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The influence of ethnicity on leisure pursuits and tourism behaviour of Somali immigrants in Leeuwarden, Netherlands

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This study is based on the premise that there are fundamental differences in tourism behaviour of immigrants in Europe, such that, there are certain ethnic and cultural determinants to travel preferences, choice and behaviour. Previous studies in Europe reveal certain socio-economic constraints that face ethnic minorities in Europe. This study sought to identify these ethnic determinants/ constraints of travel behaviour amongst Somali immigrants in the Netherlands. A field survey was conducted through the use of structured interviews. The interviews were conducted to twenty nine adults living in the city of Leeuwarden, Netherlands. The respondents were college students and other adults from twenty one years and above, specifically of Somali decent. The results indicated that there were in deed ethnic differences in leisure and tourism behaviour of Somali immigrants to the Netherlands. The Bantu Somalis were more liberal and would adapt more than the other Somalis when they come into contact with other cultures. Travel preferences of these respondents were based on their personal values; personal liking; family ties and the level of interest of places to travel. Racialized expressions and social encounters played a pivotal role in the way the Somalis living in the Netherlands chose to travel and engage in their daily and leisure activities. These individuals were more or less influenced by other cultural contexts, therefore having significantly different preferences in leisure pursuits and travel behaviour. Majority of the findings confirmed that there were ethnic constraints and determinants to leisure and tourism behaviour of Somali immigrants in Leeuwarden, Netherlands. This work has demonstrated that there were indeed constraints experienced by immigrants and especially those of Somali ethnicity, and close attention to the experiences of other Netherlands immigrants such as those from Caribbean or Middle East should be researched on. This would help develop a broader analysis of immigrants' forms and ways of travel and their experiences.

Key words: Immigrants, leisure constraints, ethnicity, race, tourism and leisure behaviour.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary researches on cultural tourism have shown keen interest in studies concerning race, ethnicity, minorities and their tourism behaviour. These studies have indicated how various elements like race and ethnicity affect leisure behavioural patterns and / or why minorities tend to visit/travel to various places. Significant discourses in leisure studies indicate why there are different levels of participation in leisure pursuits among the majorities and minorities. For example Klobus (1981); Hutchison (1987) indicate that African Americans partici-pate in many leisure activities at a lower level than other Anglo or white Americans. Similarly, Floyd et al. (1993) observed that a significant and growing number of Mexican Americans were able to participate in activities like fishing but also the group participated less in other activities such as golf and horse back riding. Reasons underlying such differences was largely attributed to some identified leisure constraints. Philips (2007) stated, the reasons leading to differences in leisure participation

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of two different groups, may be because of the:

(a) Marginality hypothesis that emphasized on minority status as a factor in explaining the reasons for under participation of ethnicity, and
(b) Subcultural hypothesis that is, results from differences between different racial or ethnic groups in values, systems and norms.

However, different other viewpoints have been made concerning the above topic. For example, the foundations of the concept of leisure constraints faced by ethnic minorities underwent a major challenge, which resulted in the presumption that constraints prevent people from engaging in leisure activities being largely abandoned (Jackson, 1991). Such constraints may be the result of other factors ranging from economic, social or emotional constraints that may hinder minorities from participating in leisure and travel as often as they would like. However, Floyd et al. (2007) confirmed that most studies published in research journals do not reflect factors such as race relation, class mobility and leisure behaviour in explaining travel behaviour. Secondly, despite increasing racial and ethnic diversity, there are few attempts to isolate and measure various dimensions of marginality, and ethnicity and in this case towards travel and leisure. Further, few studies have been done on immigrants, their choice of travel and leisure participation and whether there are some constraints that influence their travel behaviour. It is therefore evident that such issues though important in this age where immigrants are increasing have not been largely researched on. Therefore, this study seeks to respond to these gaps in theory by investigating the extent and form in which ethnicity influences travel behaviour of minorities and in this case Somali immigrants in the Netherlands.

The objectives of the study

The broader propose of the research was to investigate the extent to which ethnicity influences travel behaviour. Other aims and purposes were:

(i) To Identify and explore ethnic minority travel behavior in their hosts country,
(ii) To identify the concept of perception, culture, and cross cultural integration.

The problem statement

It is evident that immigrants who have been displaced by war have their own story and thoughts about leisure and travel, and how they would be perceived if they traveled to certain places in their host's country. Additionally, it may be assumed that some leisure constraints may
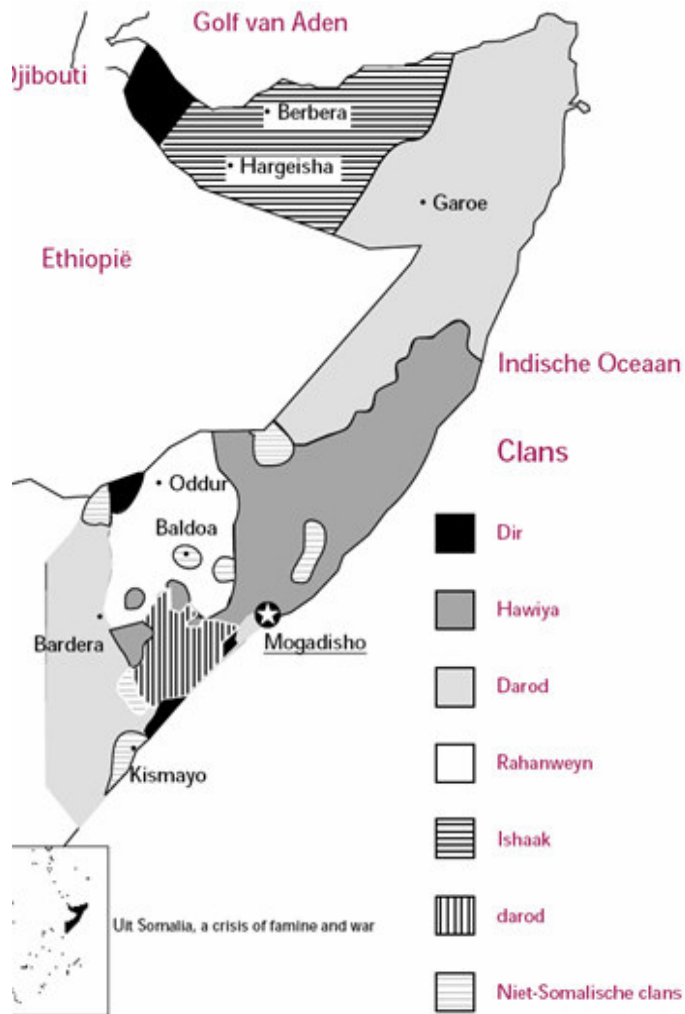
hinder them from participating in leisure and travel and among the constraints maybe their ethnicity. The problem statement therefore surrounds the fundamental question of "To what extent does ethnicity influence travel behaviour of Somali immigrants in Netherlands". A study of Somali immigrants tries to uncover such correlates in leisure behaviour. Since there are also types of immigrants as stated further in the research, the researchers propose to include the term "war" immigrants to make a specification.

The Somali community

Somalia is a country situated in the horn of Africa whose capital is Mogadishu. With a population of approximately 7.9 million people, Somali is sixteen times greater than the Netherlands. About 85% of its population is ethnic Somali, with a language called kisomali among the Bantu speaking people. Somalia is a hot/humid country and the citizens normally are pastoralists, meaning they move from one place to another in search for pasture, (www.worldfacts.org). However, according to Mohammed (2000) the Somali people have now developed as years go by and pastoralism is a thing of the past for many.

The Somali culture and religion

Somali people are mostly Sunni Muslims and this fact plays a major role in their culture and the everyday way of living. For example, Mohammed (2000) states, Islam is vitally important to the Somali sense of national identity. It shapes how they think, what they wear and what they do. The word Islam means 'way of life.' It is a religion that requires you living your life according to their god "-Allah. First culture wise, Somali people are grouped in six clans (Figure 1) each headed by an elder and perhaps a religious leader. Their way of dressing is typical any other Muslim religion follower. Women wear diras which is a loose flowing dress and men were loose fitting shirts and trousers with sandals. Food wise, Somali eat three meals a day while dinner is served light, lunch to them should be a heavy meal, and that's when all the family members gather to eat. Common food is like bread called Anjeero, liver soup, toast, and cereal, pasta with meat or rice with meat but not pork at all. On the other hand, the Somali people have a rich culture in poetry and traditional dances. Among the young people, traditional dances are used mostly in courtship ceremonies. Poetry in Somalia is used mostly for describing life issues in a creative way. Mohammed (2000) points that; cultural richness among the Somalis is manifested on the body paintings especially using heena. The painting using heena is also done on Somali women's hands for beauty is a creative cultural way that most African women have copied from them. Despite their attractive way of living, the Somali

Figure 1. Somali people are grouped in six clans.

been relocating to England due to cultural constraints experienced in Netherlands, (Mohammed, 2000), the data from Central bureau of statistics (CBS-NL) shows a significant increase from 1998 - 2000 as the Figure 2. As shown in Figure 2, Somali immigrants in the Netherlands has been on the rise since 2002, though a great number of the immigrants have been moving to the United Kingdom due to cultural difficulties (Mohamoud, 2000; Evans, 2004).

Ian (2006) stated that in the early and late 1960's, Netherlands more than elsewhere had kept to a policy of openness. It liked to think that it continued the 17th century role as beacon of Enlightenment. Additionally, the author states, in the 1960's multiculturalism or patience with and respect for the unassimilated became a national strategy. So in this way, Ian (2006) stated that Amsterdam assumed a special role as the tolerant city par excellence and more so, in Europe's arguably most tolerant country. Somalis have also immigrated to other places and largely to United Kingdom. As Steyn (2006) has stated, Some 10,000 Dutch Somalis migrated to Leicester from 2001 for reasons, which include:
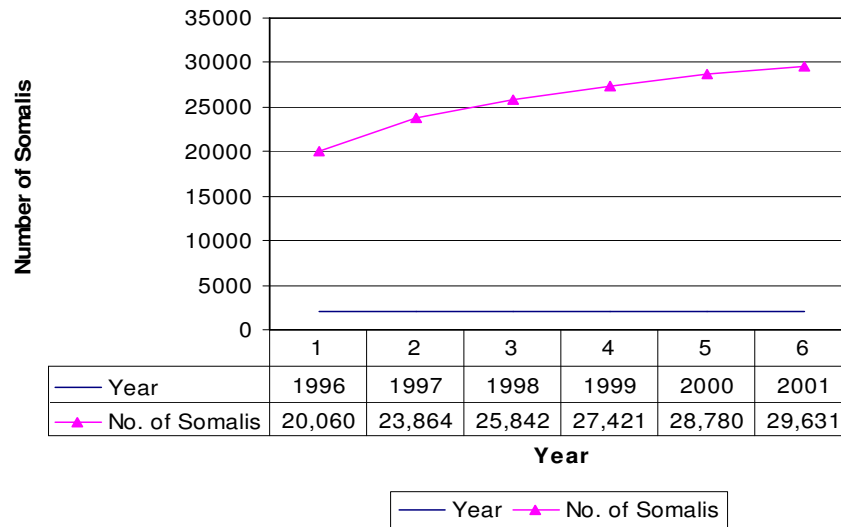
(a) A sense that Dutch policies required the assimilation of other cultures, rather than integration,
(b) An educational assessment at 11+ conducted in Dutch only that determined later progression oppor-tunities to university,
(c) Perception of permissiveness in Dutch culture regarding e.g. sex and alcohol;
(d) An established and thriving Muslim community in Leicester with faith and cultural infrastructure, and
(e) Leicester's reputation for welcoming persons from abroad and offering them scope for economic and political leadership.

As per the above, it is therefore evident that even though the Dutch community and the government perhaps try to accommodate the immigrants, some possible constraints facing the Somalis in the Netherlands may influence their participation in social and economic activities either positively or negatively.

Literature review

Perspectives of immigrants as minorities

Immigrants from many nationalities have for many years sought to change their lives by relocating to another country. The reasons for their relocation are mainly based on economic, social, political or religious issues. The Center for Immigration Studies in the USA (www.cis.org) states that immigrants are normally unskilled and uneducated and therefore have to find ways of establishing themselves into the societies of the receiving country. However, Kalbach (2000) points out that, it is also important to give credit on their ability to

people way of living depends also on the situation in their country that is, on the political stability of their country. For close to 17 years now, Somalia has been in ethnic war forcing its citizens to flee the country or move from the country to the neighboring countries like Kenya and Ethiopia.

The Somali community in the Netherlands

According to research by Mohammed (2000) Netherlands is the second country in Europe after England to host large Number of Somali immigrants. UNHCR on its part has stated that, great Britain had a total of 19,158 Somali immigrants between the years of 1989 - 1998, compared to Netherlands which had 17, 527 Somali immigrants in the years. Additionally, research done by Kassel, Nina et al (2000), states that most Somali living in the Netherlands came because of war and hunger in their home country. Though, Somali in the Netherlands have

Figure 2. Number of Somali immigrants to the Netherlands (1996 - 2001).

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
No. of Somalis	20,060	23,864	25,842	27,421	28,780	29,631

come through difficult circumstances (for example adjusting in a new social setting) and constructing their favorable social world.

Richmond (1994) has identified two categories of immigrants; *reactive* and *proactive* immigrants. He states that refugees can be seen as reactive immigrants, whose decision making are constrained while the proactive immigrants may be those having relative freedom in shaping circumstance of their relocation, for example proactive immigrant is seen as the one immigrating to another country for a better education. In this report, concern will be given to the reactive immigrants those who have been forced into involuntary migration, that is, those who have moved from their home country due to ethnic war or conflict (war immigrants). The dynamic and outcome of "war" immigrants' integration process and in this case leisure preference is a function of time, as human beings are generally adaptive to their environments.

Immigrant's leisure/tourism patterns and constraints

The main areas identified from the literature that affect or constrain leisure and tourism patterns of immigrants identified from literature include religion and culture, economy, awareness and information, social integration, perception, ethnicity and consumer racism. These are discussed in detail below.

Culture preferences

Many scholars and anthropologists have tried to explain the culture concept, which is considered to be one of the foundations of the social sciences and have shown that culture descriptions are temporally bounded. Noel Salzaar (2006) has explained that the word 'culture' has multiple connotations: it is used to describe the means, the process, and the state of people. Additionally, a classic definition of culture has been defined by Taylor (1924) as that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals law, customs, and many other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Reisinger and Turner (2002), states that culture dictates ideas and sets of rules that the majority of the society obeys. With that, it can be seen that cultural norms and values make a society and decides what and what to be done in a society. This therefore may hinder some immigrants not familiar with the host's culture to choose particular types of leisure and also may make them not to travel to certain places where they know for sure a large population of their other majority will be present, in fear of being seen as outcasts. Another culture problem as described by Reisinger and Turner (2002) is where there are cultural differences; there are different patterns of verbal communications that may bring confusion and misunderstanding (pg 21). This may affect the perception of others, resulting to rejection and hatred therefore causing the minorities to spurn such places.

Additionally, should the minorities visit such places, such cultural contact between different nationalities with different norms may create cultural gaps, therefore creating an even more unfavorable outcome for the immigrants which may even lead to discrimination. For example, Stodolska (1998) states that a number of studies have proved that minorities (immigrants) often participate in recreational activities in ethnically

segregated groups usually due to their expectation that they will be discriminated against due to their cultural preferences (Stodolska and Jackson, 1998). The work of McDonald and McAvoy (1997) reaffirmed this by indicating that the expectation of discrimination from white recreationists and from the local law enforcement made Native Americans recreate in the remote areas of their own reservation and spend time in the company of their family members or their Native American friends. These discriminative attitudes with some notable exceptions have made immigrants and other people less motivated to engage in travel and leisure activities while in their host's country.

Level of social integration and interaction

The word "integration" (Latin: integratio) means forming a whole - melting together different parts, combining a multiplicity into a unity, involvement in a greater totality (Jeppesen, 1990). For ethnic minorities and in this case immigrants, integration contains some notable points: one of them is the assimilative opinion, according to which the ethnic minorities have to unilaterally adjust to the culture of the majority and give up their traditional culture as rapidly as possible.

Wolch and Zhang (2004) have stated in their research that the degree of integration of immigrants may influence their recreation activity rates as well as the values attached to participation in recreation. However, most immigrants are known to stick with their own people and would rather not interact with the hosts. Though reasons maybe that they feel comfortable with their own people, Thorstensson (2001) reported that adjustment problems reported by Asian international students were usually related to the necessity to adapt to a foreign academic environment, language, and culture clearly different from that of their home countries. Asian international students encounter difficulty during conversations with mainstream Americans whom they sometimes regarded as pushy, overly talkative, and impatient. This is reinforced by Yu and Berryman's (1996) claim that the process of adjustment was difficult for most Chinese immigrants to the U.S. which affected their enjoyment of leisure. Because of this, Chinese graduate immigrants were found to socialize mainly with other Asians and attempt to stay connected to their culture through reading books, speaking their native language, and participating in cultural festivals (Heggins and Jackson, 2003). It is therefore evident that the levels of intergration of immigrants will affect the way they spend their travel and leisure activities. If they have not integrated well, they will tend to spend their free time with their own people, or will choose specific place where they will feel at ease.

Perception

Perception, Reisinger and Turner (2002) has explained it as the process through which people see the world around themselves. Accordingly, perception is defined as the impression people form of one another and how interpretation is done concerning the behavior of another. There are three types of perception namely:

(i) Perception of other people: (tourist perception of host),
(ii) Perception of one own (E.g. tourist perception of themselves),
(iii) Perception of the perception (how other perceive they are being perceived) Reisinger and Turner (2002).

Further on, Reisinger (2000) has stated that Indonesians perceived Australians as more friendly and less naïve and arrogant than in the past. This revelation itself could make Indonesian participate in leisure activities while in Australia. But if the results were somewhat opposite of the outcome, the Indonesians would have opted otherwise and would not visit Australia as much as they would have liked. Additionally, though no much literature is given on Meta perception, how people perceive they are being perceived could determine the extent of travel and leisure participation. For example, if one thinks that he is seen as very weird or suspicious, he will tend to feel more insecure and will be choosy in deciding upon the place to travel.

Race

The race of an individual is also another determinant that influences and constrains many minority tourists. Stephenson (2007) claims that non white or people with a different race other than that of the white majority who visit or consider visiting rural environments, often anticipates or encounters racial prejudice in the UK. In this case, it may seem that race may be a determining factor for the immigrants and other minorities in participating leisure and travel in the UK and elsewhere. Stephenson (2007) added that perceptions and encounters of racial hostility have a direct role in terms of making the country side more accessible to Afro Caribbean's and especially by constructing social and physical boundaries between locals and visitors. For example Stephenson has cited Ingrid pollad, a photographer who explains her experience and perception of the countryside as follows "It's as if the black experience is only lived in an urban environment. I thought I liked the Lake District, where I wandered lonely as a black face in a sea of white. But a visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a feeling of unease, dread… feeling that I don't belong" Such experiences may automatically decide upon places to visit, when to visit, or where to go and they lead to leisure differences between people.

Marginality

Susana (2000) states that the marginality or socio-economic

status hypotheses suggest that differences in leisure participation are a function of poverty and/or discrimination. For example she has stated a finding by West (1989) who explored the leisure patterns among black and white participants in Detroit city parks and surrounding regional parks. The focus of the study was to examine the role of interracial, marginality, and sub cultural factors in explaining differences in participation between black and white residents. The findings showed that black residents use Detroit city parks more than whites, but less than whites in surrounding regional parks. Marginality, specially restricted access to transportation, played more of a role than sub cultural factors in this under representation by black residents in regional parks. In this case, marginality may have been brought due to transportation as the black residents' preffered visiting the nearby Detroit city parks. On the other hand, marginality may be as a result of various other factors. For example, lack of enough finances to travel to the places the tourist's desire, time constraints as a result of work or other engagements among others.

Stereotyping

Reisinger and Turner (2002) state that stereotyping refers to attribution of certain traits, labeling, and perception of people on the basis of common characteristics. The writer has also quoted Jandt (1988) explanation of stereotype as judgments about others on the basis of their ethnic membership. For example, people generalize Muslims as terrorists even though they maybe a few of them who are like that... Another example is where stereotype of Tahitian women as beautiful helped attract visitors (Petit-Skinner, 1977 in Turner 2002). Reisinger and Turner (2002) state that, Stereotypes often form the core of the perceptions tourist and hosts use to interact with each other. It can then be noted that both stereotype and perception may relate in one way or another. Though few of the research found stated stereotyping as an influence in travel behavior of immigrants (Stodolska, 2000), it was not identified up to what extent the influence is.

Consumer racism and ethnocentrism

To start with, ethnocentrism is the believe in one own superiority; that the custom, traditions, beliefs, and behavioral practices of one's own culture are better to those of other cultures (Reisinger and Turner, 2002). For example, one might think that their own cultures maybe more superior than other people's culture. As Reisinger (2002) states, ethnocentrism in one way generates emotional reactions to cultural differences and reduces people willingness to understand different cultures thereby blocking any effective inter cultural interaction and communication. On the other hand, consumer racism

(CR) is defined by Oullet (2007) as the antipathy towards a given ethnic group's product or services as a way of discriminating against that group and this; the author adds that it affects the consumer behavior of domestic markets. The above points somehow facilitate differences and influence travel behaviors of tourists. Not only tourists could be influenced by such constraints, but also ethnic minorities. For example Oullet (2007 states an example that Mexican immigrants living in American may feel better buying or engaging in Mexican American products because if they do not do so, their fellow Mexican American will be out of job. In this case, such statements may lend us to know why some African living in the Netherlands may prefer buying products at the so called "Afro shops" because they feel they can get their typical products that they find back home.

Ethnicity as a tourism influence factor and a constraint

Green (1999) states that, theories of ethnicity are not academic contrivances and instead, they are systematic efforts to understand peoples' perceptions of reality and characterization of others as human beings. On the other hand, Hutchison (1998) described ethnicity as a membership in a sub cultural group on the basis of country of origin, language, religion, or cultural traditions, which are different from the dominant society. For example, people with a different religion such as the Muslims and living in the Netherlands would be viewed as belonging to another ethnic group even by other ethnic minorities such as the Caribbean and other African decents living in the Netherlands, even though they have the same skin color. Green (1999) in his model of ethnicity explained the differentiations of categorical and transactional concepts of ethnicity, as shown in the Table 1. The differences ranged from cultural content within groups and boundaries between groups as shown. Both categorical or transactional differences and ethnicity of any kind has its influences on leisure and travel experiences and choice. Ethnicity in ethnic groups as isajiw (1990) stated, rise to a) social organization that provides the social structure of ethnic community, and b) identity as a phenomenon that gives to individuals a sense of belonging and to the community, a sense of openness. The above two phenomenon given by Isajiw may also be an influence facilitating leisure constraints to immigrants. For example, if one does not feel the sense of identity and belonging towards his own ethnic group, then it is obvious that the individual will not feel at ease when he visits their surroundings.

On the other hand, Gans (1992) stated that the tendency to preserve one's culture, assimilate in the culture, integrate and enjoy leisure and other social services may be influenced by the size of the ethnic community, and by the availability of the support network and ethnic institutions that it provides. For example, Stephenson

Table 1. Somali immigrants in the Netherlands.

Categorical	Transactional
Emphasizes cultural contents within a group	Emphasizes boundaries between groups
Assumes high level of cultural uniformity within groups	Expects differential expressions of surface features within groups
Seeks conceptual simplification in response to cultural otherness	Seeks conceptual complexity within a comparative perspective
Assimilation or acculturation are policy and intervention goals	Resolution within indigenous frameworks as intervention goals
Associated with melting pot and pluralistic ideologies	Anticipates resistance to political and culture dominance.

(2007) has demonstrated how the UK Caribbean Diaspora engage in their own travel and leisure activities as a group while also making visits to their relatives in other places. These Diasporas help in making travel experiences more worthwhile for those ethnic groups engaged in Diasporas. Other studies by Stodolska et al. (2003) stated that significant number of studies tackled the issues of ethnic-specific motivations for leisure participation.

Most of this research pointed out that Mexican-Americans' leisure was motivated by strong family values, that Mexican-American recreationists sought intensive social interactions with other members of their ethnic group and that, unlike the mainstream Americans, they did not stress individualistic goals and self-fulfillment. An example of the study is by (Floyd and Gramann, 1992). It is therefore evident that ethnicity plays an important role in determining travel patterns of minorities and immigrants. As already detailed, the research aims at identifying specific immigrants-that is the Somalis in the Netherlands. Therefore, it is good to have an outlook of those immigrants, their cultural life, their reasons for immigrating and their integration in their host country- the Netherlands.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN

Extensive part of the research is a qualitative one. With the aid of structured interviews, that helped the researcher to connect with those who were interviewed and understand their knowledge and feeling of the research questions. The research focused on the Somali immigrants in the Netherlands and specifically in Leeuwarden a city in the North of Netherlands and Alkmaar in the South of Netherlands.

Design and population

The interviews were conducted to twenty nine adults living in the city of Leeuwarden. Of those chosen to be interviewed, were college students and other adults from twenty one years and above, specifically of Somali decent, meaning those who were born in Somalia and have immigrated to the Netherlands. The selection process of those interviewed was intended to ensure that those interviewed had a broad range of knowledge concerning their home country's situations and concerning the meaning of various issues like war, tourism, social integration among others.

Interview procedure

The majority of those interviewed had already stayed in the Netherlands for some time; questions were asked in a way that they would understand as the interviewer tried to explain some difficult words that were in English. Other languages of interview were administered. For example, Somali people speak some Swahili language and due to the researcher's ability to converse in fluent Swahili, the language was used as an extra.

Additionally, the exact words varied differently as the researcher tried to probe into topic regarding particular subject, and this allowed the respondents to express their personal views freely. This however made me as the researcher learn about new ideas. Accordingly, many of those interviewed did not want to give out their full names (which was not included in the list of questions) but preferred just to answer other questions. The researcher was taking notes from the conversation, which was a major setback as many of the researchers did not want to be tape recorded as they said they did not trust " this things" (tape recorders).

Methods of data collection

It should be noted that a large part of data collection that was in figures, graphs or charts was derived from the literature study. This was in order to get a historical perspective of the population (Somali in Netherlands) and to get clear facts and figures from important sources. As stated, the interviews were semi structured. Interviews with the Somali immigrants which helped the researcher get information first hand. Face to face interview was more on a conversational note which made it easy for the researcher and those interviewed have a free and relaxed atmosphere.

Data analysis

Although, the use of questionnaires would have provided data needed, it is clear that when dealing with people's experiences and if one wants to know about their true perceptions of an issue, it is better to have a face to face interview. As with past experiences, semi structured interviews aid in gaining data and results that can be comparable. But more important to note, some exerts from interviews that were edited in the report had to be translated in English for better understanding.

Ethical consideration

People interviewed were all willing to share their experiences, views and knowledge. Prior to the interview session, information on the research was explained to the respondents. The interviewer explained then purpose of the research, why it is necessary and always asked the interviewees whether they had any questions before the start and the end of every interview. Taylor (1994), states that researchers undertaking research on other cultures and

ethnic groups have a responsibility to ensure that they remain aware of, and respect the concerns of the individual or communities being studied. All respect should be consistent with the ethical standard of the home and the host country. In reflection of Tailor's statement, the research also chose to include this ethical consideration. This is because the research was dealing with a different culture and in a different country that had different ways of living and most of all, religious ethical consideration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Stodolska and Livengood (2003) have mentioned that; the presence of Muslims (Somali) within the mainstream society may require them to constantly negotiate their cultural values and behaviours. As can be seen from above results, Somali respondents who had stayed in Netherlands longer than five years did not consider their religion (Muslim) when making choices of where to travel. Most of them choose travel destinations within Holland because they liked the places and will have fun. This can be proved by Warden and Walker (1992) stated in the literature that internals factors such as the liking of a place influences travel behaviour.

Others choose to travel to cities within Holland because some of their families lived there and they would spend time with them. How ever most respondents choose places to travel or participate in leisure because their (Somali) friends were accompanying them. On the other hand, respondents preferred other leisure places more than the others because of the language and distance. If the language was in Dutch, they would not go there even if they themselves had learnt Dutch. Also, the type of people present in a destination was an influence to the decision the teenage Somalis made towards places to travel. This is seen in their choice not to go recreational parks because it was for older people.

Additionally, from the data above, it can be seen that most Somalis do not really mind or care what their hosts think of them. Where they choose to go, it is because they like it and it will not depend on what the Dutch will think of them. On the other hand, other respondents who thought the Dutch people thought they gained financial support were more defensive of themselves especially if they happened to be working. To elaborate more, proper discussions are explained further. This will be in line with the main research questions that were depicted in chapter one, and will be used to make some discussion as seen below.

The tourism behaviour of Somali immigrants in the Netherlands

Somali immigrants living in the Netherlands cannot be said to have no interest in traveling within and even out of Netherlands. For example, according to most respondent described in chapter four, a considerable number said they traveled to bigger cities in the Netherlands for example Rotterdam and Tilburg. As some travels outside of Netherlands, Most respondents answered that they always went to visit those friends and relatives who emigrated from Netherlands to the UK. In this case, whether it is family reasons or enjoyment reasons, it is evident that the immigrants make visits once they have the time and opportunity.

Though, it is hard to find literature concerning their travel behaviour, much literature can be found on ethnic immigrants and especially of Muslim decent since the Somalis are also Muslims. As stoldoska (2003) indicates that religion may affect and to a great extent influence the behaviour of leisure participants, this case does not apply to the Somalis living in the Netherlands. The fact that they are Muslims however, does not influence in any way their travel behaviour or choices of leisure participation. Most importantly, their travel behaviour is largely dependent on their experiences within Netherlands and their liking. For example, as some respondents said,

> "I go to the African and Caribbean dances and parties in Amsterdam. I also travel regularly to Tilburg to visit friends there. "I went to a cultural festival near Horen and I did not like it. There was this music they were playing so loudly while shaking their heads... this is not what I like".

Additionally, the lack of mentioning a relation to Muslim may help conclude that religion did not affect their choice of travel- at least to those that had stayed for long years in the Netherlands. Influences of travel behaviour of the Somalis are also governed by their family members as most of them will travel to places where a family member already is staying there. For example, as some respondents answered:

> "I only travel to my family in the UK. Since I am in Netherlands, I can go to the nearer places I like but I don't do that often since I work".

Also, as the researcher found out, a total of 17 respondents had a relative in one of the cities in Holland or in Great Britain, and all at several time during their breaks or holidays, made travels to where their relatives were. Other influences are their Somali friends. If the friends decide it is this place or it's that, so be it. An example is the response from the teenage group:

1. "We always travel in a group and this way it's easier to have fun"
2. "I go to the African and Caribbean dances and parties in Amsterdam. I also travel regularly to Tilburg to visit friends there".

Factors that constraint the Somali people living in the Netherlands from participating in tourism activities

From the answers seen just above, "being African"

seems to have a strong influence on respondent's places of travel. Though, this maybe the case of ethnocentrism, that believes the superiority of what is yours (Oullets, 2007), this case may not apply to cultures as the author has only described in terms of products but not within people. The respondents being immigrants in the Netherlands also exhibited some travel or leisure behaviour, that of being with their families when engaging in such activities. From the literature review, this seems to go in line with the works of Hutchison (1987); Murdock et al. (1990) that showed that Mexican Americans have significantly lower rates of involvement in outdoor recreation while exhibiting a preference for engaging in family oriented activities such as visiting relatives, relaxing, being with family and playing with children.

Also, according to the work of Hasan (2001) and Triandis (1995), they state that the collectivistic nature of Muslims emphasizes the primary role of family in their lives. The fact that the Somalis being Muslims and according to the above responses, this may also be a prove in that, the respondents indicated first that they liked visiting their families whether in the Netherlands or the UK and then other preferences followed like engaging in other leisure activities like football or having fun with friends, the main constraints affecting Somalis travel behaviour in the Netherlands as identified from the literature and research are time, economic situation, social integration, and most important, their race and ethnicity.

Economic or marginality constraints

Generally, the economic situation of the Somali immigrants in the Netherlands is not good since some of them may be living on social welfare, are engaged in low skilled labour. For example most respondents if not working in a restaurant or going to school were working in cafes, where by the expected wages are obviously not much. Additionally, for those that have stayed for less years in the Netherlands, their first step is to get into the legal system which first expects them to stay in asylums. This may take more than one year in some cases and thereby they may have limited resources to make them travel where they would like or if able to, this may makes them choose certain travel destinations like going to nearest cities like the mentioned Tilburg, Rotterdam or the Hague or even make them not to engage in expensive concerts. This concludes that marginality is also a constraint to the Somalis. Lack of most festivals attributed to Somalis in the Netherlands may also be an evident that they would not mind participating in other peoples cultures and all they want is to integrate. On the other hand, their participation of travel and leisure activities is done in small groups and normally those groups constitute of their own ethnic members as seen with responses above for example:

"I go to the African and Caribbean dances and parties in Amsterdam. I also travel regularly to Tilburg to visit friends there".

As also stated by McDonald and McAvoy (1997) discrimination from white recreationists and from the local law enforcement made Native Americans recreate in the remote areas of their own reservation and spend time in the company of their family members or their Native American friends. This may be the same with the Somalis. The literature and the data also add that Somalis living in the Netherlands though have assimilated, still receive some negative responses when they want to recreate.

Level of Integration

From the findings, it is seen that integration is not fully achieved in the Dutch society, due to the mal treatment, of the Somalis when they try to engage in simple leisure activities like football, or even when trying to visit places out of the main cities for example as one respondent said:

'I play football for my free time and I like it very much. Even when I was back in Africa (Somalia) I was playing football. Here, I am very good because I have improved and facilities are good. But sometimes when I want to play, I stay on the bench all the time if the coach doesn't like me. I think he doesn't want me to be successful or he prefers a white boy more than me.'

This makes the Somalis feel uncomfortable to participate in Dutch related recreational activities as well as traveling to places where there are the Dutch majority.

Meta perception of Somalis in the Netherlands

Perception of how Somalis are being perceived by the Dutch hosts may also make them decide upon the places to travel or not to. The Somalis most of them feel that they are not accepted even at school as one teenage respondents said:

"We are all the same there; no one minds my dressing, my hair, my style… You know my style, this is African! I went to a school theater show and my teacher said I cannot enter there because my style of dress (this teen age respondent was spotting a cap, sagging trousers, and large shoes at the time of interview). I change school now, one in Amsterdam with many black people… but I will not go to clubs, functions and musicals where the Dutch man is there only… they think am crazy this way".

Though, that in itself does not involve travel in anyway,

the experience itself may be a reason why the respondent will not engage in activities where there are the Dutch majorities. On the other hand, some of the Somalis in the Netherlands think they are being perceived by the Dutch people who do not affect their choice of travel. As stated earlier, they do not care what their hosts- the Dutch think of them as one respondent said. Therefore, to sum up this matter, it may depend on each individual (Somali) and their reactions towards how they think they are perceived.

What racial encounters impact upon their ability to participate in tourism freely?

Various expressions and details were given by some research participants that to my point of view portrayed racial expressions. Just to note, most of the respondents who admitted that they had experienced racial encounters were teenager, who were very at ease in their explanation. "As the researcher I found out that though adults would have liked to express their views and their experiences, they did it more diplomatically therefore avoiding some details, for reasons not known". For example, one respondent said that he thought the Dutch people were curious people and they like asking questions. If they (the Dutch do not get what they want, they will tend to look at you like one respondent said in a "funny way" … when probed further, what funny way… Just funny' was the answer. Racial encounters are therefore hard to discuss when it comes to those experiences given by more mature respondents. As for the teenage respondents, most of them gave their experiences that the researcher thought it may have been influenced by race. For example, as one footballer explained "… But sometimes when I want to play, I stay on the bench all the time if the coach doesn't like me. I think he does not want me to be successful or he prefers a white boy more than me" Though, the above can be termed as perceived racial encounter, to a great extent, it may have been influenced by the thought that he was black and the coach preferred a white boy.

Conclusions

Theoretical explanations for race, marginality and ethnicity, offer some help in interpreting the differences and constraints that face the minorities while participating in tourism and leisure activities. The literature also shows that various influences like race also affect the way members of ethnic group participate in leisure activities. In this way, destinations and activities that tend to be dominated by whites are not always conducive to productive cultural exchanges as Stephenson (2007) has affirmed. In this way, it can be seen from the interview responses that due to negative experiences, respondents would not at all

visit places that seem to be full of Dutch white people.

Instead, the Somalis would prefer to go to places where they feel that they will be treated well or will feel being with their "own people". Going back to the literature review, the study of Stodolska and Jackson (1998) showed that minorities use ethnic enclosure in leisure to "distance themselves from ethnically motivated unfair treatment at work, school, or in public places and that some minorities may prefer to associate with other co-ethnics due to similar cultural and historical backgrounds. This is clearly proved by various responses given by respondents, whose responses exhibit various statement like "am Am African, My people, among others". This though not enough to make clear resolution may also support studies done by Stodolska (1998). For example, as one respondent answered to the question of why he preferred going to kwakou a festival in Amsterdam and not others, he said "Am African". I need to be with other Africans so that I can enjoy" This statement is proved from the responses of most respondents who stated that, they would like to go to these places with a member of their own ethnic group as it makes them enjoy more.

Additionally, Stephenson (2007) stated that problems individuals encounter during particular movements compel them to reflect on their own Diasporas roles, statutes and identities. He adds that racialized experiences are likely to influence people's perceptions and impressions of particular destinations, societies, and cultures. Therefore, it is good to note that experiences received during visits will determine whether he/she will make a return visit later, and this means that if the hosts' reception is good and pleasing and there are no negative experiences especially from hosts. Given that, this work was with an aim of finding the extent into which ethnicity influences the travel behaviour of Somalis living in the Netherlands, the literature, the interview analysis and research findings brings to the conclusion that:

(i) Somalis who have lived in the Netherlands for more than five years, though closely following the Muslim religion, it (religion) does not affect the way they spend or would like to be involved in their leisure activities,
(ii) Racialized expressions and encounters play a huge role in the way the Somalis living in the Netherlands choose to travel engage in their daily and leisure activities,
(iii) This as the responses show is largely due to their ethnicity "African" or being African and their race (Black). Other factors that may influence their travel behavior are marginality as most Somalis thought that they were perceived as only taking social funds but not working.

To conclude results are that, the ethnicity of the Somalis living in the Netherlands plays a huge role and influences not only their travel behaviour, but also their everyday life, including working and schooling. Given the description of ethnicity as seen in the literature review by Hutchison

(1998), who describes ethnicity as a membership in a subcultural group on the basis of country of origin, language, religion, or cultural traditions, which are different from the dominant society, it can be seen that to a large extent, it influences the travel behaviour of Somalis in the Netherlands. Their mentioning of being "African", their way of life and valuing it- (preferring first the family and then others) among others prove their ethnicity influences where they go, where they would like to go, who they want to be with and what they want to do.

This work has demonstrated some constraints experienced by immigrants and especially those of Somali ethnicity, attentions to the experiences of other Netherlands immigrants such as those from Caribbean or Middle East should be researched on. This would help develop a broader analysis of immigrants' forms and ways of travel and their experiences. Finally, According to World Tourism Organization, each individual has a right to travel where he can despite of colour, race and ethnicity. The experiences portrayed by the Somalis immigrants should be an eye opener of the social inequalities and injustices shown to immigrants as they participate in their leisure and travel. Therefore, more research and ways to improve travel experiences of marginalized people like immigrants should be taken into account. More so, proper travel policies should also include immigrants so as to enable them have meaningful leisure and travel experiences.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview questions to Somali immigrants

1. "To what extent does ethnicity influence travel behavior of Somali immigrants in the Netherlands?"
2. How often do you engage in leisure and travel activities?
3. Which places do you prefer visiting in the Netherlands?
4. Why do you prefer these places?
5. Who do you travel with when you go to these places?
6. What limits you when you want to travel to places?
7. What do is the atmosphere when you visit these places?
8. How do you think the Dutch people perceive you?
9. Why do you think they see you that way?
10. Does religion or your culture affect the choice of your travel?
11. Does your family interfere with your choice of travel or your choice of leisure activity?