multiculturalism platform can be aptly characterized by two strands of identity politics, individual freedom and social equality, which come into sharp conflict in the citizenship discourses produced by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988). Scholars (Hall, 2000; James, 1999, 2003, 2010; Kymlicka, 2001; Li, 2003; Taylor, 1994; Wieviorka, 1998) have argued that prevailing citizenship discourses produced by the Act do not protect cultural minorities from oppression and suppression by the majorities. By diminishing the state's responsibility for the preservation of cultural diversity and placing it instead on the shoulders of individuals and groups of individuals, these authors contend that the Act generates a discourse that not all cultures are of equal merit and deserving of equal respect. Kymlicka (2001) suggested it is "manifestly false that liberal-democratic states are culturally neutral, as they aim to promote their own societal culture through language, education, and citizenship policies that are designed to assimilate immigrants and national minorities" (pp. 24-25). Taylor (1994) argued that, "liberalism is not a possible meeting ground for all cultures, but is the political expression of one range of cultures, and quite incompatible with other ranges" (p. 62). For James (1999), Canada's official multiculturalism policy operates as a "smokescreen" to hide the fact that Anglo and Franco interests remain dominant. In a similar vein, Li (2003) proposed citizenship discourses produced by the Act, based on liberal conceptions of universal citizenship and cultural neutrality, create competition and fragmentation because they encourage members of dominant groups (i.e., colonizing nations) to cooperate as "free" individuals to preserve mutual interests (i.e., preservation of cultural traditions and practices). Hence, citizenship discourses produced by the Act violate the principle of nondiscrimination (Taylor, 1994). According to Li (2003),

contemporary multicultural citizenship discourses limit the opportunity structure for immigrants belonging to ethnic groups that are less established and or small in size, who do not have organized infrastructure and or have limited access to facilities or resources. For these scholars, then, contemporary multiculturalism policies with a stated commitment to diversity and inclusion are often more symbolic than substantive, as individual freedom trumps social equality.

Such arguments, which have likewise been proposed in leisure studies scholarship (Karlis, 2004; Thibault et al., 2003), have not considered the enabling discourses produced by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988). Arguably, when immigrant minorities become aware of the disproportionate receipt policy burdens, such that they recognize their rights for cultural preservation are to be found in the private sphere, they understand that their influence in the public sphere is limited if not restricted. As a result, we may expect social exclusion and discrimination (perceived or real) to inhibit, limit, or restrict immigrant minorities' capacity to uphold diverse leisure traditions and practices in public spaces (for an overview see Walker & Stodolska, 2007). In support, a large body of empirical research has demonstrated that immigrants to Canada sustain culture-specific leisure traditions and activities mainly through the establishment of ethnic community organizations and clubs (e.g., Karlis, 1990; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009; Stodolska, 1998, 2000; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). It would then stand to argue that smaller and or less established ethnic groups may be unable to uphold cultural-specific leisure traditions and activities, mainly due to their inability for self-sufficiency (Karlis, 2004; Thibault et al., 2003). Golob and Giles (2011), however, argued that multicultural citizenship discourses should also be seen as enabling immigrant minorities to establish privately owned businesses (operating in public spaces) where cultural-specific leisure traditions and activities may be (re)produced and sustained. Within the context of Canada's official

multiculturalism policy, Golob and Giles contended, immigrants' propensity to address their own and others' leisure needs and interests through business creation ought be seen as representative of their constitutional right to uphold their attachment to their cultural heritage; effectively, business creation might serve as an important medium for immigrant minorities to enact Canada's multiculturalism platform. In the leisure studies scholarship, however, there are no studies linking these two threads — i.e., combining the social and political motives for engagement in cultural preservation through leisure pursuits with the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship. Despite mounting evidence showing that “fiscal restraint” measures introduced in the early 1990s have limited the ability for publicly funded recreation providers to support and promote the ethno-cultural traditions and practices of minorities (e.g., Cureton & Frisby, 2011; Golob, 2010; Karlis & Dawson, 1995; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000), researchers have thus far for the most part overlooked leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as a practice prescribed, and therefore enabled, by the operation of constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses.

Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Canada

Within the mainstream entrepreneurship literature, the term “immigrant entrepreneur” has been broadly used to identify immigrants who start businesses in their countries of settlement (for an overview see Kloosterman & Rath, 2003). For the most part, this literature has constructed immigrant entrepreneurship as a necessary and or preferred labour integration strategy that in many cases allows for the continuation of an original profession, addresses unemployment or under-employment, or represents a significant avenue for socioeconomic progress (Light & Gold, 2000; Zhou, 1992, 2004). It has also emphasized that the motives for immigrant entrepreneurship are to be found largely in the challenges and opportunities imposed

by their “immigrant” status and conditioned by a host society socio-political context (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003; Light & Gold, 2000).

Researchers (e.g. Hou & Wang, 2011; Light, 1979; Li, 1997, 2001; Young & Richards, 1992) have documented how entrepreneurship may, therefore, be a form of marginalization for immigrants to Canada. On the one hand, researchers (e.g., Bauder, 2003; Hou & Wang, 2011; Li, 2001; Reitz, 2001) have provided evidence to suggest some immigrants to Canada are “pushed” into entrepreneurship as a result of social exclusion and discrimination in the waged-labour market. Through business creation, these scholars have argued, immigrants create their own jobs, which enable them to circumvent some of the structural constraints that they may encounter in the waged-labour market such as unrecognized foreign credentials, lack of Canadian work experience, and insufficient language skills¹¹. In this regard, entrepreneurship is seen as a vehicle through which immigrant minorities to Canada can overcome social disadvantages to achieve and or maximize their economic potential (Li, 2001). According to Hou and Wang (2011), this is seen in the increased levels of self-employment among immigrants in Canada, and in particular recent immigrants, during periods of economic stagnation when there are fewer opportunities in the waged-labour market.

On the other hand, researchers (e.g., Light & Gold, 2000; Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990; Yoon, 1997; Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward, 2000; Zhou, 2004) have emphasized that some immigrants may also have a “cultural” propensity towards entrepreneurship. According to Waldinger et al. (2000), immigrants are also “pulled” into entrepreneurship to “serve ethnic customers or niche markets that are underserved or abandoned, that exhibit low economies of scale, or that are composed of customers with exotic tastes” (p. 19). In support, empirical research has shown that immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada usually set up their businesses in

sectors where informal production gives them a competitive advantage and where an established network of ethnic people provides them with an opportunity for informally doing business and exchanging information (for an overview see Zhou, 2004). Immigrant entrepreneurship, from this point of view, is seen as an effect of resource mobilization, as immigrants' capacity to produce "ethnic" inspired businesses and the resources to develop them are shaped by the socio-political context of a host society (Light & Gold, 2000).

Arguably, then, immigrant entrepreneurship in Canada is also important because it enables and makes possible immigrants' capacity to preserve diverse cultural traditions and practices. From this point of view, immigrant entrepreneurs are also important components of the social fabric that sustains civic engagement and drives social transformation at the micro-level (Lin, 2010; Murdie, 2008; Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 2000).

Notwithstanding the important links between push and pull factors in immigrants' decisions to create new businesses (Kloosterman & Rath, 2003), the existing literature indicates business formation is an important medium through which immigrant minorities enact citizenship rights conferred by Canada's official multiculturalism platform (Canada, 1988). In this regard, immigrant entrepreneurship ought to also be seen as important sites for immigrant minorities' civic engagement and therefore as sites where immigrant minorities struggle for recognition and equal rights not only in the economic, but also the social and political spheres of life in Canada. Nevertheless, empirical research on leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship's social and political dimensions remains limited in leisure studies scholarship. In the Canadian-specific context, there is a gap in our understanding of the potential contributions leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs might play in strengthening bonds of community while accommodating for increased cultural diversity.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, I approached and analyzed the intersections between multicultural citizenship discourses and leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship through a Foucauldian-informed framework. From a Foucauldian lens, constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses could be seen as installing the capacities for leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship; that is, as enabling and making possible immigrant minorities' capacity for active citizenship, namely by reproducing cultural values and traditions through market-oriented practices. It is a mistake, however, to assume that the point of this argument is to eliminate or undermine any meaningful concept of subjectivity. Instead, the point is to clear a space for new conceptions and new forms of subjectivity. To arrive at this argument, and to describe its implications for this study, it is imperative that I begin with an overview of Foucault's notion of "power/knowledge" as a necessary pre-condition for subject action.

Throughout his work, Foucault (1990, 1995, 2008) was interested in the knowledge structures that condition and constrain human behaviour. Knowledge, according to Foucault (1980), is power. He did not, however, mean that the more knowledge a person has, the more power she/he has. Rather, Foucault (1990) maintained "that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (p. 27). In this regard, power/knowledge, diffused and embodied in discourse, is seen as a necessary condition for the possibility of subject action (Foucault, 1982, 1990, 2008). From a Foucauldian lens, "Events, utterances, statements and definitions no matter how specific, cannot happen just anyhow. They must happen according to certain constraints, rules or conditions of possibility. And this means that discourses always function in relation to power

relations” (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 39). Discourse, in this sense, is where power and knowledge come together to produce what is and can be known about social life (Foucault, 1972). Because they determine what is conceived of as important, as possible, as “truth,” discourses should be seen to act as constraints that simultaneously inhibit and enable how an individual, as a subject and object of power relations, understands and constructs her/himself and the social actions that she/he attempts to perform (Fraser 1989). Foucault (1980, 1995) did not deny that forms of domination might exist; nevertheless, to understand how power relations are produced and sustained, or challenged and transgressed, he suggested we interrogate *how* power is exercised through the practices, techniques, and procedures that give it effect.

In a series of lectures published under the title *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), Foucault (2008) remarked that effective governance in modern democratic societies is not a matter of a dominant force having direct control over the conduct of individuals; rather, it is a matter of constraining and thus producing the conditions within which individuals are able to freely conduct themselves. While some authors have proclaimed that an institutional framework characterized by free markets safeguards individual freedom and choice (see Harvey, 2005), Foucault maintained practices of freedom are inherently a “product” or an “effect” of power relations (Miller & Rose, 2008). Neo-liberal political rationalities are, for Foucault (2008), about producing the field of possible actions of “free” individuals — the conduct of conducts — in such a way that it does not violate their apparent autonomy. To govern in modern democratic society, therefore, is to produce constraints to people’s freedom and autonomy (Miller & Rose, 2008).

Using the theoretical work of Foucault, multicultural citizenship discourses ought to be seen to act as constraints that install the capacities for individuals, notably immigrant minorities,

to “freely” govern themselves responsibly — in the realm of leisure, to choose those activities that maximize the possibilities for achieving a full, prosperous, and happy life. In other words, multicultural citizenship discourses should be seen as knowledge about the possibilities within, and permeability of, the current social-political structure for individual and collective (re)production of diverse cultural traditions and practices. Because they communicate what is acceptable, what is normal, what is true, public policy discourse acts as constraints that simultaneously inhibit and enable individual actions. Knowledge communicated in and through discourse is, in a Foucauldian sense, power. Because multicultural citizenship discourses prescribe self-sufficiency for the preservation of diverse cultural traditions and practices, leisure-oriented entrepreneurship could be seen as important sites for immigrant minorities to pursue their cultural rights and interests, and therefore as sites where immigrant minorities struggle for recognition and equal rights not only in the economic, but also the social and political spheres of life in Canada. Correspondingly, the concern here is the extent to which people, notably those belonging to minority groups of the population, actually achieve substantial citizenship; that is, “equal chances of participation in various areas of society such as politics, work and social security” (Castles, 2000, p. 20).

Methodology

This research was guided by the extended case method (ECM) approach. Developed in sociology by Burawoy (1991, 1998, 2009), the ECM approach is especially well suited for studying micro-practices as simultaneously shaped by and shaping an external field of forces. Burawoy (2009) maintains that by “dwelling in theory” — by focusing on the broader social and political forces that shape everyday life, participant observation and other ethnographic data collection methods can be used to “extract the general from the unique, to move from the ‘micro’

to the ‘macro,’ to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on preexisting theory” (p. 21). Theory thus offers an initial avenue into the research site where it may be exemplified, modified, or challenged through the interaction and perspective of those being studied (Burawoy, 1991, 2009). Following the ECM approach, in this study I employed Foucauldian theory, as described above.

Sample

In the ECM approach, sampling is *purposeful* (Burawoy, 1998); that is, it includes the selection of participants from which the researcher can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the study (Patton, 2002). For this research, I used snowball sampling to recruit participants that immigrated to Canada from non-European source countries and who, at the time of the study, operated businesses in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario that produce opportunities for leisure engagement (e.g., sports, arts, culinary, dance). In total, there were 12 participants. The participants recruited for this study are by no means a homogenous group. Differences (see Table 1) amongst the participants are evident in relation to country of origin, sex, length of time in Canada, and product(s)/service(s) offered by their respective businesses. To protect the identity of the research participants and the businesses they operate, I have assigned pseudonyms to all participants.

Table 1. Characteristics of sample

Participant	Municipality	Sex	Product/service offered	Country of Origin (Length of time in Canada)
Leopold	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Lebanon (48 years)
Phillip	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Iran (12 years)

Vladimir	Windsor	Male	Martial Arts	Korea (5 years)
Mike	Lasalle	Male	Martial Arts	Brazil (10 years)
Charlie	Tecumseh	Male	Dance/ Fitness	Philippines (8 years)
Rosa	Windsor	Female	Dance / Fitness	Lebanon (12 years)
Kobe	Windsor	Male	Basketball	Philippines (35 years)
Ivanka	Amherstburg	Female	Dance	India (7 years)
Roberto	Windsor	Male	Restaurant	Mexico (10 years)
Fred	Kingsville	Male	Restaurant	Cuba (14 years)
Cynthia	Windsor	Female	Restaurant	El Salvador (24 years)
Ludmila	Kingsville	Female	Aesthetic Salon	Vietnam (15 years)

Methods

The methods used for the data collection were participant observation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and semi-structured interviews (Kirby, Greaves, & Reid, 2006). In participant observation the researcher is, to a greater or lesser extent, immersed in the day-to-day activities of the people being studied (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Marshall and Rossman (1989) defined participant observation as “the systemic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study” (p. 79). Following the ECM approach, participant observation is used to locate micro-practices within a larger set of social circumstances, and thereby illuminate the micro-macro link (Buroway, 1998). Over the course of six months (February-July, 2012), I immersed myself into the everyday worlds of study participants in order to expose and explore ways in which they mobilize leisure-oriented businesses to affirm and or resist multicultural citizenship discourses. The method enabled me to consider discourses or terms that participants used or

described in the interviews, observe events that participants may have otherwise been unable or unwilling to share, observe situations and spaces participants described in interviews, and observe or participate in unscheduled events, thereby allowing for a rich description and interpretation of the data. By gathering field notes and conducting informal interviews, I engaged multiple dialogues to locate the business practices of study participants as informed by and informing multicultural citizenship discourses in Canada. Significant occurrences, observations, and details of conversations held with participants were recorded in a notebook and/or audio recorded at appropriate junctures for further analysis.

As suggested by Dewalt and Dewalt (2002), fieldwork involves “active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience” (p. vii). Initially, I had planned to spend a week, uninterrupted, with each participant; however, participants’ schedules varied greatly (e.g., some of the participants worked full-time in addition to running their businesses and some businesses only operated during weekends) and many suggested a number of future events (e.g., tournaments, festivals) that would be worthwhile for me to attend and participate in. I was invited to birthday parties, cultural festivals, and community demonstrations. Following invitations from some of the participants, I attended business meetings, assisted in business development (e.g., I connected one participant with community legal aid to assist with the incorporation of a business), helped set-up promotional events, and even used my carpentry skills to build service equipment (e.g., punching blocks for Karate training). As a participant observer, I looked for ways in which study participants used their business activities to establish and or sustain diverse cultural traditions, practices, and networks. I also considered ways in which study participants used their business activities to create inclusive spaces for all members of the Windsor-Essex community to

participate in a wide array of leisure traditions and practices. As a result, my in-depth experiences produced strong insights into issues relevant for this study.

Data Analysis

Given the centrality of discourse and power to this study, I chose critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the principal mode of analysis. In its most basic form, CDA is a method used by researchers to uncover the ways in which individual experience and action is constructed, by whom, and for what purposes (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). "Critical" could be understood as embedding the data in the social context, taking an explicitly political stance, and having a focus on self-reflection as a scholar (Woodak, 2002). Researchers with political aims most often use it to expose and examine the means by which discourse affects relations of power, dominance, and inequality between social groups (Van Dijk, 2001). Foucauldian scholars employ CDA to explore how historically and culturally located discourse effects subject positions, and how individuals, as subjects in discourse also simultaneously shape the discourse that constitutes social reality (Gubrium & Holstein, 2011). That is, how discourses, as "a form of social practice," shape and are shaped by the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) that frames it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

To analyze the data gathered in a systematic fashion, I followed Wodak's (2002) discourse-historic approach. According to Wodak (2008), all discourses are historical and can thus be understood with reference to their context. Therefore, the first step is to identify and describe the social-historical context that gives rise to the production of discourses related or connected to the research aims. I began by drawing on Golob and Giles' (2011) research and the existing literature on and about immigrant entrepreneurship to develop a sense of the social-historical context surrounding this research topic, and to produce theoretically relevant research

questions for entering the field. Research questions such as “How do multicultural citizenship discourses shape non-European immigrants’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented businesses? and “How might business formation enable non-European immigrants affirmation and or resistance of multicultural citizenship discourses?” offered an initial avenue into the research site (for interview guide, see Appendix B). As data were generated, they were organized into theoretically-relevant categories (e.g., business formation enables the sustenance of ethno-cultural traditions and practices; actions that generated feelings of pride). As the fieldwork process progressed, I continually scanned and re-read all texts and organized any anomalies into emergent categories, which provided the lens for further observations. Following the fieldwork phase, I drew on all the data collected to address the original research questions to look for patterns that converge to provide an overall interpretation of the findings.

Results

In what follows, I identify statements and field notes that exemplify how study participants affirmed and or resisted multicultural citizenship discourses through their business activities. The findings presented here is not an exhaustive list of my findings; rather, it represents key discourses relevant to my discussion of the social and political dimension of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship.

Businesses Formation is a Vehicle to Tackle Social Problems

Many of the participants in this study established leisure-oriented businesses or organizations with social aims as their primary objective. Phillip, who operates a Karate studio in addition to holding full-time employment, informed me that his aim is to teach Karate to anyone who is committed. According to Phillip, “I believe when you are in it for the money, you lose the

concept of teaching. If you teach the traditional Japanese karate, you are not supposed to charge.” Phillip recognized an opportunity to teach Karate to children of Arab immigrants, who “often do not have the resources and parental support for such activities.” He described his motivation and inspirations for his business by way of a story:

I loved my Sensei so much when I was young, I loved him so much. He was a very wise man, treated everyone as his own kids. If you failed in a subject in school, he wouldn’t kick you out, but he would ask you to come and bring your homework, to have older students teach you. I try to follow in his footsteps. I love teaching and dealing with kids. We have some of the parents that help kids with their homework. We have kids waiting for their brothers and sisters. They sit down and do their homework.

To facilitate the integration of immigrant children, Phillip has an “English language only” policy in effect, and uses the first 15 minutes of every class to discuss character development and what it means to live in Canada (e.g., gender equality, knowledge about other cultures). Phillip indicated he wanted his students to be open to other cultures:

I want them to adapt other [multiple] ways, I don’t want to adapt *their* way. There is no point to adapt their way, because if it’s a good way, there is nothing wrong with adapting that way. But as a teacher, you have an obligation to lead them to a way of better life, to a life of understanding.

Of interest, all of the participants in this study whose respective businesses were sport and martial arts-focused reported that addressing barriers to recent immigrants’ leisure participation, including language difficulties, lack of financial resources, and a lack of social connections, were a central focus of their business activities. In my observations, I noted these entrepreneurs set-up shop in neighborhoods with a high concentration of immigrants, made

special arrangements to offset costs for individuals who recently arrived to Canada (e.g., pay what you can), and facilitated interactions between recent arrivals and the local community. Leopold, for example, waives the membership fees for any student (or parent of student) who is unemployed. He explained, “I don’t want to deliver a bad image, telling students because of financial reasons, they cannot continue to train. If we do this, then students will quit right [the practice] away.” In my observations, I noted that Leopold also gave away or substantially discounted equipment, most of which he had to pay to obtain. When asked why he gave away equipment, Leopold explained, “I help kids and other people that just can’t afford things. I have given away gloves, uniforms, and I know they don’t have it. And unfortunately, and I say unfortunately because that’s just the way I am, I give away too much.” Commenting on his role in meeting for the needs of newcomers, Leopold reasoned, “when people first come to a new place, whether be a new country or new city or whatever it is, it is hard to do that. I know. I’ve been there.” Another participant, Vladimir, suggested that, “in helping others, you are helping yourself.”

Leisure Pursuits Build Community

The business practices of study participants provided a vivid illustration of the importance of social interactions achieved through the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented businesses. In fact, several participants described the rewards of their business activities as deriving as much from the social interactions that are part of running a business as it does from achieving the target of their intended actions. Roberto and Cynthia, for example, established a Mexican restaurant because there was no such place where locals could enjoy quality Mexican food. Roberto, who is the chef and is in charge of food, invited me to his kitchen on Monday afternoons, when the restaurant was closed and he could try out new dishes.

It was during one Monday afternoon conversation that Roberto rationalized that “as an immigrant your first thought is getting a job, and as a result, you forget about making friendships. You forget how important friends are for support.” Through his business activities, however, he has formed many friendships, and he has established connections with the Hispanic community, which he described as an important incentive for his business activities:

Before opening this restaurant, we didn’t know there was such a large community of Hispanics. [Through the restaurant] we have met a lot of them; some come to the restaurant often, and we didn’t know they were here before but because of this [the restaurant], they now have become friends. So now we have special events on Saturday nights, and it’s mostly the Hispanic community. We bring in a band and we make special menu items. It’s truly special and it’s definitely been very rewarding for me.

After learning I had a certificate to serve alcohol (which is a requirement in Canada), Cynthia asked if I could help with the bartending duties on Saturday evenings, when they bring a local band to perform for customers. That I was fluent in Spanish and of Hispanic decent was also seen as an asset to Cynthia and Roberto; indeed, when Hispanic customers came into the restaurant, Cynthia introduced me as “one of the family.” In my observations, I noted most of the patrons were families or couples of Hispanic descent who visited the establishment to socialize with others: The evenings started early and finished late, the atmosphere throughout the entire evening was loud and full of chatter —some people danced, others moved from table to table to catch up on the latest gossip. After the kitchen closed, Roberto joined the crowd, and the crowd erupted in cheer and clapped as a gesture of gratitude to the chef. Shortly after, the tables were joined together to create one large table around which everyone could sit. The restaurant space,

then, was an important site for Cynthia and Roberto's involvement with the local Hispanic community.

Fred, who established a Mexican restaurant, informed me that his restaurant sponsors two local soccer teams made up of temporary foreign workers from Mexico. In exchange, I noted in my observations, these individuals pay patronage to Fred's restaurant, once a week on Friday's, during which time they consume food and beverages while watching international soccer and mingling with other restaurant patrons.

Some of the participants articulated a belief that leisure-oriented businesses can be leveraged as media to bring co-ethnics together to portray, construct, and preserve diverse cultural traditions and practices. For example, Kobe's basketball organization resulted from the need to create a space for local Filipinos to connect:

Basketball has always been a passion as far as the Filipinos are concerned. Back in the 80s, a lot of Filipinos worked in the tool and die industry [in Windsor-Essex] and really did not have an avenue to kind of just get together to do something positive, to do something physical, and that's how it was basically started. We got a few of us together, came up with a plan and the rest is history.

Kobe explained that basketball serves as a pretense for local Filipinos to come together, "to give them family, to give them something that they could fall back, something that they could rely on because, like I said, basketball is always secondary."

Another participant, Ivanka, who established and operated an Indian Dance Academy out of her home (basement), informed me that she actively attempts to promote her Academy to the South Asian community. According to Ivanka,

My dance form is not at all popular so that's a challenge to get the word out and that remains my greatest challenge. North America is not accustomed to many dance forms, so my aim is to share and teach one of the most popular dance forms in India.

She organized a community festival to share and nurture her interest in classical Indian dance forms with the local community: "The festival is a great way to present India's rich heritage and to promote a better understanding and appreciation of classical dance forms among the people of South Asian origin as well as other Canadians." Ivanka explained, "In our dance form, learning is done through teaching; learning, teaching, and performing all are characteristic of professional Indian dance. Dance is how I communicate with members of my community."

Ascertaining and Communicating the Values of Diversity and Multiculturalism

Not all participants, however, shared a motivation to strengthen collective ethnic identities or to create a space solely for the preservation and expression of particularistic cultural traditions and practices. Instead, some participants articulated a motivation to create a "common public space" that celebrates many cultural heritages. For example, Leopold's martial arts "dojo" contained a number of different symbols, including flags representing different nationalities and posters in various languages. Leopold explained that the dojo is "a meeting place," and that the presence of diverse symbols helps him and his students to gain awareness of different cultural heritages:

I think that sometimes people won't go out of their way to learn your culture because they don't even know what their culture is. They find themselves maybe a little bit lost, maybe a little bit depressed, maybe a little bit confused...I think this [cultural symbol] gives people an opportunity to go, "hmm where am I from, what is my culture, what did my ancestors do?"

Another participant, Rosa, created a space and a variety of services (fitness) to appeal to people who feel they do not fit in traditional gym spaces. According to Rosa, “when people come in I don't even like to call them my clients they are my friends.” She further clarified, “like, I mean I have some clients that will stay here and do 3 or 4 classes in a row and they love it and everybody knows each other and you know I always welcome everybody.” During an informal conversation, Rosa explained her motivation to create inclusive exercise and dance spaces for everyone:

I really disliked working out just because wherever I went I felt like an outcast. [In establishing a studio] I wanted an atmosphere that was non-inhibiting and I wanted activities that were non-inhibiting and fun because in my humble opinion there are, there is a big group of people that are very fitness oriented but there is also a huge population of people that are not consistent and that's because we are not considering cultural factors. Since establishing her studio, Rosa has been contacted by the Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County to conduct fitness workshops two to three times a year. According to Rosa, the events are a great opportunity to tell newcomers to “just get involved in as many different activities as possible.”

Leisure Pursuits are Common Denominators

Some participants articulated that leisure pursuits are the “common denominator” that can bring people of different cultural backgrounds together. For example, Phillip explained that Karate is an “art that can enhance character no matter your cultural background,” and that to “reach his calling,” he opened a dojo where he could promote his teachings to everyone:

I wanted to promote Karate for everyone. If you just promote Karate for your own specific group, then you are not benefiting everyone. You are benefiting this group and

you are stopping others from learning the art. I wanted my students to be open [to other cultures]. So I had to be open.

Leopold informed me that his dojo is more than a martial arts training facility, “it is a meeting place for people in the community who share an interest in martial arts and the culture of martial arts.” During the participant observation phases, I noted that many of the instructors for youth classes (some over the age of 70) are also students of Leopold’s who volunteer their time to share their passion for martial arts. I also discovered that members of the dojo barter services and skills (students included electricians, police officers, plumbers, small business owners) to help each other out.

Phillip acknowledged that when he first opened his dojo he focused on attracting members of the Arab community “because I have a lot of credibility with the Arab community and they trust me so much so it is easy to target.” Yet, Phillip clarified that his focus is on sharing his interest in and knowledge of Karate with everyone, thereby placing emphasis on actions that promote a welcomed space:

I have some students who are more comfortable with their own culture and I tend to study it more just to be able to get a lot of confidence because before I say it’s St. Patrick’s Day, I need to know what St. Patrick’s is, and they are often amazed by me learning their own culture.

Another participant, Charlie, elucidated that as immigrant to Canada from the Philippines, “you try to do the same lifestyle [here] that you left back home, but I’m not sure you can.” During our conversations, Charlie explained that as an employee for a mainstream fitness organization he was asked to not bring his “smelly” food to the gym, which motivated him to start a business where “everyone” is welcomed:

I'm a different kind of entrepreneur -- I'm not a stereotype entrepreneur who [just wants to] gets rich. I am an employer, [a] friend, and [a] colleague. I used to be none, but we Filipinos' treat our homes like everyone's home - my studio is your home – welcome.

In my observations I noted that Charlie mobilized his business to create inclusive space for people of all ethnic backgrounds to participate in dance. To create a common space where everyone can exercise yet feel welcome, Charlie pays close attention to the music selection because “music brings back memories of where they [immigrants] started.” Charlie further clarified,

When I'm teaching Zumba and I know you are [from] Argentina, if I play the music Tango, most likely you will like it. So if you hear Tango and even if you don't know how to dance it, you will dance with it because you feel like you are home. When I see a lot of Indians [in Zumba class], I play Bollywood music. If I see Jamaicans, I play reggae... You need to adapt and come up with something [product or service] that shows them [clients] you are both like them and at the same time not like them.

Mike suggested that learning about and promoting other ethno-cultural traditions and practices is valuable for business. Mike explained,

When you open a business and you're in Canada, you need to know everyone's culture. You know why? Because if you want to sell service, product and everything else, your customer is most likely Indian, Asian, Arabic, middle-eastern - but you don't even know! You're not in France where maybe it's easy to sell because if you make a croissant, they want and it is easy to sell it, but here in Canada you need to know every culture, not only the Canadian culture but you need to know beyond that.

Taken together, the results show that the participants' involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented businesses was shaped by multicultural citizenship discourses, and that their business activities also shape multicultural citizenship discourses. The results presented here indicate participants established businesses to uphold and sustain ethno-cultural traditions and practices, create inclusive spaces for recent immigrants and members of the general population to participate in a wide array of leisure traditions and practices, and establish and or sustain ethnic networks. The findings also point to the significance of social interactions for non-European immigrants' civic engagement. Below, I discuss the implications of my findings for our understanding of the social and political contributions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship for non-European immigrants' civic engagement in Canadian society.

Discussion

Using a Foucauldian informed framework, my results highlight the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship. Business formation, my findings indicate, is an important medium through which non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario affirm and resist multicultural citizenship discourses. For participants with established restaurants, business sites served as important sites for the mobilization of ethno-cultural knowledge and skills. Participants whose businesses were oriented towards sports and martial arts, for example, overwhelmingly reported a desire to use their businesses to develop ethnic solidarity. Others, such as Vladimir and Ivanka, perceived business formation as an opportunity to share and preserve their ancestors' ethno-cultural traditions and practices. In this sense, the majority of participants in this study were "pulled" into entrepreneurship to enact Canada's multiculturalism platform. I will frame my discussion in

terms of how multicultural citizenship discourses can be seen to enable cultural preservation as produced and expressed through business creation; how such a process effects community development; and finally, what all this has to do with participatory democracy.

Business Formation as a Practice of Inclusion

For some participants, business formation is a strategy employed to bring co-ethnics together to share, express, and preserve cultural distinctiveness — what Foucault (1990) would have called a “functional site” (p. 144). Leisure-oriented businesses offered a “stage” for the participants to create and offer cultural-specific products, services, and events that attracted interest, involvement, and consumption among co-ethnics in the local community. Other participants drew on multicultural citizenship discourses to share and preserve diverse cultural traditions and practices with the broader community. Indeed, some participants articulated a discourse that promoting others’ cultural heritages through their business practices can be leveraged as a tool to develop their own sense of belonging. According to Esses et al. (2010), in practice, one primary means by which individuals feel included (or, conversely, excluded) is through the presence of symbols or displays. Participants in this study were shown to use techniques, such as the presence of diverse symbols or music, to help newcomers and ethnic minorities in the community feel included. For these participants, operating a leisure-oriented business meant they could break down barriers and to create opportunities for themselves and others to participate in a wide range of leisure traditions and practices.

From a Foucauldian lens, such actions can be seen as “effects” of power relations, as actions enabled and made possible by multicultural citizenship discourses (Golob & Giles, 2011). Applying an understanding of entrepreneurship as the processes through which individuals and groups exploit or make use of existing knowledge and resources (human, social, economic, and

cultural) to initiate change for themselves and others through new venture formation (Drucker, 1985; Schumpeter, 2000), multicultural citizenship discourses ought to be conceptualized as ‘resources’ that non-European immigrants in Windsor-Essex draw on to establish and operate leisure-oriented ventures.

Community Development

In meeting for the leisure needs and interests of others study the participants exercise their capacity to govern and shape the actions of others (Foucault, 2008). That is, by engaging in the production of leisure engagement opportunities, they are influencing the leisure traditions, practices, and values of others. For example, in producing culturally relevant leisure engagement opportunities for co-ethnics, non-European immigrant entrepreneurs are generating capacity for ethnic solidarity. By creating inclusive spaces, where recent immigrants and long-established community resident may create a sense of shared identity and belonging through engagement in leisure pursuits, non-European immigrant entrepreneurs are promoting the ideals of multiculturalism. Arguably, through promoting and celebrating cultural diversity, immigrant entrepreneurs are not only reproducing information about other cultures, they are also breaking down barriers for themselves and others to gain access to a wide variety of leisure values, traditions, and practices. In effect, non-European immigrants’ participation in leisure-based entrepreneurship indicates a certain level of civic engagement, as it suggests an investment in host-country life, and the recognition that Canadian policy has an impact on their lives and capacity for self-determination.

Participatory Democracy

To the extent that broader socio-political forces, and in particular those associated with neo-liberal rationalities, have reduced social assistance for cultural preservation and shifted the

responsibility to individuals and groups of individuals themselves, the evidence is indisputable (Biles, 2008; Sadiq, 2004). Cuts to social programs do not, however, act to simply suppress immigrant minorities' capacity to sustain ethno-cultural traditions and practices. Although the state is withdrawing its support from social programs that redistribute resources for ethno-cultural preservation to newcomers (Biles, 2008), my findings indicate that non-European immigrants in Windsor-Essex use business formation as channels and sites to (re)produce and preserve ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. In this regard, the business activities of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs could also be seen as advancing a discourse of inclusion and shared identity. In establishing transregional and transnational networks with co-ethnics, some of the participants conveyed a discourse that extra-local relationships are important resources for developing social and political capacity at the local level. Ivanka, for example, drew on her extensive international network of Classical Indian dancers and choreographers to organize a local festival that presented India's rich diversity to the local community. Another participant, Kobe, helped to create a network of Filipino basketball organizations from across North America where branches take turns to organize and host an annual basketball tournament where Filipinos from across North America congregate to express and preserve ethno-cultural traditions and practices. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship, then, also helps to develop immigrant minorities' social and political resources, and the benefits accrue and spill over to their local community in ways that may be socially, culturally, and politically meaningful.

Conclusion

My findings indicate that leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship is an important site for immigrant minorities' civic engagement. The participants in this study were responsible for

the establishment of the venture, and in the majority of cases, the ventures were self-funded or crowd-funded with the help of co-ethnics and/ or community funding agencies. In this regard, leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship represents an important example of a “bottom-up” approach to facilitate and support the incorporation of ethno-cultural diversity while simultaneously forging a unified sense of community. While the particularities of these findings should not be used to generalize or anticipate how immigrant minorities’ involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented ventures can transgress power relations, they present a compelling empirical account of the enabling discourses produced by the intersection of multiculturalism and neoliberalism. In this regard, as Golob and Giles (2011) argued, multicultural citizenship discourses do not simply act to restrict and limit immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits. I argue that, without losing sight of other factors shaping immigrants’ leisure pursuits, it is important that policy and laws introduced to govern and manage cultural diversity are acknowledged and considered by researchers and policymakers as simultaneously producing inhibiting and enabling discourses. Thus, I hope to destabilize the meanings that others and I might otherwise take for granted about immigrants’ leisure pursuits in contemporary Canadian society.

The social and political significance of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs’ affirmation and or resistance to multicultural citizenship discourses lies in the impact such acts may have on other individuals, and in particular other residents of the community in which they establish their respective businesses. That is, individual acts can also be collective, since they have implications beyond the individual (Shaw, 2001). For example, assumptions about appropriate ways to experience and participate in “non-traditional” leisure pursuits (e.g., Mexican Independence Day – Cinco de Mayo) were challenged through the

business activities of study participants (e.g., community festivals). Immigrant entrepreneurs may place emphasis on resistance to the values of dominant groups in Canadian society and as a result create leisure-based ventures that reinforce other, more marginal discourses. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship, then, might serve as an important space for alleviating racial and ethnic tensions, for breaking down boundaries, and for promoting a shared identity. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship, I argue, should thus be seen as not only a medium for economic development, but also as a vehicle for immigrant minorities' social and political engagement.

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Chapter 5: Conclusions

In this dissertation I examined constraints produced by multicultural citizenship discourses as a point of entry for considering the social and political dimensions of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship in the Windsor-Essex region of southwestern Ontario. Drawing on the work of Foucault (1995, 2008), my concern was with the ways in which non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region achieve opportunities to participate in the civic and political spheres of Canadian society through their involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. I considered leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as sites for active citizenship.

This chapter contains the last stage of the data analysis: The interpretation and explanation of the overall findings (Wodak, 2002). I begin with an overview of the three papers that comprise my dissertation; this is followed with an interpretation and explanation of the overall findings. Next, I consider the theoretical and practical implications of my research, with a particular emphasis on the implications for leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as social entrepreneurship. Finally, I make recommendations for future research and offer some concluding thoughts.

Overview

The three papers that comprise this dissertation highlight the relationships between multicultural citizenship discourses and leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship in the Windsor-Essex region of Ontario.

Paper One

In the first paper, I considered how multicultural citizenship discourses act as a technology of power that conditions and constrains the ways in which immigrants to Canada constitute their leisure, but in way that is never solely repressive. Using a Foucauldian lens, I

drew on previously published empirical research to show that constraints produced and exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses both inhibit and enable the leisure pursuits of immigrants to Canada. For example, I demonstrated that multicultural citizenship discourses that prescribe self-sufficiency for the maintenance of diverse cultural traditions and practices restrain public leisure providers from meeting the cultural needs and interests of minority groups, while simultaneously enabling the preservation of the dominant groups' leisure pursuits. I argued that multicultural citizenship discourses inhibit immigrant minorities' participation in the leisure spaces occupied by members of the mainstream, and at the same time enable the organization of ethnic enclosures where immigrants can pursue and sustain diverse traditions and practices. I did so to draw attention to the productive ways in which multicultural citizenship discourses shape but do not determine immigrants' leisure pursuits. In this regard, my findings challenged prevailing conceptualizations of immigrants' leisure constraints as solely inhibiting and restricting leisure pursuits, and I thereby presented an approach for exploring the productive effects of broader socio-political factors for immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits.

Paper Two

Through a Foucauldian lens it becomes possible to conceptualize how, in the current socio-political environment, the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship install the capacities for immigrants to “freely” govern themselves responsibly — in the realm of leisure, to choose those activities that maximize the possibilities for achieving a full, prosperous, and happy life. Drawing on Foucault's (2008) notion of the “entrepreneurial self,” in the third and final paper I considered leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as a specific strategy and a medium for non-European immigrants' effective use of power in the realm of public leisure spaces; in the context of multicultural citizenship discourses, as a public site to produce, share,

and uphold ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. My findings revealed that constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses enable and make possible non-European immigrants' propensity for the establishment of leisure-oriented ventures in Windsor-Essex, and that involvement in the operation of leisure-oriented ventures is an important medium for non-European immigrants to reproduce and uphold or resist and challenge ethno-cultural stereotypes. As such, the findings from this study shed light on the potential social and political contributions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship; namely, the ways in which non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region achieved opportunities to assert or resist ethno-cultural identities as a result of their involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. From my findings we can see that involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented ventures is an important medium for immigrants to exercise their citizenship rights as conferred by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (Canada, 1988).

Paper Three

Drawing on Foucault's (1980, 1995) conceptualization of constraints as shaping but not determining action, in the second paper I showed how non-European immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region affirm and resist constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses through their involvement in the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented ventures. My findings identified the central significance of business formation as important sites and mediums for non-European immigrants' capacity to (re)produce and uphold ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. Through the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented ventures, study participants expressed and shared their cultural heritage, challenged the dominant groups' leisure forms and values, and fostered community engagement within and outside of their respective ethno-cultural communities. Through their business activities, study participants

mobilized multicultural citizenship discourses to produce socially and politically valuable interactions with local, national, and international networks that expanded their possibilities for recognition and equal rights in the social, cultural, and political spheres of Canadian society. In doing so, the participants created inclusive and supportive environments for a wide range of leisure activities, thereby potentially informing and influencing the leisure practices and traditions of others. Participants in this study, I argued, were “pulled” into leisure-oriented entrepreneurship to enact Canada’s multiculturalism platform.

Leisure-oriented business formation, I showed, provides enhanced opportunities for immigrant minorities to actively participate in and contribute to the civic, social, and cultural spheres of their new communities. Far from viewing business formation as oppressive, most of the participants considered their business activities as a manifestation of their social and civic duties. For this reason, constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses ought to be conceptualized as resources that non-European immigrants draw on to establish and operate leisure-oriented ventures.

Multicultural Citizenship Discourses as Constraints to Immigrants’ Leisure Pursuits

The overall findings of my research indicated that leisure-oriented entrepreneurship provides enhanced opportunities for non-European immigrants in Windsor-Essex to actively participate in and contribute to the civic, social, and cultural spheres of their new communities. From a Foucauldian lens, multicultural citizenship discourses can and should be seen as a technology of power that acts as constraints to immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits because they produce the possibilities within, and permeability of, the current social-political structure for individual and collective (re)production of ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks. Business formation is an important medium for non-European immigrants to do two things: 1)

establish or sustain ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks; and 2) create inclusive spaces for themselves and other to participate in, or otherwise sustain a wide variety of leisure traditions and practices. In this sense, we should acknowledge constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses are productive, and that leisure-oriented entrepreneurship is an important space for active citizenship.

My findings showed participants were, for the most part, “pulled” into leisure-oriented entrepreneurship to enact Canada’s multiculturalism platform. In my research, I found that the expression and preservation of cultural traditions and practices was an important determinant of participants’ motivation to establish a leisure-oriented venture. Study participants recurrently articulated leisure-based business creation as a medium and a space to construct, share, and preserve cultural traditions and practices with the broader community. Moreover, study participants articulated and awareness that multiculturalism produces opportunities to draw on knowledge about ethno-cultural traditions and practices to create businesses where others may “consume” and in the process assist in reproducing diverse ethno-cultural traditions and practices.

Participants in my research tended to examine and (re)produce their ethno-cultural traditions and practices primarily in the context of their various interactions and relationships that developed through their business activities. Most of the participants expressed a motivation to establish networks with other individuals of similar cultural backgrounds, and emphasized the value of these networks as sources of support for the sense of belonging. Some of the participants saw these networks as important vehicles for learning about the Canadian way of life and achieving fluency in the English language while learning about and producing aspects of their ethno-cultural heritage. In addition to expanding their social networks, leisure-oriented entrepreneurship also provided study participants with the opportunity to extend these social ties

and resources to preserve diverse cultural traditions and practices. Thus, my research informs our understanding of the potentialities (and limitations) of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship for non-European immigrants' civic engagement.

Theoretical Implications

Utilizing the work of Foucault had advantages for this study — and I argue that it shows value for future research on immigrants' leisure pursuits in Western societies. In what follows, I discuss three important theoretical considerations for extending understandings of immigrant minorities' leisure pursuits and, more broadly, for generating a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses and leisure in contemporary Canadian society: Public policy discourse as leisure constraints that both inhibit and enable people's practices of choice and freedom; leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as a site for active citizenship; and leisure in contemporary Canadian society.

Public Policy Discourse as Leisure Constraints

Notwithstanding the importance of economic objectives, and the diverse range of contributory factors influencing immigrants' propensity for entrepreneurship, the central issues addressed in this dissertation is the role that constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses play, or alternatively might play, in the enablement of leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship. Underpinning this investigation has been the question, "What are the associations, if any, between constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses and immigrants' leisure pursuits?" Drawing on the work of Foucault (1980, 1995, 2008), I demonstrated that constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses are productive because they simultaneously both inhibit and enable immigrants' leisure pursuits. Through my research, I exposed multicultural citizenship discourses not only as

constraints that inhibit public providers from addressing culturally diverse leisure needs and interest (and therefore, as enabling dominant ethno-cultural groups to legitimate its domination in the public sphere), but also as constraints that enable immigrants' capacity to uphold ethno-cultural traditions, practices, and networks through the establishment and operation of leisure-oriented ventures. In this sense, we should acknowledge that leisure-oriented entrepreneurship is an important space for active citizenship.

Leisure-oriented Entrepreneurship as a Space for Active Citizenship

There are many social issues that can be seen to ensue from Foucault's (2008) configuration of the self as enterprise; namely, it throws into question conceptions of individual autonomy and choice that commonly underpin Western conceptualizations of leisure. For example, McNay (2009) asked, "If individual autonomy is not the opposite of or limit to neoliberal governance, but rather lies at the heart of disciplinary control through responsible self-management, what are the possible grounds upon which political resistance can be based?" (p. 56). It is plausible to say that business activities impose or propose certain values and behaviours associated with neoliberal political rationalities as they are the medium in a free market through which cultural (re)production and preservation are prescribed and, as my findings corroborate, take place. After all, from a Foucauldian lens, choice and autonomy, central to Western conceptualizations of leisure (Shaw, 2006), are never outside of power relations. Hence, while the business practices of participants in this study served to contest dominant representations of "business" aspirations (i.e., economic gains), they also revealed how establishing and operating a leisure-oriented business can internalize neo-liberal ideals.

Generally speaking, we can use Foucault's (2008) concept of the "entrepreneurial self" to call to attention non-European immigrants' involvement in the formation and operation of

leisure-oriented ventures as practices of subjectification — that is, as practices encouraged and prescribed by neo-liberal political rationalities, and therefore as a disciplinary practice, which ultimately draw focus on Canadian multiculturalism as a technology of discipline. In this view, multicultural citizenship discourses could therefore be conceived as a disciplinary technology exercised to regulate non-European immigrants' conduct by constituting "regimens of truth" by which they may understand and construct their leisure pursuits. Some observers (Li, 2003; Reitz, 2009; Weiviorka, 1998) have argued that prevailing multicultural citizenship discourses merely reproduce existing power relations between colonizing nations and more recent immigrant cohorts— e.g., the expression and preservation of diverse cultural traditions and practices (i.e., 'deviant' activities and values) are pushed into the private sphere. To this effect, non-European immigrants' expression and preservation of diverse cultural traditions and practices in and through leisure-oriented entrepreneurship could constitute a form of marginalization in which immigrant individuals of a minority background are seen as having to create opportunities to show that they have held on to "their" culture (Taylor, 1994; Weiviorka, 1998). In this view, the choice to establish and operate a business that expresses and upholds diverse cultural traditions and practices affirms the dominance of the two charter groups' (Anglophones & Francophones) leisure values, traditions, and practices in the public sphere, and thereby serve to reproduce rather than challenge existing power relations.

What my findings suggested, however, is that immigrant minorities themselves do not view entrepreneurship as a form of oppression. Participants in this study articulated a discourse of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as an important medium to interrogate the limits and creative possibilities of constraints produced by multicultural citizenship discourses. By taking up the positions of objects and subjects of multicultural citizenship discourses — that is, in becoming

self-reflexive of the multiple and perhaps even contradictory discourses that inform their conceptions of the self (Foucault, 1983), study participants engaged in practices that both affirmed and resisted the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship discourses. As such, constraints produced and exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses should also be seen as enabling immigrant minorities' capacity for civic engagement in and through leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. This reiterates the point that exercises of power always simultaneously inhibit and enable actions.

For Foucauldian scholars, what is and is not meaningful, as well as what is and is not true, is not to be found at the level of actors' intentions, but rather at the level of knowledge/power configuration which allows for acts and objects to become candidates for being considered either meaningful or not, or true or not. This reflexive-dialectical perspective acknowledges not only that people's actions are caused by intentions and circumstance, but also that people cause intentions and circumstances; that is, that people are made by action in the world, and that they also make action and history (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000). Following Foucault (1983, 2008), if our sense of self and the actions that we perform are an "effect" of already existing power relations, then we should focus on examining the ways in which policies, laws, and citizenship rights construct and manage the "free" choices of "free" subjects and the strategies or mechanisms by which individuals draw on these historically situated social constraints to create their subjectivities (Cotoi, 2011; Miller and Rose, 2008). Thus, to understand the productive effects of citizenships discourses, it is essential for researchers to consider how they simultaneously inhibit and enable the actions of individual citizens.

Leisure in Contemporary Canadian Society

There are some fundamental socio-political challenges within neoliberal governance framework that can be elucidated by drawing on the findings of this study. First, according to Harvey (2005), a contradiction arises between greater individualism on the one hand and the desire for a meaningful collective life on the other. In other words, while individuals are supposedly free to choose, they are not supposed to choose to construct strong collective institutions. Yet, as the findings of this study suggest, neo-liberal ideals do not necessarily undermine the capacity for non-European immigrants to create a social space where individuals can come together to create, express, share and sustain diverse leisure traditions and practice.

One of the central questions surrounding “multiculturalism policies” has been whether they contribute either to harmony and integration or conflict and fragmentation within the Canadian state (Wong, 2008). On the basis of my findings, I argue that such debates have failed to articulate multiculturalism’s effect as informed by discourses of democratic engagement. From a Foucauldian lens, civic engagement in modern Western societies lies in constructing and upholding “individuality,” for it is through the construction, expression, and preservation of difference that people engage democratically in the social and political life of a society. For Foucault (2008), neoliberalism as a form of governmental reason is based on the notion that all citizens have the capacity as “free” individuals to inform and thereby govern the actions of others through their own actions. In this view, constraints produced and exercised through public policies should be understood to simultaneously inhibit and enable people’s capacity to participate fully and freely in the government of oneself. As subjects and objects governed by discourses of neoliberalism—in which affirmation of the self through market-oriented means is

warranted, leisure-oriented entrepreneurship should therefore be understood as an expression of non-European immigrants' civic engagement.

While a discussion of democratic engagement is beyond the scope of my research, the point I seek to make here is that power relations do not eliminate or undermine any meaningful conceptualization of the self; instead, the complex, multiple, and shifting relations of power in an individual's social field should be seen to enable new conceptions of the self and new forms of subjectivity (Foucault, 1983). Indeed, Foucault (1983) suggested that questioning that which is presented to us as natural and as normal opens up the space for a possible reworking and transformation of the self. In other words, while people *are* products of their cultural environment, they act as creative agents in shaping their lives and reinterpreting and reinventing their cultures – *within* the openings and spaces in their structural circumstances. For this reason, the key for the affirmation and reproduction or resistance and transformation of power relations lies in the actions of individuals, as individual actions upon acting subjects inform our ever-dynamic socio-historical reality.

Practical Implications

Fiscal restraint measures introduced at all levels of governments since the 1990s, which have been shown to inhibit recreation departments from supporting minority rights, inevitably call for answers to the question, "How can leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship assist in maintain and strengthen bonds of community while accommodating for increased ethno-cultural diversity? In practical terms, it is possible to consider that leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship may contribute in at least two ways to the development of inclusive and cohesive communities: 1) The promotion of multiculturalism; and 2) meeting for the leisure needs and interests of immigrant minorities.

Promotion of Multiculturalism

Through their participation in the provision of leisure-oriented services and products, non-European immigrants could play an important role in assisting members of their own community overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society, and in fostering positive relations between new immigrant cohorts and more established members of the community. By creating spaces for a shared identity — that is, by celebrating diversity and inclusivity, and by resisting ethnic solidarity, immigrant entrepreneurs are potentially contributing to breaking down ethnic/racial boundaries. Arguably, through promoting and celebrating cultural diversity, non-European immigrant entrepreneurs may not only produce a social space for individual expression, they may also break down barriers for themselves and others to gain access to a wide variety of leisure traditions, practices, and networks. Hence, these individuals did not create leisure-oriented businesses as a means to distance themselves from the leisure spaces occupied by the mainstream.

On the basis of my findings, I find it appropriate to conceptualize leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurship as “social entrepreneurship,” namely because the participants’ propensity for and involvement in leisure-based entrepreneurship was inextricably linked to multiculturalism citizenship discourses. During my fieldwork, I was surprised to learn that many of the participants were critical of how the emphasis on ethnicity has reinforced notions of difference rather than a sense of common cause, with the cultural traditions and practices of ethnic minorities becoming something to be consumed rather than understood as contributing to Canadian society. This intrigued me, because although I was familiar with Canada's policy of multiculturalism, I did not anticipate the degree to which it would be at the heart of participants’ understandings of who they were and what their businesses epitomized.

They explained to me that “multiculturalism” was important because it communicated that immigrants were welcome in Canada and sent the message to Canadians at large that they had to treat everyone as equals, regardless of what curious practices or exotic traditions they might be bringing with them. They saw multiculturalism as being at the core of “Canadian-ness,” and they believed that their status as immigrant entrepreneurs made them an integral part of this Canadian project.

My aim is not to insinuate that leisure-oriented entrepreneurship is a panacea for protecting the cultural rights of non-European immigrants to Canada. Nor is my intent to promote or advocate for neo-liberal ideals. Indeed, my work stems from a belief that public leisure spaces are important sites for immigrant minorities to develop a sense of belonging. Rather, through this work I argue that more attention needs to be paid to the productive “effects” of multicultural citizenship discourses, particularly if we are to broaden understandings of the relationship between cultural rights espoused by multicultural citizenship discourses and immigrant minorities’ leisure pursuits. As my findings demonstrated, leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs may provide a public service; namely, they may provide for inclusive leisure spaces where diverse cultural traditions and practices are shared, expressed, and reproduced.

What this means for public policies that might fall under the rubric of multiculturalism is that more attention needs to be paid to the bottom-up construction of identity formation, as it links directly to the lived experiences of non-European immigrants in multicultural Canada. Programs and services developed to facilitate the settlement and integration of newcomers into communities often invoke normative structures. Various immigrant-serving agencies have been established in Windsor-Essex with a primary focus on the provision of settlement services for

new immigrants to the community. In a similar vein, leisure and recreation agencies in the Windsor-Essex region (e.g., YMCA, municipal recreation departments) have been mandated to service the settlement needs of new immigrants to the community. The complexity and range of services required by new immigrants, however, exceed the capacity and mandate of those organizations (Golob, 2010; Windsor-Essex local immigration partnership, 2010). Among other considerations, public agencies in Windsor-Essex have expressed a capacity deficit due to a lack of funding for staff training and culturally appropriate programming (Golob, 2010; WELIP, 2010). Policymakers and local agencies could, however, look to leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship as a potentially effective tool to promote the short and long-term settlement and integration of newcomers.

Meeting the Leisure Needs and Interests of Ethno-cultural Minorities

My findings suggest that leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs could play a significant role in meeting the particular needs and interests of ethno-cultural minorities; therefore, they might represent an important local resource and an alternative to services offered through formal immigrant settlement agencies. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship illustrates the potential for organizing service delivery outside of bureaucratic and mainstream newcomer-serving organizations. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs are not the only entrepreneurs needed in the mix to create a welcoming community for prospective immigrants, yet they represent a valuable segment that has garnered limited attention.

Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship is more likely to occur in regions where it is culturally and socially supported. For starters, entrepreneurship requires time and resources, both of which may be limited for immigrants undergoing socio-cultural and economic transitions. Non-European leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs face the added stigma of engaging in

actions that challenge the status quo. As my findings indicated, non-European immigrants' involvement in the formation and operation of leisure-oriented businesses is influenced by a perceived sense of exclusion. Several participants perceived exclusion within "mainstream" organizations and articulated an awareness that more needs to be done to recognize their important contributions to break down leisure barriers for newcomers to the local community. To be effective in supporting immigrant-owned and operated leisure-oriented businesses, the community needs to be supportive. People sometimes react negatively to immigrant entrepreneurs, often because they do not understand their contributions to the community (Wise, 2012). One potential solution may be to offer awards in recognition of the community work leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs perform, and consider the "voices" and perspectives of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurs when developing leisure access policies. As suggested by Esses et al. (2010), "recognizing the ways in which immigrants improve and enrich communities can be an important way to show immigrants that they are welcome, valued, and part of Canadian society" (p. 70).

Leisure-oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship as Social Entrepreneurship

In Canada, and in many other industrialized nations, immigrant entrepreneurship has become "the flavour of the month" both in practice and in the development of local economic development policy (Stubbs, 2012). Publicly-funded agencies in Windsor-Essex have constructed immigrant entrepreneurship as a panacea to the economic challenges facing the community, and have made available a number of supports to immigrant entrepreneurs who "can create jobs and help revitalize the local economy" (Workforce Windsor-Essex, 2009). Notwithstanding the importance of economic objectives, immigrant entrepreneurship can also prove hugely beneficial in social and political terms, as the overall findings of my research

suggest. Local agencies have not, however, considered the social and political contributions of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship.

The study participants for this research, the organizations that have helped to fund this research, and the many organizations dedicated to promoting “multiculturalism” in communities across Ontario will likely never read my dissertation in its entirety. As a result, I will submit executive summaries with my research findings to governmental agencies (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada) and organizations in the Windsor-Essex region serving immigrant entrepreneurs (e.g., City of Windsor). Inevitably, the shortened nature of these reports present a rather simplistic and most certainly optimistic (re)presentation of some very complicated issues, notably with regards to leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as sites and mediums for non-European immigrants’ civic engagement.

Future Research

Leisure-based immigrant entrepreneurs’ activities in Canadian centres require further investigation if we are to arrive at a deeper understanding of their impact for the implementation of multiculturalism in the communities in which they have settled. The lack of empirical work on the social and political implications of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship inevitably calls for answers to the question, “In what ways should future research proceed?”

Leisure-Oriented Immigrant Entrepreneurship as a Field of Study

Entrepreneurship is an important force of innovation, development, and change in any industry. This is particularly so in the dynamic and rapidly changing leisure, sport, and tourism industries throughout the world (Ball, 2005). In contemporary Canadian society, where people are encouraged to meet their leisure needs through market extensions (i.e., opportunities provided by community and commercial organizations), and where over 20% of the population is

foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2013), I find it rather surprising that work on leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship has been sparse. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship is crucial to meeting the rapidly changing leisure needs and interests of Canadians originating from all corners of the globe. Accordingly, I further argue that researchers ought to think of leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as important settings for immigrant minorities to interrogate the limits and creative possibilities of constraints imposed by multicultural citizenship discourses. Indeed, we should consider leisure-oriented entrepreneurship as affording otherwise marginalized individuals the opportunity to take up the position of a subject who is able to problematize and potentially dismantle essentialist notions of the self produced and sustained through relations of power/knowledge.

For this to make sense, however, “leisure” and “entrepreneurship” must be conceptualized as relational and discursive concepts. By taking a critical stance towards the discourse of immigrant entrepreneurs’ motivation as grounded in economic motives opens up new understandings of leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship. As such, exploring how multiculturalism and leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship intersect is an important first step towards developing and promoting a policy agenda that supports social and political equity. The economic function of immigrant entrepreneurship is increasingly asserted as being of intrinsic value for small communities seeking to attract and retain immigrants. One of the findings of this research is that, under certain conditions, leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship can function as a training ground and capacity builder for learning how to participate actively in the social and political life of a new host society. Foucault (1983) suggested that by questioning that which is presented to us as natural and as normal opens up the space for a possible reworking and transformation of the self. In other words, while people *are*

products of their cultural environment, they act as creative agents in shaping their lives and reinterpreting and reinventing their cultures – *within* the openings and spaces in their structural circumstances. By taking up the position of an object and subject of multicultural citizenship discourses — that is, in becoming self-reflexive of the multiple and perhaps even contradictory discourses that inform their conceptions of the self (Foucault, 1983), study participants engaged in practices that both affirmed and resisted the normative prescriptions of multicultural citizenship discourses. For example, most of the participants expressed a motivation to establish networks with other individuals of similar cultural backgrounds, and they emphasized the value of these networks as sources of support for upholding diverse cultural traditions and practices. Leisure-oriented immigrant entrepreneurship constitutes, in effect, a medium and a site for the assertion and contention of citizenship rights and obligations. Future research might explore how and in what ways leisure-oriented non-European immigrant entrepreneurs shape the capacity for civic engagement among community members they come into contact in and through their business activities.

Concluding Thoughts

This dissertation explores questions of power. It was developed to investigate the political nature of leisure, and in particular immigrant minorities' effective use of power through leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. While leisure studies researchers have a considerable investment in the idea that leisure is fundamentally a practice of choice and autonomy, they have largely overlooked how leisure practices and the experiences therein are produced and enabled by existing power relations. In other words, researchers have paid scant attention to how “power” exercised through public policies acts as constraints that simultaneously both inhibit and enable practices of choice and autonomy. By studying constraints exercised through multicultural

citizenship discourses and the *productive* impact they have for immigrants' leisure pursuits, I showed that constraints exercised through multicultural citizenship discourses enable non-European immigrants' propensity for and involvement in leisure-oriented entrepreneurship. For these reasons, I encourage researchers to not only inquire about the restrictive aspect of constraints, but also about the possibilities that are produced and enabled by the presence of constraints.

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Appendix A: Ethics

File Number: H12-11-09

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 01/24/2012



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
 Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Health Sciences and Science REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Audrey	Giles	Health Sciences / Human Kinetics	Principal Investigator
Matias	Golob	Health Sciences / Human Kinetics	Research Assistant

File Number: H12-11-09

Type of Project: Professor

Title: An Investigation of Immigrant Entrepreneurs' Role in the Recognition and Promotion of Immigrants' Leisure Needs and Interests

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
01/24/2012	01/23/2013	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:
 N/A

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Tell me about yourself.

1. When did you first come to Canada?
2. Can you describe your entry and the process of establishing resident status (did you come on a work or student visa? Did you enter as part of a special skills program? Entrepreneurial class? Refugee? Etc.

Tell me about your business.

1. How long have you been in business?
2. How long after you arrived in Canada did you start this business?
3. What was your motivation for starting your business?
4. Did anyone, or any organization help you start the business? If yes, who and how?
5. How did you fund the start-up?
6. What are/were some other challenges and supports you encountered while establishing your business?
7. What services/products does your business offer?
8. Who are your competitors?
9. Who are your clients?
10. How do you advertise/promote your business?
11. Do you have employees? If yes, are the employees immigrants as well?

Tell me about your non-business related activities.

1. When you came to Canada what activities were you involved in the first year? Did you play sports? Volunteer? Join your ethnic association? Join a religious institution?
2. Do you think your role in any of these non-work organizations has helped you to establish or grow your business? How?
3. Do you speak other languages? Which ones?
4. Do you think multilingualism helps you in your business? How?

Tell me about the impact your business has on other immigrants in the community.

1. How do you think your business impacts other immigrants in the Windsor-Essex region?
2. Does your business create opportunities for individuals to celebrate and preserve their cultural heritage? If yes, how do you think your business does this?
3. Do you promote your own ethnic heritage through the business? If yes, how?
4. Do you promote or target your business services and/ or products to a specific community (e.g., ethnic community, religious community)?
5. Does your business create opportunities for newcomers to meet other immigrants or other members of the community?

Tell me about the impact your business has on the community.

1. How does your business benefit the Windsor-Essex region?
2. Does your business create jobs for individuals?
3. How does your business reach out to the community?

4. Does your business sponsor or donate services or products for social causes (e.g., cancer research, raising money for church or ethnic organization, sponsor sport teams)?
5. Do you think your business celebrates and/ or promotes cultural diversity? If yes, how?

Appendix C: Contributions

Matias Golob developed, designed, and undertook this dissertation, its theorization, analysis, and writing. Dr. Audrey Giles supported all aspects of the dissertation's development, theorization and analysis, and provided assistance and input into writing and reviewing the final product. All papers have been/will be published with Golob as first author and Giles as second.

Footnotes

¹ Data from the 2001 National Census (Statistics Canada, 2013) showed that 82% of the immigrants who arrived to Canada between 2006 and 2011, and 75% of immigrants who arrived to Canada in the last two decades originated from non-European Source countries.

² In Canada, and in many other industrialized nations, the heightened interest in immigrant entrepreneurship both in practice and in the development of policy has been attributed to a diverse range of contributory factors including the belief that it can act as an economic development engine, particularly in regions affected by challenges imposed by aging populations, out-migration, and skill-shortages (Stubbs, 2012).

³ Employment opportunities are important because many “skilled workers” come to Canada with the expectation that they will be able to obtain employment commensurate with the education and work experience that helped them to immigrate under the “Skilled Worker and Professional” category (Esses et al., 2010).

⁴ Entry through the point system, which to this date remains the framework used to evaluate and select prospective economic-class immigrants (CIC, 2013), is designed to attract high-skilled and well-educated immigrants who can contribute to the economic prosperity of the state, irrespective of country of origin or racial/ethnic background (Kymlicka, 2007; Li, 2003).

⁸ Developed in the 1960s and 1970s and codified in the 1995 Employment Equity Act, visible minorities are defined as Canadian citizens, “other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour and include Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, other visible minorities” (Statistics Canada, 2008).

⁹ Discourse is understood here as written, spoken, nonverbal, and visual communication strategies that, in expressing a knowledge claim about a specific subject, mediate or organize an individual's interactions with the social world (Foucault, 1980).

¹⁰ Data from the 2001 National Census (Statistics Canada, 2013) showed that 82% of the immigrants who arrived to Canada between 2006 and 2011, and 75% of immigrants who arrived to Canada in the last two decades originated from non-European Source countries.

¹¹ A welcoming community is defined as having agency and engaging in actions that facilitate the integration of newcomers (see Esses et al., 2010).

¹² The *Standing Committee on Multiculturalism* (Canada, 1987) defined integration as “a process, clearly distinct from assimilation, by which groups and/or individuals become able to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country” (p. 87).

¹³ Canada's first multiculturalism policy, enacted in 1971, included cultural maintenance as one of its key objectives and thus included funds dedicated specifically to ethnic organizations and activities.

¹¹ Immigrants to Canada who arrived in the last two decades have higher levels of education and training than previous cohorts of immigrants, yet they are entering the workforce at much lower income levels and taking much longer to close in on the income of the native-born population (Hou & Wang, 2011).