The fundamental aim of this study was to determine how Malaysians define both leisure and recreation. Two ethnic groups, Chinese and Malays, and rural and urban variants of these groups were included in the sample. The other objective was to determine if there were differences in the definitions due to differences in ethnic backgrounds and place of residence.

Qualitative, in-depth interviews, participant observation and the pile sort technique were the methods used to study the subjective leisure experiences of informants. Coding and categorization of the data resulted in the formulation of a conceptual framework and several general themes.

Informants did not explicitly differentiate between the concepts, leisure and recreation, and nearly all of them were more familiar with the broader term, "leisure." Their understanding of these concepts was similar to professional adopted definitions of the terms. However, the conceptual framework demonstrated perceptions of leisure as more than dimensions of time and activity consisting of other salient variables such as motives, constraints, life stage, past experiences, affective and beneficial outcomes which combined to define the subjective leisure experience.

Several emergent themes showed that there were only slight or no differences in the informants' perceptions of leisure due to differences in ethnic backgrounds. Themes on structural constraints, the social nature of leisure, preferences for natural recreation areas, and hedonic and beneficial outcomes of leisure pursuits demonstrated that informants shared similar perceptions of leisure in terms of motives, constraints and perceived affective outcomes. The theme on celebration
of cultural festivals revealed several differences due to cultural differences in functions and content of the festivals.

While both rural and urban informants frequently participated in mass leisure activities, both groups also differed in their participation in at least two types of activities. Rural informants were found to be more active in extractive recreation and community-based social activities. These differences were attributed to accessibility of natural resources, the lack of other recreation opportunities, structural constraints, and the perceived community benefits derived from community gatherings respectively.

Implications for research and leisure and recreation planning are discussed in light of the themes generated.
Defining Leisure and Recreation in Malaysia

by

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DEFINING LEISURE AND RECREATION IN MALAYSIA

INTRODUCTION

For years, researchers in the Western hemisphere have been investigating cultural influences on both leisure and recreation. This study extends these investigations to four groups of people in Malaysia. Two ethnic groups, Chinese and Malays, and rural and urban variants of these groups were studied to determine how they defined leisure and recreation.

Conceptualization of the terms, "leisure" and "recreation", is not a mere intellectual exercise. Understanding these terms has important implications for national leisure and recreation planning. With different cultures co-existing in Malaysia, planning for the recreation needs of these various cultural groups is a difficult task. To further complicate the process, the differences in lifestyle between urban and rural populations puts recreation planners in a difficult position as they search for ways to meet the needs of all the groups.

Thus far, leisure and recreation planning have centered on physical design and provision of activity opportunities, both processes which are supply oriented. Demand has begun to be approached through several domestic tourism studies, commissioned by the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board, which categorized local tourists according to their socio-demographic characteristics and their preferences for recreation places and activities of interest. All of these approaches to planning are narrowly focused and deal only with the provision and upgrading of selected services and facilities which serve specific groups.

The task of this study is to extend definitions of leisure or recreation beyond the widely accepted premise of "engagement in an activity during free or non-obligated time." By taking into account the cultural complexities in the lives of Malays and Chinese, this study should offer richer descriptions of the meanings of leisure and recreation for these people. The findings of this study are aimed at providing deeper insights into the significance of these phenomena in the lives of Malaysians. As Godbey (1991) has suggested, public leisure services should reflect rather than
create culture. Agencies providing leisure and recreation services should not only be aware of differential participation rates, but also they should understand the diversity of opinions which truly reflect the needs of a multi-cultural population.

Malaysia

History

Located between one and seven degrees north of the Equator in the heart of Southeast Asia, Malaysia is a tropical nation covering 330,000 square kilometers (refer to Figure 1 for location). Blessed with an ample endowment of natural resources, her strategic location has attracted foreign visitors, seeking new lands to conquer and wealth through trade, for many centuries.

The earliest Proto-Malay inhabitants in the Malay peninsula and Indonesian archipelago originated from southwestern China between 2500 and 1500 B.C. Then, around 300 B.C., the Deutero-Malays, off-springs of Proto-Malays who had inter-married with the peoples of Chinese, Indian, Arabic or Siamese origins, began to form the next wave of migration. This second group of migrants and the Malays from Indonesia became the ancestors of today’s Malays. With the emergence of sea trade through the Straits of Malacca, came Indian and Chinese traders. In the north, the peninsula was often invaded by the Siamese. Indian Muslim traders brought Islam to the country at the end of the 13th century and many of the residents, including the Sultan in the 15th century, embraced the religion. By the 16th century, Europeans came in search of new trading posts as well as to acquire new lands for their monarchs. The Portuguese were the first to arrive. They were ousted by the Dutch who monopolized trade in the region. The British took power from the Dutch when the latter’s homeland was invaded by the French in the late 18th century. From then on the country came under British colonial power except for a brief invasion by the Japanese.
Figure 1: Map of Malaysia
during World War II. After the war, the British returned to rule until the country's independence in 1957.\(^1\)

Despite such a long history of contact with foreigners, and with the present population being influenced by foreign cultures as well, Malaysia has maintained a unique cultural identity.

**Socio-economic Characteristics**

**People.** No description of Malaysia would be adequate without highlighting her multi-ethnic society. Malaysia's population in 1992 stood at 18.6 million people (UN Statistical Division, 1994). The ethnic groups making up the population are the Malays and the various indigenous groups (62% and known collectively as "bumiputras"), Chinese (29.5%) and Indians (8.5%). These groups are not distributed uniformly throughout the country's thirteen states. The Malays are the dominant ethnic group in the northern, eastern and southern parts of the peninsula, with a large percentage of them living in rural areas. Most of the Chinese live in major towns along the West Coast. The majority of the indigenous population is in East Malaysia and the central region of the peninsula. The Indian population is found mainly in towns and cities on the west coast as well as in a few scattered communities in the agricultural estates.

Within this array of ethnic groups is a wide range of religious beliefs. While all Malays are nominally Moslems and Islam is the state religion, the rest of the ethnic groups are given religious freedom. Other religious affiliations include Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, Hinduism and some pagan beliefs. Arising from this diversity of religions is a multitude of cultural festivals which are celebrated throughout the year.

Equally diverse are the languages and dialects spoken in Malaysian society. Malay ("Bahasa Malaysia") is the national and official language. However, both Malay and English are

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\(^1\) Historical information from the following two sources: Insight Guides: Malaysia (13th edition) and Vreeland et al. (1976).
used commonly among the different ethnic groups. English is used more commonly among elites and educated people from the middle class.

Besides being an ethnically plural society, Malaysia also is divided between urban and rural populations. In 1980, 37 percent of the population of Peninsular Malaysia (10.94 million people) was urban (Government of Malaysia, 1992; p19). However, the average annual growth of the urban population between 1975-1985 was 4.6 percent, and the proportion of urban dwellers has increased. Kuala Lumpur, the capital city, was estimated as having a population of 1.1 million people in 1991 (EUROMONITOR, 1993). As one might expect, jobs and lifestyles vary among these groups. The mix of beliefs, values and attitudes arising from the multi-ethnic and urban and rural characteristics of the people exemplify the country's unique cultural diversity, a diversity that is promoted by the Malaysian government as a tourism attraction.

The Economy. Recovering from the recession years in the mid-1980s, Malaysia's economy has achieved remarkable growth with a total gross domestic product of USD 29.3 billion (at market prices or RM 79.2 billion) in 1990 (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992; p7). In 1991, the economy grew at 8.6 percent (UN-ESCAP, 1993; p36). Traditionally, the nation's economy was commodity-based, being a major producer of rubber, cocoa and palm oil. As such it often suffered from drastic fluctuations in world markets. In the 1980s the country diversified its economic base to include industry and services. These sectors grew by 9.9 and 9.7 percent, respectively, compared to the agriculture sector's growth of 1.2 percent in 1992 (UN-ESCAP, 1993; p39). In the same year, manufacturing and construction grew at 13 and 13.5 percent, respectively. There also has been tremendous foreign investment, totalling USD 6.5 billion in 1990 (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992; p154), further fueling the nation's economic growth. In fact, Malaysia has been described by the media as one of the "little tigers" in the Pacific Rim after demonstrating resilient economic growth this decade.
Rising Incomes and Consumer Spending. Rapid economic growth and political stability have given rise to better education opportunities and higher paying jobs for many Malaysians, regardless of their ethnic group or place of origin. In recent years, Malaysians have begun to enjoy the fruits of progress with marked increases in personal income. Domestic consumption and investment have increased rapidly. Per capita income in 1990 was USD 2,297 (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992; p7), placing the country as a middle income developing country.

Consumer expenditures in 1986 for the following items were: USD 5.3 million\(^3\) (14.2 million Malaysian Ringgit (RM)) on food, USD 2.1 million (RM 5.6 million) on transportation and communications and USD 0.76 million (RM 2.04 million) on leisure and education. In comparison, consumer spending on the same items increased by almost twice these amounts by 1991. In that year, expenditures on food and drink were USD 8.7 million (RM 23.5 million or 39.6% of total spending), on transportation and communications were USD 3.96 million (RM 10.7 million or 15%) and on leisure and education were USD 1.7 million (RM 4.6 million or 6.4%).

Corresponding to these trends in consumer spending, ownership of several personal items has escalated, reflecting increasing affluence in Malaysian society. There was a 301 percent change in passenger car circulation between 1977 and 1991 (503,200 to 2,018,800). New registrations of passenger cars stood at 1.23 million vehicles in 1991 compared to a decade earlier when only 864,000 new vehicles were registered.

Televisions and radios in use have shown large increases of 280 and 397 percent, respectively, between the years 1977 and 1989. Based on the number of licenses issued, there were only 658,000 televisions and 1.5 million radios in use in 1977. By 1989, these numbers increased to 2.5 million television and 7.6 million radio sets. The number of televisions and radios

\(^2\) Statistics on consumer spending, unless otherwise quoted, were quoted from "International Marketing Data and Statistics, 1993," EUROMONITOR, London.

\(^3\) Currency conversion rate used in all conversions from Malaysian Ringgit (RM) to U.S. Dollars at the rate of RM 2.7 = USD 1.00. Not adjusted for inflation.
may actually be larger because a household may have more than one radio and/or television, but only one license is required per household.

Based on these statistics and increases in demand for luxury goods and foreign travel, one can assume that present Malaysians are quite willing to spend on leisure and entertainment items, as well as on increased mobility.

Tourism Development in Malaysia

Since the launching of "Visit Malaysia Year" in 1990, tourism has become an important economic activity and is now the nation's third largest revenue generator. With aggressive foreign promotion and marketing, six million visits were made to the country in 1990, compared to three million visits in 1985. Gross receipts from tourism grew by 24.5 percent per annum during the period of the Fifth Malaysian Plan (1986-1990), increasing from USD 556 million (RM 1,500 million) in 1985 to USD 1,667 million (RM 4,500 million) in 1990. Active development of the tourism sector made Malaysia the leading tourist destination in the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Countries) region in 1991, overtaking her neighbors Thailand and Singapore.

To tap the opportunities offered by the world tourism market, the Government has allocated USD 198 million (RM 533.9 million) for the development of the tourism sector under the Sixth Malaysian Plan (SMP, 1991 - 1995). The SMP also saw the launch of a national tourism policy and plan to provide specific long-term policies and strategies to ensure the sustainable development of tourism without sacrificing either the quality of life of the local people or the environment.

Several concerns were highlighted and it was hopeful that with a policy such issues could be resolved. Apart from the usual issues such as developing the industry for economic growth, improving infrastructure, facilities, managerial and institutional aspects, training of manpower for specialized tourism services and involving the private sector in the provision of new and varied attractions, there are three issues related to domestic tourism and the promotion of culture and natural resources which are deemed most important for the discussion here.
It was recognized in this plan that domestic and international tourism must be given equal emphasis in promotional efforts. The government realized that although the country's tourism earnings were impressive, the benefits were offset by huge foreign exchange outflows (USD 1,481 million or RM 4,000 million in 1990) due to overseas leisure travel by Malaysians. In 1987, approximately 2.44 million Malaysians went on overseas leisure travel (Government of Johore, 1992). While the Sixth Malaysian Plan noted that regular leisure travel within the country was yet to become a common exercise among Malaysians, it also acknowledged that the potential of the domestic travel market remained untapped.

Preliminary studies by the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board revealed that domestic tourists form the largest group of travellers; this group making up an average of 15.6 million person trips annually. However, collecting accurate statistics on domestic travel profiles and expenditures has been difficult because Malaysians often stay with families and friends during vacations. Domestic travel also exhibits a seasonal characteristic when Malaysians return to their home towns during school and festival holidays and visits to relatives and friends are common during those times.

The next issue specified in the Sixth Malaysian Plan was to take advantage of the country's multi-faceted cultures to develop opportunities in tourism product differentiation and diversification. The rich and varied cultures of the local peoples, as manifest by their performing arts, songs, dances, handicrafts and food specialties are to be promoted as part of a "distinct Malaysian image and identity."

Since tourism activities in Malaysia are often located in natural areas, environmental protection and preservation was identified as an area of serious concern. Since ecotourism and agro-tourism are fast becoming buzzwords among travel promoters in the country, the government has assured that increased attention will be paid to tourism development projects occurring in natural areas to ensure that negative environmental impacts will be minimized.
Malaysia is very fortunate to be the home of one of the world's most complex and oldest ecosystems, the tropical rainforests. Fifty-nine percent of the country (19.37 million hectares) was under forest cover in 1990 (Ministry of Primary Industries, 1992). In the wake of international brouhaha over rainforest destruction by over-logging and indiscriminate clearing for other uses and the cry for tighter preservation strategies for such valuable, diverse ecosystems, the Malaysian government is fully aware of the need to conserve the use of this "green gemstone" and ensure sustained revenues from this resource for present and future generations (Ministry of Primary Industries, 1992). Furthermore, the current international upsurge in ecotourism has the government promoting the country's natural resources as part of her national heritage.

Malaysia has been carrying out systematic forest management since the beginning of this century. In addition, several pieces of federal legislation and policies regarding land use and conservation have been in effect since as early as 1960 with passage of the Land Conservation Act. At the time of the Third Malaysian Plan (1976-1980), active conservation strategies were drawn up. Efforts to manage wisely and conserve the nation's natural resources have been carried to the present with the implementation of the Sixth Malaysian Plan (1991-1995), with most large-scale development projects requiring environmental impact assessments.

At the end of the Fifth Malaysian Plan (FMP) in 1990, 2.13 million hectares were set aside as national parks and wildlife and bird sanctuaries. Approximately 82 percent (15.92 million hectares) of the forest land in Malaysia was set aside as permanent forest reserves, national parks and wildlife/bird sanctuaries with only 17.8 percent available for conversion to other land uses (Ministry of Primary Industry, 1992; p4). During the FMP, there were two gazetted national parks and numerous wildlife and bird sanctuaries located throughout Peninsular Malaysia, 13 in the state of Sabah and 10 in the state of Sarawak.

Apart from these protected areas, a portion of the permanent forest estate also has been set aside as amenity or recreation forests. Managed by the respective State Forestry Departments,
25 forest recreational areas were established between 1971 and 1980. By the end of 1985, an additional 14 sites were developed for forest recreation (Ministry of Primary Industry, 1986-1990; p45).

Several site specific studies of visitors have shown that the popularity of these forested areas for recreation and education has increased over the years. An example of increases in number of visits to two of the most popular national parks in the country shows that in 1978, there were 11,710 visitors to the Mount Kinabalu National Park in Sabah while the "Taman Negara" (National Park) on the peninsula registered 1,390 visitors. Over the next thirteen years visitors to these two parks increased many fold to 210,862 visitors for the Mount Kinabalu National Park and 18,710 visitors for "Taman Negara" (Wan Sabri, 1993). State forest recreation sites also are becoming very popular, particularly local sites and those near Kuala Lumpur which serve her resident population. Three popular recreation sites outside of Kuala Lumpur and accessible within an hour's drive recorded an average of 4,100 visitors in each site on a single day (Berkmuller et. al., 1992; p4).

Malaysia's hill resorts are found in the montane and hill forests. These types of forests are the home of high altitude vegetation species and animals not found in the lowland dipterocarp forests where many of the forest-based recreation sites are located. Once offering respite from the humidity and heat of the lowlands for British colonial officers, the cooling atmosphere of the hills is becoming an attractive holiday environment for Malaysians. Some of the major attractions at the hill resorts are the temperate climate, tranquility, inns and resthouses dating back to the colonial days, and set amidst temperate flower gardens with a background of tea plantations, vegetable farms and rolling green mountains.

Besides forest-based recreation areas, Malaysia has 4,675 kilometres of marine coastline and numerous offshore islands. Evident from the mushrooming numbers of international holiday resorts and local motels and chalets along the coast and islands, coastal areas are the most popular holiday destinations among foreigners and locals.
Many of the natural areas offering opportunities for nature-based recreation are located in either rural areas or remote regions of the country. Urban holiday-makers and foreign tourists are attracted to these places because of their natural and cultural characteristics. These visitors, however, often are not fully aware of local customs and behaviors, and in their tourism behavior impact local populations both positively and negatively. In addition, in its desire to engage in economic development through tourism the government has not always fully considered the needs of locals and has promoted resorts which are not necessarily a good fit with local customs and traditions.

This background on Malaysia and Malaysian tourism provides a context for this study and sets the stage for needing to understand how Malaysians define both leisure and recreation. As the country rapidly changes, the need to understand the needs and desires of the population increases.

**Problem**

Recreation planning and management in Malaysia have largely focused on recreation activities. Planning has been top-down with administrators, planners, project developers and politicians playing key roles in deciding what is to be provided. Most of the time planning has been for the public, rather than with the public. A distinct customer orientation has been lacking, particularly in public recreation planning. However, private investors have commissioned market surveys of user preferences related to specific recreation developments. For most recreation site developments, the Malaysian public may use recreation facilities simply because they are provided, not because they are the most desirable facilities. Under such circumstances, what people receive from recreation opportunities might not match very closely what they want. Then again, there might be a good match; we simply do not know because we do not know how people define recreation and what forms of recreation they desire. Fundamentally, what we need to know is how
Malaysians' define leisure and recreation and if there are differences in definition between groups in this pluralistic society.

Since the society is pluralistic, planning to meet the needs of each group is important. This suggest delineating the definitions of different groups such as urban and rural, and Malay and Chinese. Of interest are differences attributable to cultural, ethnic and geographic variations in beliefs, values, and attitudes.

Objectives of the Study

The following two objectives were posited for this study:

1. To determine how Malaysians define both leisure and recreation.
2. To determine if there are differences in how leisure and recreation are defined based upon rural and urban residence and/or ethnic differences.

The following general propositions were promulgated based upon these objectives:

1. There are differences in definitions of recreation and leisure, and activities constituting recreation and leisure behavior, between the urban and rural populations of Malaysia.
2. There are differences in definitions of recreation and leisure, and activities constituting recreation and leisure behavior, among the ethnic populations of Malaysia.
3. There are interactions between residence (rural or urban) and ethnicity in affecting definitions of recreation and leisure.

Statistics on consumer expenditures shown earlier, together with growth in the economy, indicate that Malaysians are willing to allocate more of their disposable income to leisure and recreational activities. In particular, the urban population, which have been influenced by modern technology and western culture (which makes distinction between work and play), and by an array of options brought through greater education, may be less inhibited in their leisure and recreation
pursuits, and consider these pursuits as antidotes to a relatively hectic and controlled work-life. These populations appear to be assuming an urban lifestyle which expresses western individuality, thus lessening the effect of cultural conformity on their choices of leisure and recreation activities. Countering these effects are the strength of ethnic identity and conformance to ethnic perceptions of leisure and recreation.

Although rural populations of Malaysia are rapidly becoming more open to modernization, they still adhere to a traditional way of life. A chief assumption of this study, based on common depictions of traditional agrarian societies, is that rural people may perceive recreation and leisure as hedonic and thus, negative. On the other hand, there are distinct seasons for hard work and play, but possibly with the games, feasts and festivals as forms of religious and spiritual expression, rather than as forms of recreation or leisure.

While differences are the focus of this study, it is equally important to reveal the similarities that exist between the four populations. Both differences and similarities in perceptions will likely have important implications for national policies and planning regarding recreation and leisure. However, it should be borne in mind that due to the qualitative and exploratory nature of the study, there are some limitations to the transferability of the results to other contexts. First, the non-representative, small sample size involving only two ethnic groups and the restriction of study areas to one urban and one rural site do not allow the extrapolation of results to the Malaysian population at large. Furthermore, interviews with the people participating in the study were dependent on self-reports, beliefs, and attitudes which might bias the recall of previous experiences. All caution applying to such retrospective accounts and interviewer/interviewee interactions should be kept in mind in reading this dissertation.
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this study is one based on Western distinctions between leisure and recreation. These distinctions are examined in the Malaysian context, leading to some propositions about definitions of leisure and recreation by Malaysians.

Leisure

Since the time of the ancient Greeks, Western philosophers and researchers have attempted to conceptualize leisure. Philosophers have tried to explain the existential essence or abstract quality of leisure. Anthropologists have included leisure under the broader context of play and observed its functions in culture and society. Biologists have insisted that leisure behavior is innate, adaptive and an important component in the process of evolution. Sociologists have looked at leisure as having salient social functions in the shaping of social interactions and relationships in families, friendships and communities. Motivational orientations from physiology, behavioral learning, cognition, arousal seeking have been used by psychologists in studying the phenomenon. Economists and policy-makers have investigated the value of leisure to society at large. However, despite systematic and objective contemporary analyses adding to the scope of the subject, the meaning of leisure remains evasive. Many definitions of leisure have been proposed attesting to the multi-dimensionality and complexity of this phenomenon.

Meanings of Leisure

Although there may not be agreement on the terms leisure, recreation and play among scholars of different disciplines, the classical understanding of the word "leisure," originating from the Greeks, refers it as "a state characterized by meaningful and non-utilitarian activity" (Neulinger, 1981, p2). One of the earliest conceptions designated leisure as a period of time for an individual
to pursue so-called "free-time activities" for personal enjoyment (Neulinger, 1981, p5). Another early conception of leisure was to use the term in contra-distinction to work. Dumazedier (1974) said that leisure as a concept was ill-fitted to ancient times because it had distinct characteristics specific to industrialized civilizations. In order for a majority of workers in industrial and post-industrial societies to gain leisure two preliminary conditions in social life are necessary. First, individuals need to be free from ritual obligations in their decisions on how to use their free time and second, individuals need to be engaged in remunerated work distinguished from other activities. Sutton-Smith and Kelly-Byrne (1984) pointed out that the main function of leisure in modern society is to be free of work activity and work temporal obligations.

Many researchers have rejected this rigid work-leisure dichotomy. Kelly (1972) proposed a simplified paradigm which incorporated two basic dimensions found in most theories and definitions of work and leisure to distinguish between the two. His "discretion" dimension stated that leisure may be either freely chosen or constrained by work requirements and/or norms of society. "Work-relation" was the second dimension in that leisure can either be independent of work or dependent on the meaning given it by work. Hence, leisure does not include all non-work, but depends upon discretion over the use of time. Neulinger (1974; p.xv) also advocated that leisure should not be considered as not work and neither as time left over after work. Instead of merely denoting a residual time period, leisure is "a state of mind" (Neulinger, 1983; p21); a way of being at peace with oneself and doing activities which one chooses to do.

A decade later, Kelly (1983) introduced an additional two, more encompassing, dimensions to be included in leisure models. He said one of the most persistent elements in defining leisure in Western civilization has been the "freedom to choose." The requirement of choice which produces quality outcomes makes leisure an existential reality. Leisure also is a social reality because it has a social function and is in turn shaped by this purpose. It provides a stage for interaction and bonding among individuals of primary groups. Being a social construct embedded in the complexities of culture, the meaning of leisure can be as diffuse as it is subjective.
Unger and Kernan (1983) attempted to identify and test the ubiquity of six determinants of subjective leisure experience within the framework of existing leisure theory. Their results indicated that intrinsic satisfaction, perceived freedom and involvement were present across a variety of situational contexts. However, the other three proposed determinants - arousal, mastery and spontaneity - appeared to be more activity-specific. Personal variables such as age and gender and the social situation were shown to interact to affect the subjective leisure dimensions perceived. While the relationship among all six dimensions is complex, it was suggested that the intrinsic satisfaction dimension represented the "essence" of leisure and the other dimensions were secondary "causes" of happiness.

Since leisure is conceptualized at least partly as a social phenomenon, it is unlikely that there ever will be a universal definition of leisure. Leisure is a concept which must be examined within the context of the culture in which it takes place. Leisure has been presented as a temporal, social/cultural or psychological construct in the brief review above. However, the several common and salient parameters of leisure provide only a general conception of the phenomenon. Often, to study leisure, one also needs to concern oneself with an associated concept, "recreation" and the activities and behaviors which constitute this term.

Recreation

The attempt to define "recreation" has been fraught with as many semantic difficulties as the term "leisure." In fact, Arnold (1991) put forth that recreation is an abstract symbol and has no meaning in reality because it does not represent a description of a thing or an object. She went on to argue that recreation eluded measurement or quantification because its boundaries are unlimited in terms of the number of referents which gives it meaning.

Despite Arnold's contention that recreation is an abstraction, its meaning has changed through the ages since its adoption as an English word, from old French, in the 14th century. In the Middle Ages, the privileges of recreation were strictly reserved for those in the upper social
classes. Then, during the industrial revolution, activities that were recreational were those which provided spiritual and physical revitalization after hours of toil. It was during this era that recreation first came to mean a state of being with activities of a diversionary nature essential for maintaining healthy bodies and minds. This meaning of "revitalizing the individual after engagement in recreation activities, thereby enhancing efficiency at work," has persisted until today and has been used as a general premise in recreation planning.

Through this definition, recreation has been viewed as participation in activities. Hendee et al. (1971) developed a typology of outdoor recreation activity preferences and Kelly (1972) developed another typology of types of leisure, incorporating socially predetermined criteria to distinguish whether or not an activity is leisure. Research using these models have concentrated on projecting demand based on data for past rates of participation. These activity approaches to recreation, however, have been criticized as being passive and overly concerned with supply and past consumption (Driver and Tocher, 1970). More realistically, preferences and behaviors of recreationists are dynamic.

Realizing the weaknesses of the activity approach for recreation planning and management, Driver and Tocher (1970) proposed a behavioral definition of recreation. They postulated that psychological and physiological drives and motives cause recreationists to pursue recreational engagements (goal-objects) and to experience recreation. Thus, recreation is viewed as a psycho-physiological experience, rather than simply an activity. For their behavioral definition, five postulates were formulated: recreation is an experience, engagement in recreation requires free choice, engagement in recreation requires commitment by the recreationist, recreation is self-rewarding, and recreation occurs during non-obligated time. Like leisure, recreation is considered as a subjective state of mind when the needs or desires of recreationists are satisfied. This

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The approach regards the recreation experience as highly personal, and the level of experience, being influenced by a multitude of personal and external factors, will vary from person to person.

Using this approach, researchers began utilizing socio-psychological variables and theories to explain recreation behaviors and experiences. Since recreation experiences are both personal and abstract, researchers have turned to identifying the motives which lead one to engage in recreation and to observing recreation behaviors. Many studies of recreation motives have been done since the introduction of the behavioral approach (Knopf et. al., 1973, 1983; Alderman, 1974; Schreyer and Roggenbuck, 1978; Brown and Haas, 1980; Crandall, 1980; Beard and Ragheb, 1983; Mills, 1985; Brown, 1988; Kuentzel, 1990; Prentice, 1993 etc.).

Since recreation experiences are personal experiences, a number of researchers also have studied the personal meaning of recreation participation to further document recreation behavior. Personal meaning has been linked to terms such as commitment, centrality, affective attachment, specialization and enduring involvement (Bryan, 1977; Wellman et al., 1982; Buchanan, 1985; and McIntyre, 1989). Personal recreation experiences also have been equated with optimal arousal (Berlyne, 1969) and flow or optimal experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). "Flow" is described as an optimal state of inner experience when consciousness is harmoniously ordered. It is a process of achieving happiness by enjoying activities for their own sake. There is no doubt that many recreation activities are sought because they are likely to produce flow.

One psychological theory, the cognitive model of goal-directed behavior, has dominated most of the explanations of recreation. Thus, recreation behavior is seen as goal-directed or goal-guided. The attempt of most research on recreation behavior has been to understand the recreation experience as an intrinsically rewarding experience producing overall feelings of freedom, enjoyment and satisfaction (being the goals of recreation pursuit).

Since recreation behavior research has been approached from multiple orientations, Levy (1979) proposed a conceptual leisure behavior paradigm to guide inquiry into this field in a rigorous, heuristic, coordinated and holistic fashion. His paradigm involved antecedents of leisure
behavior, socio-cultural and genetic determinants and their interactions with the natural and man-made environment. The structure of leisure behavior consists of elements such as an individual's cognitive, psychomotor and affective abilities; spatial, temporal and socio-psychological settings for the activity; and processes which occur when the individual manipulates the elements and the settings. Finally, there are the consequences of leisure behavior which may be either positive or negative. This final stage includes a feedback loop to the first stage of the model.

Recently, this behavioral approach to recreation has been supplemented by a benefits-based approach (BBA) (Driver et al., 1991). This approach was developed because the present understanding of the nature and magnitude of benefits as a consequence of recreation engagement has been largely intuitive and public decisions to provide recreation opportunities are based on the informed judgment of professionals. Four broad categories of benefits were described by the authors: personal benefits, socio-cultural benefits, economic benefits and benefits to the environment. Although at least 90 benefits have been identified, only 25 have been specified "very well." On scientifically well-documented benefits, an even smaller number of 19 benefits have been shown to be consequences of leisure activities. This latest approach, in addition to viewing recreation engagement as a means toward realizing personal satisfaction, proposes that external benefits to other individuals, society and the environment also result from recreational engagement by an individual.

From the review of literature, there still appears to be no clear agreement about the definitions of the two concepts, leisure and recreation. The two terms are often used to refer to similar activities and dimensions found in both concepts. Choice of term depends on the scholar's research orientations and field of inquiry. However, most researchers now recognize the multi-dimensional and complex nature of leisure and recreation experiences. Thus, the issue of using either "leisure" or "recreation" to describe the subjective experience is perhaps one of a semantic decision. Smith (1990) recommended that at a minimum, one should be aware of the existence of various definitions and their respective strengths, weaknesses and implications.
Factors Influencing Leisure and Recreation Perceptions

There are many factors which influence an individual's perceptions of leisure and recreation. As highlighted earlier, leisure is a social construct and must be considered within its culture. Leisure behavior is learned behavior shaped by the norms, values and traditions of one's culture. Thus, one needs to look at the various cultural factors influencing leisure and recreation, namely, concepts of time, ethnicity, socio-economic variables (income and education) and place of residence (rural vs. urban), to construct universal models of leisure and recreation.

Time

Leisure is a temporal phenomenon and time is defined differently in different cultures. Burch (1975) reviewed differences in definitions of time among several societies and found that cultural differences in time lead to varying recreation preferences among societies. He proposed an imaginative graph (total hours of labor per annum vs percentage of labor force in agriculture) where there is a tendency for available leisure to follow a U-shaped curve as one moves from subsistence societies to the post-industrial affluence of present day America. Based on ethnographic studies by other researchers, he surmised that tribal societies had well-defined divisions of labor carrying out productive work followed by a definite period of leisure, holiday, cultural celebrations and feasting, all carried out according to the seasons. On the other end of his scale was industrialized and urbanized society which is totally dependent on clock time and the Gregorian calendar. Despite functioning with a dependence on modern inventions, there is cultural diversity even within these societies. He argued that socio-economic variables such as occupational status and social class have very pronounced influences on conceptions of time, recreational choices and recreational styles. Thus, we might conclude that different conceptions of time and the activities included in different time spaces will influence definitions of leisure and recreation in different cultures.
Ethnicity

Burch (1975) in his early article on cultural differences also recognized the varying needs of Afro-Americans, urbanites and the poor in recreation management. He suggested that recreation research and planning had been overwhelmingly steered by the preferences and values of middle-class White America. Over the last two decades, however, there have been numerous research studies which have recognized the influence of ethnicity on recreation participation rates and patterns, but not necessarily bringing us closer to an understanding of the phenomenon from a cultural perspective (Allison, 1988).

Early in this research, Washburne (1978) offered two possible explanations for differences in participation rates among different ethnic groups, particularly under-representation of blacks compared to whites in wildland recreation. He postulated an "ethnicity hypothesis" and a "marginality hypothesis." The ethnicity hypothesis states that recreation choice and participation are influenced by the values, beliefs, norms and customs of the group. Each subcultural group establishes social organizational boundaries which define both the type and location of activity.

Even before Washburne (1978) proposed the ethnicity hypothesis, Jackson (1973) found differences in value orientations and leisure attitudes among a sample of Anglo teachers and custodians and Mexican-American teachers and custodians. Mexican-American custodians were different from the others in their value orientations (in terms of time, activity, nature and relationships). Jackson's results suggested that a combination of lower socioeconomic status and ethnic background were important in explaining the differences of the Mexican-American custodian sub-group. It also was noted that ethnicity may influence value orientations more than does socioeconomic status.

On the contrary, a study carried out by McMillen (1983) using social organization variables (eg. network variables, perceptions on time, of neighbors and relatives living in the vicinity, household density, residential stability and childhood residence) indicated that there was no difference in leisure behavior patterns of Mexican- and Anglo-Americans. A more recent study by
Philipp (1993) investigated black-white racial differences in perceived attractiveness of tourism destination characteristics. This study also showed no difference between the two groups in what they find attractive about tourism destinations; that is, both blacks and whites showed strong similarity in their rankings of tourism destinations, interests and cultural resources. However, Philipp was quick to admit that there appeared to be several significant differences where blacks ranked photographs of "wildland recreation areas," "historic village" and "historical music/dance with white dancers in period dress" much lower than the whites in the sample. These differences were likely to be linked to subcultural differences.

Apart from these two studies showing otherwise, many studies using the ethnicity hypothesis as their starting premise have found support for this explanation that there are differences among the various ethnic groups in recreation participation (Edwards, 1981; Hutchison and Fidel, 1984; Stamps and Stamps, 1985; Hutchison, 1987; Blahna, 1992; Dwyer, 1992; Gramann et al., 1993 and Carr and Williams, 1993). In all these studies, the subcultural groups chosen for comparisons with the Anglo-American population were Blacks, Hispanics of Central American and Mexican ancestry, or Asian-Americans.

In 1988, Hutchison critiqued studies of black-white differences in leisure activities saying that such studies had not produced conclusive or cumulative results. He felt that concepts such as the marginality-ethnicity approach was theoretically weak while the terms, "race" and "ethnicity," which had been used inter-changeably in some studies, were not operationalized appropriately. Researchers continued to remain divided in their observations and reporting of results whether the differences found were due to race/ethnicity, social class or to the interaction of both variables. He did not believe that black-white differences could be explained by one variable alone but rather an interaction of both variables. In addition, he suggested that the selection of study populations has been a problem and like populations have not been studied.
Inter- and intra-group relations. Ethnic groups are dynamic; values and beliefs may change and institutions altered. In fact, a person's ethnic status may change through assimilation and acculturation, but the consciousness of belonging remain as long as the group exists. On the other hand, racial characteristics are not altered by outside influences (Berry, 1965; Hutchison, 1988).

Since Hutchison's (1988) critical analysis, a number of studies have explored a combination of other variables which might explain subcultural differences in recreation choice and participation. One such factor is interracial relations which seem to have a role in explaining under-representation by minorities in regional parks (West, 1989). In his study, the term "ethnicity" was replaced by a more appropriate term, "subcultural" lifestyle preferences, which West felt more closely reflected the theoretical assumptions in Washburne's ethnicity hypothesis. The other explanatory variable in the study was race relations among different groups using tri-country parks. While policies on use of public recreation areas prohibit discrimination, implementation to prevent prejudice against minority users of regional parks is not always successful.

Other researchers have suggested different approaches to the problem beyond merely knowing variations in participation rates and choice of activities. It is equally important to learn the role, nature and meaning of leisure and participation within and across cultural or ethnic groups. Besides meanings, the nature of behaviors and social networks during recreation also need to be further explored (Allison, 1988; Carr and Williams, 1993). Another approach suggested by Allison is to identify leisure activities that have direct relevance and/or meaning within the private lives of ethnic groups which is often not detected in traditional activity scales.

The above researchers and Gramann et. al. (1993) also have sought explanations from other ethnicity theories developed in other fields. Concepts such as "acculturation," "selective

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5 "Acculturation," according to Berry (1980), requires the contact of at least two autonomous cultural groups and change in one or other of the two groups resulting from the contact. Frequently, one group dominates and cultural elements from the dominant group are transferred to the weaker group. Acculturation also is a two-level phenomenon and may be treated as that of the group and of the individual.
acculturation" (Gramann et al., 1993), "cultural transmission and retention," and "ethnic boundary maintenance" (Allison, 1988, 1993) have been used. The terms, "selective acculturation" and "cultural transmission and retention" refer to the common tendency for immigrants and ethnic minorities to adopt certain strategic traits that is likely to advance their socioeconomic status while retaining and strengthening other traditional cultural values and patterns, particularly, in the context of primary relationships.

In Gramann et al.'s (1993) study, the researchers posited that recreation was an important social space in which basic cultural values were maintained and expressed among Mexican-Americans, in particular, this ethnic group's emphasis on familism. One of the results was that the most acculturated Mexican-Americans placed the highest importance on family-related benefits as opposed to the immigrant and Anglo groups. This finding indicated that the former underwent selective acculturation despite pressures to conform to Anglo values. Carr and Williams (1993) in their study on the role of ethnicity, used three dimensions of intra-ethnic variability (ancestral group membership, generational status, and levels of acculturation) to explain the outdoor recreation behaviors of Hispanics. Likewise, regardless of ancestral groups, generational status and acculturation levels, Hispanic groups and specifically, those of Mexican ancestry, were more likely to be at recreation sites with immediate and extended family than their Anglo-counterparts, who often visit recreation sites with friends.

Similar results were obtained in Allison and Geiger's study (1993) on the nature of leisure activities among the Chinese-American elderly. While western leisure activities were adopted, there

"Assimilation" is a variety of acculturation where cultural identity of one of the groups is relinquished and the group becomes one through social, economic and political integration with the larger society (Berry, 1980; Keefe and Padilla, 1987).

An opposite argument states that interaction between ethnic groups does not lead to the disappearance of "ethnic boundaries" through acculturation. Instead, social interaction and acceptance are the very foundations on which an ethnic group's social boundaries are strengthened and maintained. Cultural differences persist through inter-group interaction (Barth, 1969).
also was engagement in traditional Chinese activities such as "tai-chi" and mahjongg. Another finding was that while the types of activities the Chinese-American elderly engaged in were not very different from other elderly cohort groups in the country, the former filled such activities with traditional Chinese content (e.g., reading Chinese books, cooking Chinese foods, etc.).

All the studies above are reflective of the ethnicity thesis but are more specific in their explanations by revealing meanings of participation. The researchers have indicated that while ethnic groups will engage in activities of the host culture, they also actively express their own cultural behaviors and values in these activities. This denotes that certain cultural traits withstand conformity pressures while new cultural patterns are also adopted and assimilation is not an unidirectional process. What might be suggested is that ethnicity should be a factor in definitions of leisure and recreation.

Influences of Marginality and Socio-economic Variables on Recreation

The alternative proposed by Washburne (1978) to explain Black underparticipation in wildland recreation is the marginality hypothesis. It suggests that Blacks do not participate in wildland recreation because of poverty, socioeconomic disadvantage and discrimination. In addition, it is suggested that blacks in marginal positions are more likely to have their basic needs unmet, to have poor transportation and to have limited opportunities for recreation. Edwards (1981) further elaborated the hypothesis to include two dimensions: (a) differential access to recreational resources as a consequence of the relative poverty of blacks as a group, and (b) the inequitable distribution of recreational services resulting from discriminatory allocation of public goods. After operationalizing these ideas Edwards did not find support for the hypothesis. Except for a weak link between socioeconomic variables and leisure orientation, other factors such as transportation, inadequate information and lack of interesting programs were not apparent constraints on black participation in recreation activities.
In contrast, a study by Floyd et al. (1993) on the use of public outdoor recreation areas by Mexican Americans lends support to the marginality hypothesis. They found educational attainment significantly related to recreation participation; that is, the higher the education the greater the likelihood of usage of public outdoor recreation areas.

Thus, while socio-economic variables often are not linked to recreation participation differences between ethnic groups, there are instances when they seem to have an effect.

Urban-Rural Dichotomy in Recreation Pursuits

Numerous theories have been formulated to explain rural-urban differences in recreation participation. Hendee (1969) reviewed such theories focused on the notion that place of residence has an impact on an individual's recreation pursuits.

In 1962 the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) reported that there were variations in participation in recreation activities among rural and urban residents. Hauser, in this report, proposed that as the urban way of life became more widespread, the demand for outdoor recreation would diminish. He found that for most urban residents there was a decrease in demand for vigorous activities in the non-urban environment. His evidence supported the "opportunity theory" which states that participation in recreation activities is dependent on their availability. In other words, urban residents are more likely to participate in activities available in the urban environment and less in rural leisure activities because there is less opportunity to do so. This theory also suggests that poor or segregated groups can have access to available opportunities if such barriers are removed (in Hendee, 1969).

When certain leisure activities are clustered along the same dimension, participation is not particularly subjected to the influences of residential locations. Regardless of place of residence, an individual who participates in an activity within a given recreation dimension also would be inclined to participate in other activities within the same dimension. The availability of opportunities would determine the frequency of participation. For example, in an attempt to apply leisure
dimensions across environmental settings, Yu (1985) assessed the congruence of outdoor recreation dimension structures among urban, suburban and rural residents. Factor analyses revealed six activity dimensions for each of the three residential settings. Certain activities clustered together regardless of place of residence of respondents; that is, there are common underlying dimensions in outdoor recreation activity participation across all three groups of residents. He observed that the urban environment may limit a resident's participation in activities like fishing, hunting and off-road driving more than that of rural residents. However, despite of place of residence, an individual who engages in fishing is still more likely to participate in hunting or other activities under the same recreation dimension. While common underlying dimensions were found across samples, there also were some minor variations.

An opposite theory offered by Burch (1969), the "compensatory theory", suggests that an individual will be attracted to an opportunity lacking in his location and will seek this directly opposite activity to avoid his regular routine. Knopp (1972) investigated the applicability of this "new experience" theory to urban and rural residents living in a county in Minnesota. In most cases analyzed, results from this study indicated that individuals sought leisure elements lacking in their non-leisure environments. For instance, urban residents placed a higher value on solitude while the rural farm group preferred the opportunity for social interaction. Similarly, the urban male resident valued exercise more highly than his rural counterpart. Knopp concluded that the environment is not a simple, homogeneous entity, but various elements from it are sought by the individual in leisure pursuits. He also concluded that the desire for greater outdoor recreation opportunities due to urbanization is not a unidimensional process.

In a study of urban and rural residents in West Virginia, Bammel and Bammel (1982) suggested that urban-rural differences exist in terms of activity participation and attitudes toward types of areas. Their study conducted in 1978 showed that urban residents engaged more frequently in watching television, swimming and going to the movies than did their rural counterparts. However, rural West Virginians engaged more frequently in nature-based activities.
such as hunting and nature walks and had a more favorable attitude toward the forest than their urban neighbors. Their findings are reflective of the "familiarity" theory elaborated by Burch and Wenger (1967), that individuals seek leisure activities and experiences which are familiar in their day-to-day lives.

There is one more theory regarding rural-urban differences which Burch and Wenger (1967) called the "pleasant childhood memory theory." In their study of styles of camping, they found that adult styles were highly correlated to an individual's childhood camping and hiking experience.

In his review of these theories, Hendee (1969) criticized them as being too general and ambiguous to allow testing with operational variables. He felt that the ability of the rural-urban variable to explain differences in several studies was questionable. Other socio-demographic variables such as age, education, occupation and income must be evaluated simultaneously with the rural-urban variable. Furthermore, knowledge of the place of upbringing of individuals is necessary to test cultural explanations for rural-urban recreation differences. In addition, Knopp (1972) suggested the need to quantify factors such as access and knowledge of alternatives to better explain choices of environment.

Despite these contrary views on the viability of a rural-urban variable in explaining differences in recreation participation, such a recreation related variable appears to be an important determinant of people's perceptions of the quality of life (QOL). Assessment of QOL and recreation opportunities both depend on the individual's immediate environment (e.g. place of residence) and awareness of existing opportunities. In three separate studies by Jeffres and Dobos (1993), respondents placed leisure activities as highly valued characteristics of an area in terms of the quality of life it afforded. For them, as Knopp (1972) had suggested, accessibility and knowledge of existing opportunities were salient variables in determining people's choices of leisure activity and environment in their pursuit of better a quality of life, and not a mere influence from a singular rural-urban variable.
One might conclude, therefore, that while a rural-urban variable should be included in studies of leisure and recreation, there is much more than this variable in how people define these phenomena and how they choose activities in which to participate.

Relevance of the Theories and Variables in the Malaysian Context

Most of the literature discussed thus far comes from the United States. To assess its relevance to the Malaysian context, it is discussed in light of that context.

Historical Social Patterns in Malaysia 6

Many of the social patterns in Malaysia can be traced to the country's history of external influences. While these influences on Malaysia’s culture date as far back as the 13th century, much of the effect on the culture and economic status of the ethnic groups and the resultant differences since independence have their origins in the country's British colonial past.

During Malacca’s golden age (1400 - 1511) before the appearance of European traders, Malays and Chinese were friends through trade. The Chinese army offered the Malaccan sultanate protection against invasion from the Thais and pirates. Early Chinese immigrants intermarried with the Malays, learned to speak Malay and adopted Malay dress, food and customs. Many of these Straits Chinese, as they are known, retained a semblance of ethnic and religious identity and did not embrace Islam.

In 1511, the Portuguese attacked and captured Malacca, and the Sultan fled to another Malay state. For the next 130 years, the Portuguese controlled Malacca and monopolized the shipping of eastern goods to Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, the second European power, the Dutch, fought over control of the Malacca Strait. The Dutch, in addition to wanting control of the trade between Asia and Europe, were determined to take over trade between the

6 Historical references from Vreeland et al., 1977.
Asian ports as well. During the Dutch and French War, the Dutch government-in-exile turned Malacca over to the British in 1795 as a temporary measure to prevent Dutch property from falling into French control.

Consolidation of British rule came about in the early nineteenth century, although the British had occupied Penang as a trading port in the late 1700s. Around this time, the peninsula began to host large communities of Chinese and Indians who were brought to it by the British colonial government to overcome a labor shortage in the tin mines and rubber estates. British colonial policy removed the authority the Malays had over the Chinese in economic matters and resulted in much less assimilation and much greater ethnic demarcation. The large number of immigrants often arrived with family members, making cultural autonomy possible. These Chinese settled in the Straits Settlements where the large "entrepot" towns were located. When tin was discovered, Chinese mining settlements began to mushroom throughout the interior of the western Malay states and virtually all Chinese settlements were totally separate from the rural Malay villages.

Colonial policies fostered segregated pluralism and a dual economy until well after independence in 1957. British colonialists did little to promote assimilation of the immigrant communities into the indigenous culture, nor did they promote interethnic contact.

The British protected the interests of Malay royalty and aristocracy but kept the Malay peasantry where they were, working the fields to maintain food supply. English language education was reserved for royals and aristocrats as preparation for entry into the civil service. Only rudimentary vernacular education was available to rural Malays.

Since the Chinese were assumed to be temporary residents, the British left them to their own devices. These immigrants established self-governing communities, and in many tin mining areas the Chinese outnumbered Malays. Furthermore, the Chinese developed cultural self-sufficiency, setting up of Chinese businesses, schools, newspapers and restaurants, resulted in little need for interethnic contact. Many of the Chinese, who were urban dwellers, had access to private English language education in Christian missionary schools. Private Chinese language
schools where traditional Chinese subjects were taught also were set up, further widening the gap between the Chinese and the other communities. As more and more Chinese became permanent residents, they began to take a stronger hold of urban economic activities and were part of the cash economy.

During World War II, Japanese Occupation further widened the distance between Chinese and Malays. The Japanese made few changes in government policies, but did give Malay civil servants greater authority. They persecuted the Chinese, and Chinese communities suffered greatly under their hands.

After the war, the British returned and imposed centralization upon the Malay states, transferring the sovereignty of the Malay rulers to the British crown. The British took over a situation where hunger was widespread and racial animosities had increased tremendously. In 1946, the Malayan Communist Party began an insurrection. Thousands of Chinese inhabiting areas of jungle fringe were resettled in New Villages as a step to cut the guerrillas' food and equipment supplies.

By 1948, the British promised eventual self-rule to the Federated States, but one of the conditions was evidence of national unity. Elections in 1955 showed there was interracial cooperation among the ethnic communities through the formation of the Alliance Party. In 1957, the year of independence, a Constitution was written which gave special rights to the Malays such as in the civil service, businesses, licenses and reservation of some land, while ensuring that the rights of non-Malays could not be hindered by prejudicial legislation.

Events After Independence

The creation of Malaysia in 1963 was strongly opposed by her neighbors, the Philippines and Indonesia. Indonesia's belligerent opposition soon became an undeclared war on the new country. While the war united the nation, it also diverted funds from economic development which was necessary for achieving greater economic equality among the ethnic groups. A peace treaty
was signed between Malaysia and Indonesia in 1966 and steps were taken to restore friendly relations. Relations with the Philippines also were normalized that year.

As the first decade of independence went by, strains of radicalism began to show in the nation's political framework. A new generation of Malaysians started to criticize the older leaders of their ethnic communities when communal interests were slow in being met. The Malays, whose share of the urban population had increased, also had observed that their economic position had not improved. Meanwhile, the Chinese were demanding more political power. There were scattered incidences of communal violence in 1967 when the country's economy suffered a downfall with falling rubber prices. After the 1969 elections the country's worst racial riots took place in the capital. Order was promptly restored and within two years, normal government was reestablished.

**The New Economic Policy and National Unity**

In the early 1970s, Malaysian society was sharply divided, reflecting the three major ethnic groups of Malays, Chinese and Indians. They spoke different languages, observed different religions and customs, lived in ethnically homogeneous areas, engaged in different sectors of the economy and were represented by different political parties. Realizing such divisions as destabilizing, the government promulgated policies to bring about greater economic equality; particularly to bring the Malays on equal economic standing with the Chinese.

The government launched the New Economic Policy (NEP) representing a series of plans and policies to overcome racial economic imbalances (in terms of income, employment and wealth) and poverty over a twenty year period (1971 - 1990). In the NEP, three economic objectives were emphasized: the promotion of national unity and integration, the creation of employment opportunities and the promotion of overall economic growth. The first objective was considered the most salient and the movement toward it required restructuring the economy and society. Besides

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7 Background on the NEP from Faaland et al., 1990.
achieving racial economic parity (used as an indicator of national unity), the government also strived to reduce communal tension (eg. promote heterogeneous settlement patterns and interracial relationships at work) and to promote a deeper, common, national identity. Since the beginning of the NEP in 1971, the country has gone a long way toward fulfilling its objectives. Between 20 - 23 percent of the nation's assets had been transferred into "bumiputra" hands by 1991 (based on a target objective of 30 percent of the nation's wealth being in "bumiputra" hands) (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992).

The successor to the NEP is the New Development Policy (NDP) (1991 - 2000) launched with the Sixth Malaysian Plan (SMP). Again, one of the main goals is the implementation of economic reforms to benefit all segments of the country's population. The NDP also aims to eliminate hardcore poverty, especially among agricultural workers and the aboriginal population. This policy together with the SMP and Second Outline Perspective Plan (OPP2) form the cornerstone of the country's 20/20 policy to transform the country into an advanced nation by 2020.

**Analysis of Malaysia's Ethnic Groups Today**

Although the NEP has been successful in reducing racial economic disparity in the country, such changes take time. Remnants of ethnic demarcation in terms of employment, income and residential distribution dating from colonial times still persist within the fabric of Malaysian society. To date, the country has achieved, if not complete racial harmony, at least mutual co-existence among the ethnic groups. Furthermore, the culture of each ethnic group has been promoted as a national image and the receipt of tourism dollars contributes to the government's goal of overall economic growth.

Malaysian culture portrays "cultural pluralism" rather than assimilation. Evidence of this is reflected in the many cultural festivals celebrated throughout the year by the various ethnic groups when primary social structures are further strengthened and enhanced through the practice of
customs and traditions of each group. In addition, primary social relationships still remain very much within the confines of the ethnic group in day to day living.

**Ethnic Identities**

Physical anthropologists have attested that there are no physiological differences between the southern Chinese and the Malays to warrant distinguishing them as separate races. However, racial identities persist and virtually all individuals from either ethnic group are able to identify their own members.

To be "Malay" according to the Malaysian Constitution requires only behavioral conformity; that is, someone who practices Islam, habitually speaks Malay and follows the Malay customary law. Among the Malays are various subethnic identities with varying customary law, dress, diet, etiquette and dialects. Such subgroups are more cultural than racial.

Chinese identity traditionally involves differentiation by race. It includes a wide range of linguistic and cultural differences, but religion is not a critical dimension of Chinese identity. Behavioral definitions of Chinese identity have become less accurate since a large proportion of middle and upper class Chinese in urban areas have become part of a cosmopolitan culture.

While ethnic identity remains, segregation has been reduced through some forms of structural assimilation. Particularly important have been changes in the field of education. During colonial times, each ethnic group had its own specialized education, and English language education was reserved for a privileged few. Since independence, educational opportunities have increased, especially for Malays and people in rural areas with creation of a standardized educational system. "Bahasa Malaysia" was instituted as the medium of instruction in all schools and institutions of higher learning. This Malay language was further extended as the official language in all civil matters. Interethnic contact in schools and universities also has increased. Both

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8 Referenced from an article by anthropologist R. Provencher, 1987; p106-110.
literacy and the number of professionals in the country have increased, and the number of Malays with a solid education entering the professional and business spheres also increased through the implementation of the NEP.

Modern Malaysians and the Rise of Consumerism

Combining with the effects of education on Malaysian society, the influx of modern and developed Western culture has created a generation of Malaysians with very different perceptions of culture than previous generations. Ideas about quality of life and consumerism are changing and likely will have direct impacts on perceptions of both leisure and recreation.

The visions of racial integration and economic well-being of two decades ago may already be realized as reflected in the country's flourishing economy, political stability and reduction in racial disparities. Malaysians are enjoying a higher standard and quality of life as a result of better education and increases in disposable income. Furthermore, working Malaysians have an average of seventeen national and state holidays a year, besides weekends and work vacation. Malaysians have adopted travel behaviors similar to those of Western visitors and television has greatly influenced the lives of Malaysians. This last point is best indicated by the television perched at the corner of most Malaysian sitting rooms, rural and urban areas alike.

With the prevalence of international television and tourism, modern Malaysians have begun adopting some aspects of other lifestyles as their own. These lifestyle changes along with more traditional culture and images of Malaysia likely are impacting definitions of both leisure and recreation held by Malays and Chinese, and rural and urban dwellers.

Hypotheses

The above discussion provides justification for including certain factors in the investigation of how Malaysians define both leisure and recreation. A rural-urban variable likely will explain some
of the differences in definitions among sub-populations of Malaysians. In Malaysia, both urban and rural populations have distinct lifestyles. The urban population is exposed to all sorts of cosmopolitan culture and influences, especially through telecommunications, and while the rural population is not immune to modernization, they persist in continuing an unharried, traditional lifestyle. Hence, a rural-urban variable may well explain differences in definitions of leisure and recreation and associated activities in the Malaysian context. Therefore, a first general hypothesis is the following:

1. There are differences in definitions of both leisure and recreation, and activities constituting leisure and recreation behavior, between urban and rural populations of Malaysia.

Given the cultural differences between ethnic segments of the Malaysian population, ethnicity likely is a factor in definition of both recreation and leisure. The Malays and Chinese have retained their ethnic identities and have never assimilated culturally. Since as Kelly (1974) has observed, many recreational and interactional activities (almost two-thirds of the activities investigated) have begun with family members, and since these two ethnic groups have maintained enclosed primary relationships, it can be assumed ethnicity has had considerable impact on leisure socialization processes, and thus definition of leisure and recreation. Therefore, a second general hypothesis is the following:

2. There are differences in definitions of recreation and leisure, and activities constituting recreation and leisure behavior, among the ethnic populations of Malaysia.

Since leisure and recreation are complex phenomena, singular variables such as rural-urban or cultural identity are unable to explain all the variations that occur. Thus, it is hypothesized that there may be an interaction between these two variables in the definition of both leisure and recreation. This is stated in the following third hypothesis:
3. There are interactions between residence (rural or urban) and ethnicity in affecting definitions of both recreation and leisure.
METHODOLOGY

Justifications for a Qualitative Approach

Although professional definitions of leisure and recreation are conceptualized as either subjective or objective (Neulinger, 1980), this study's hypotheses suggest that one needs to delve into the subjective nature of both concepts. What is important, in the context of this research, is the need to learn how Malaysians, Malays and Chinese, urban and rural dwellers, define both leisure and recreation. This chapter sets forth a methodology for such an investigation.

Thus far, positivist empirical research has dominated the measurement of leisure and recreation. Whether the object of the study was to find out preferences in types of activities, frequency of participation, reasons for participation, constraints on participation or to correlate the phenomena with social or economic variables, a large number of studies have employed social survey techniques, social or psychological scales, or econometric measures to describe and explain behavior. Information from such studies is limited to revealing the functions and outcomes of leisure participation in specific activities under specific conditions, leaving us still short of knowledge about the basic dimensions of definitions of leisure (Iso-Ahola, 1979). In addition, survey methods and computer analyses reduce rich varieties of ethnicity, complexities of family compositions and relationships, and entire economic histories into sets of numbers presumed to index significant characteristics. Recreational experiences and feelings are individualized, disregarding the other aspects of the social context in which the individual and other members of the group are a part (Kelly, 1993).

Hamilton-Smith (1991) exhorted that leisure research should be viewed more widely by making greater use of the interpretive/qualitative paradigms to understand the meaning of various leisure phenomena. Similarly, Howe (1985) proposed that the methodology of choice when studying leisure as a meaning or experience, may be qualitative. One such qualitative approach, naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1991), would study leisure and recreation experiences as
they emerge, shaped and interpreted by the actors themselves, within the context which these phenomena occur. There are several benefits (as suggested in Harper, 1981; Howe, 1985; and Kuentzel, 1990) to using a phenomenological approach to studying leisure as a state of mind or experience. It is an attractive approach because leisure experiences evolve within the context of everyday life. First, it is possible for phenomenology to overcome the limitation that leisure experiences are not sense-perceivable, a requirement by conventional empiricist methods for measurement and observation. The second advantage is the results of careful, sustained and rigorous phenomenological description are able to provide a concrete ground from which empirically testable theories are formulated (Harper, 1981).

As stipulated earlier, leisure and recreation experiences are comprised of culturally influenced and socially constructed meanings. Therefore, one might question whether or not the dominant Western conceptualizations of leisure and recreation and accompanying quantitative research instruments transcend cultures. For example, do questions normally asked in survey questionnaires in Western situations hold equivalent meanings, both linguistically and conceptually, for the different ethnic and lifestyle groups in Malaysian society? By adopting a phenomenologically or naturalistic based approach which views the issue from a multicultural perspective, such an investigation avoids a "naive realism" accepted in the quantitative approaches. Instead of testing theories created by Western social scientists and as a strategy to reduce ethnocentrism, the qualitative approach is considered useful for building grounded theory from the sound, objective data generated from cultural descriptions.

In addition, Kelly (1991) emphasized that the foremost advantage of the qualitative study of leisure is that it is studied with methods that correspond to its nature, that is, as a qualitative experience. Other values set forth were that qualitative research "brings people back in" to the study and these people are not mere numbers in a computer, explanations are rich and have depth making leisure sound more like a story than a diagram, and qualitative methods allow the introduction of new elements into the explanation that were not anticipated by the researcher.
Finally, qualitative research has an added advantage in that the presentation of results are understandable by planners, political decision-makers and others who are not technically proficient in quantitative analysis, but who need to evaluate the results to make decisions. Hence, leisure providers can base their services on the meanings and priorities of the potential users rather than on participation rates alone.

Qualitative Methods

Naturalistic, phenomenological and qualitative approaches were employed in this study. With the paucity of coherent background information on leisure and recreation in Malaysia, qualitative methods (e.g. in-depth interviews) served as vital exploratory tools. This approach was considered particularly useful in generating rich data by revealing manifest and latent leisure and recreation experiences as lived and understood by Malaysians. Finally, faced with time and budget constraints, the qualitative approach limited the scale of the study to a case study of leisure and recreation experiences of a small group of selected Malaysians from urban and rural areas.

Qualitative research comprises four stages: designing a plan of action; data collection; analysis and evaluation; and explanation (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Sampling, data collection, analysis and interpretation phases of this study were all important elements of fieldwork and all phases incorporated the basic premises stipulated by phenomenology and qualitative approaches. Below, efforts are made to reconstruct for the reader explicit accounts of the methodology used and analyses done that they may judge the rigor of the study.

Phase I: Entering the Field

From the beginning, due to various limitations, it was decided the study would focus upon the two major ethnic groups in Malaysia, that is, the Malays and the Chinese. The geographical
scope would also be limited to the state of Selangor which has a good mix of urban and rural populations of both ethnic groups.

The field research began during mid-January 1993. An initial step was networking across social systems to locate the groups to be studied. This was relatively easy as prior arrangements had been made during research design. The Forest Research Institute, Malaysia (FRIM) had been contacted and they had agreed to cooperate in the study. The researcher joined the Techno-Economics Division of the Institute and worked with local scientists to locate the specific population to be interviewed, particularly, the rural town where part of the study was to take place. A major purpose for coordination with FRIM was to be in line with the suggestion made by Fetterman (1989) for entry into the field: a strong recommendation and introduction (in the form of an official government business) strengthened the researcher's capacity to work in a community and thus improved the quality of the data.

The Study Population

Selection of a Rural Study Site. Fortuity had it that one of the research assistants at FRIM, Mr. Mal, was gracious to introduce his Malay "kampung" (instead of using "rural Malay village" the proper Malay term, "kampung," shall be used hence forth) in Ulu Kalung Pasir9 as a possible site for the study. Ulu Kalung Pasir is a small, rural agricultural town located at the northeast-end of the state of Selangor. It is approximately one to one and a half hours drive (30 kilometers) from Kuala Lumpur, accessible from two main roads, the old north-south trunk road and a newer road constructed by the state in the early 1990s. This new route winds by several river-forest based recreation sites set amidst a hilly, densely forested environment before reaching the town. There

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9 A fictitious name was created to obscure the actual name of the rural town. The names of the Malay and Chinese villages within this rural town also were changed. These were measures to protect the identities of the rural informants.
are several kampungs on the periphery and two Chinese villages (the old village and the new village).

Several months before the start of the study the researcher had visited the kampung with Mr. Mal to survey the possibilities of it being a study site. However, the actual recognizance began in mid-February when Mr. Mal arranged for a second meeting with his aunt, Leha, who lives there. This second visit was to convey intentions to conduct the study at her kampung. A letter from FRIM also was submitted to the village head through Leha to make formal the intention to conduct the study at the kampung. Since Kampung Damai is a small community of an estimated 25 families, a larger kampung, Kampung Tuah where approximately 60 families reside, was included as well.

Contacting the village committee at Kampung Tuah was not a problem as Leha is a well-known and active member of the communities there. A formal meeting was set up two months later. The Head of the "Mukim" (similar to a district) known as the "Tok Penghulu" to the villagers also graced the meeting (this was a good sign as it showed state government support). During the meeting, the objectives of the study were explained and the committee given the opportunity to ask questions. In the end, the blessings of the committee to conduct the study at Kampung Tuah were obtained.

The chief advantage of selecting Ulu Kalung Pasir as a study site was that there is a relatively large rural Chinese population living in the vicinity. This enabled interviewing both the Malays and Chinese in one area.

A meeting was arranged with the Chinese village committee by Dr. Lim, a research officer at FRIM. This meeting with the village committee of the Chinese New Village took place at the beginning of February. During this meeting, besides introducing the objectives of the study, the committee also had the chance to describe various aspects of the new village. One of the committee members, Mr. Wong, offered to "adopt" the researcher during the period of the study and to introduce her to the rest of the community. This offer was a good sign followed by agreements
and enthusiasm from the rest of the committee to allow the researcher to conduct the study in the new village.

The final aspect was getting a feel for the area by unobtrusive assessment of the culture at Ulu Kalung Pasir. Several visits to the homes of key informants from both communities were made. Rapport with key informants was necessary to gain trust from the rest of the community when the interviews were undertaken. The researcher benefitted from being introduced in the community by the right people (Fetterman, 1989).

Description of the Rural Population. From initial discussions with key informants, a vision of the economic and social make-up of both the Malay and Chinese communities was obtained. The Malay elders, if working, were mainly engaged in agricultural activities like farming and rubber tapping, while some owned small businesses. Most of the younger generation either worked in the government service, in the light manufacturing factories in the towns nearby or else conducted their own business. Many of the women are housewives. The active members of the community are the ones who organize and participate in most of the villages' community, school, religious and political activities. However, all the Malays in both kampungs still engage in close-knit family (nuclear and extended) and neighborhood relationships. A large number of families are related by blood ties. The majority of the Malays are members or strong supporters of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the largest political party in the ruling National Front.

The Chinese village committee estimate that the village has a population of around 12,000 people while Mr Wong, the key informant, estimated that there are around 500 Chinese households in the area. A large number of the Chinese conduct family businesses in shop houses along the main road of Ulu Kalung Pasir. There are some Chinese still engaged in agriculture related activities such as rubber tapping and vegetable farming. Some others are employed by the factories or construction sites. Most of the younger generation, who are educated, have left to work in the city.
The Chinese community is made up of several dialect groups, Hokkien, Hakka and Cantonese, but Mandarin is often spoken. These various dialect groups also have their own clan associations which organize many of the Chinese community activities such as fund raising, festivity celebrations and annual dinners for members. Most of the Chinese are supporters of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), the Chinese branch political party of the National Front.

Primary education is available in the town (both national and vernacular schools) but the children have to go to a larger neighboring town for their secondary education. Most civil administrative and health services are only available in the larger neighboring townships. Most of the businesses - sundries, groceries, clothing, shoes and basic consumer goods, traditional medicinal shops, coffee shops, video rental shops, a karaoke lounge, stalls at the wet market - are operated by the Chinese in town. The Malays are dependent on the Chinese businesses for goods and services while the Chinese who are engaged in wholesale distribution are dependent on the Malays for fruits from their orchards. A few Indians also operate small businesses in town, but they are a minority. There is one private Finance Company, two private clinics, a government health and maternity service center operated by nurses and medical attendants, and a police station. The town boasts of a new community center where youths play badminton or basketball in the evenings. There are a few hawker food stalls catering mainly to the Chinese supper crowd, and the only entertainment in town is the karaoke lounge (and since they serve alcoholic beverages, it is frequented mainly by the Chinese as well). The Malays, according to Leha, either retire early at night or remain at home to watch television as there are not many opportunities for entertainment nearby.

The Selangor State Government is reported to have big development plans for the Ulu Kalung Pasir area. Already on the fringe of the town, a large-scale residential project is taking place, offering better housing to many of the residents. Recently, the state government in cooperation with the owners of a popular, large-scale hill resort built a new road leading to the resort just outside town. The villagers are optimistic that this new road will bring in more people
from the outside (and hopefully more business) into town as they travel to the resort on weekends. This new road also has created easy access for the villagers to the resort. The residents also are fortunate to live near by another popular hill resort. Other big projects for the vicinity that are on the planning table include several furniture/timber end-product factories, and perhaps a golf course and a college.

Urban Population. Since the researcher resided in Kuala Lumpur, the formalities dealing with the rural population (eg. searching for key informants; establishing rapport) were considered unnecessary for the urban population.

Urban informants for this study were selected from the populations residing in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur and peripheral urbanized townships, Petaling Jaya (a self-contained satellite township) and Shah Alam (the capital of Selangor). Networking among friends, former colleagues and the staff at FRIM was carried out to obtain referral to potential informants.

The urban interviews were conducted first because it was more convenient in terms of location. The initial assumption was that urban informants would be more open and accessible since they were acquainted with either the researcher or the researcher's contact. This proved not to be the case as there were several people who rejected being interview. Nevertheless, the interviews were carried out beginning in April, 1993.

Phase II: Data Collection

The second phase involved data collection and terminated when a sufficient amount of data, both in quality and quantity, were collected. Several activities such as the development of research instruments and the location (sampling) of appropriate informants were necessary before the actual data collection commenced.
Theory Guiding Sampling Procedures

Since it is not possible to have an *a priori* "true sampling frame" in field research, this study relied on non-probability sampling and theoretical representativeness (Johnson, 1990) as sampling guidelines. The non-probability sampling referred to here is called purposive (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), judgment (Pelto and Pelto, 1978) or theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Although these techniques require the researcher to make judgments about appropriate informants based on the research questions and hypotheses, they are not synonymous with haphazard or opportunistic sampling. Each sampled unit is selected based on the researcher's theoretically and experientially informed judgments on the culture being studied and on previously sampled units.

Theoretical sampling in grounded theory research means sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretically relevant to the evolving theory. The aim of theoretical sampling is to sample incidents (for example, the meanings of leisure and recreation experiences) and not persons per se and to generate theory which specifies the conditions in which the phenomenon occurs, with the variations and consequences involved. Each observation and/or interview refers to multiple examples of the events particular to the phenomenon under study. Sampling and analysis occur in tandem. Sampling proceeds until no new data emerge, category development becomes dense and the relationships between categories are well established and validated. That is, sampling continues until theoretical saturation has been achieved (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Rationale for Sampling of Informants

Johnson (1990) discussed two basic criteria for the selection of informants. The first is the important features in theory which guide selection of informants such as role, position, expertise, subgroup membership, and knowledge. The second is a "screening device" because it concerns the innate abilities of each individual informant such as personality, willingness to cooperate and
establish a trusting relationship, willingness to talk (Johnson, 1990), current involvement in the phenomenon being studied and whether or not the informant is non-analytical of his/her own culture from an outsider’s perspective (Spradley, 1979). The factors specified by the two criteria were used to guide the selection of informants.

Some socio-economic and demographic variables categorized under criterion one were ethnicity, place of residence, social class status, income, education, occupation, age, gender and religious affiliation. These factors were most likely to influence social structure and status in the community and subgroup membership (for example, recreation group). An individual’s role and status in the community or subgroup was also considered likely to influence perceptions and participation in recreation activities. Similar to stratified samples, the objective here was to minimize variation in knowledge or information for a stratum of related informants (that is, informants who share similar features with respect to the predetermined variables) and to maximize variation across informant strata (Johnson, 1990).

The sampling frame considered only "middle" social class informants as they form the largest proportion of the Malaysian population. These middle-class informants were not classified on income alone, but had to meet the various variables specified in criterion one. These were people who could afford access to the mass media (ownership of television or radio), would likely have experienced some holiday time or would allocate time to social/community activities, but who were differentiated from the upper class in that they do not show their wealth. On the other hand, they are different from working class or lower income groups. During the interviews, it was also possible to subjectively evaluate the middle-class status of the informant through the informant's possessions. Appendix A shows the 4x4 grouping of the types of people (based on roles/occupation) considered by the study as appropriate informants. However, each group's middle class status was assessed separately based on ethnicity and place of residence. For instance, rural Chinese middle class people would be slightly different from their urban counterparts as well as from rural or urban Malays.
Although the first set of criteria aided in the identification of theoretically significant and representative informants, the choice of informants still had to rely on the second set which were determined only while in the field. During the planning stage it was thought that with the snowballing technique the researcher could enlist the help of the first group of informants within each stratum to refer her to another potential informant within their personal network. Once on the field, this technique did not work smoothly when applied "as is" and had to be adapted slightly to the situation.

In the case of urban informants, asking the first informant after the interview to refer the researcher to another potential informant resulted in too many informants occupying the same stratum and sharing similar perceptions of leisure and recreation. This was because informants usually introduced the researcher to their peers who shared similar characteristics.

To get past this representation problem these activities suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984) were used: increasing the number of cases, seeking out contrasting cases to decrease bias or over-reliance on accessible informants, and systematically sorting out cases to ensure adequate coverage of all the categories deemed relevant to the phenomenon. To implement these suggestions a large number of people such as friends, relatives and colleagues at FRIM had to be contacted. When requesting identification of an informant, variables such as occupation type, specific age, gender or marital status had to be clearly specified. Although all the criteria were not met in every case, the researcher aimed to talk to people of varying age groups, different occupations (including non-working groups), different marital status and different education levels. Also, the number of strata and possible contrasting cases had to be increased. The seeking of contrasting cases or outliers was necessary as they might provide rival hypotheses to the ones being tested. Negative case analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), which was done, is a process for refining a hypothesis until it accounts for "all known cases without exception" (within reasonable limits), thus adding credibility (or internal validity) to the study. This was done for both the urban and rural samples and for both ethnic categories.
In the selection of rural informants, it was decided that it was more efficient to have the key informant introduce the researcher to all relevant informants. However, the researcher still had to specify the variables required to be met by the potential informant. Another decision made in the field was to interview as many village committee members as possible in both the Chinese and Malay communities before the selection of other informants from the rest of the population. Reasons for this decision were the committee members had met the researcher and understood better the researcher's study objectives plus these people were not only representatives of the entire community and of important social standing but also they were active participants in all community affairs. The key informants suggested that some of the rural people tend to be reserved in nature and some others with lower education levels would likely feel awkward speaking to the researcher whom they perceive to be their superior. Hence, the village committee members were also presumed to fulfill criterion two factors better in that they were more eloquent, had more dynamic personalities and were more willing to trust, cooperate and talk to the researcher.

Overall, sampling of informants was carried out according to Strauss and Corbin's (1990) open sampling and relational and variational sampling suggestions. Initially, open sampling was done to generate as many categories related to the phenomenon as possible. These initial categories acted as guidelines in the systematic gathering of data (to ensure consistency) and helped focus data collection on specific categories until saturation. Then, in relational and variational sampling, variations and contrasts which might invalidate these initial relationships (hypotheses) were sought.

Development of Research Instruments

Interview Agenda. An interview agenda (Appendix B) with specific topics based on initial preconceptions of the leisure and recreation phenomena in Malaysia was formulated during the study's planning stage. The agenda included a mix of types of questions suggested by Spradley
ranging from very general to very specific questions designed to elicit informants' perceptions of leisure and recreation. Table 1 describes the nature of these questions.

Although each interview was to cover a specified set of interview topics, each informant was not necessarily asked the same form of question. Follow-up questions depended on initial responses to typical grand tour questions. As Spradley (p.84) suggests, "In ethnographic interviewing, both questions and answers must be discovered from informants." In fact, some of the structural and contrast questions were formulated only after speaking to a number of informants in the field and were not part of the original interview agenda. On the other hand, some original questions were discarded when they did not prove useful in formulating concepts about the phenomenon.

To categorize each informant in separate strata, an informant information sheet was designed to collect certain socio-demographic information (eg. ethnic group, gender, marital status, etc.) (Appendix C). This sheet also provided space for jotting of field notes during the interview.

**Data Collection.** The major method of data collection used in this study was personal in-depth interviews. Two supplementary methods, participant observation and a modified version of the pile sort technique (similar to that suggested by Spradley, 1979; p130-131) also were used.

Besides focusing the task of data collection on the testing of the hypotheses, interaction with the informants also allowed the researcher to consider tangential, but related issues. In addition, on-the-scene modifications tailored to emerging contexts were made when necessary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Question</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Responses Elicited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Grand Tour Questions</td>
<td>Descriptive in nature. Aimed at getting informants to describe how leisure and recreation time/activities are distinguished from their daily routines. Identification of values and preferences for types of recreation activities, settings and facilities.</td>
<td>Description of daily/usual activities; Description of recreation activities and most recent recreation experience; and Interesting and atypical stories of recreation experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Specific Grand Tour Questions:</td>
<td>* Example questions</td>
<td>Verification or disconfirmation of initial and emerging hypotheses. Examples include whether or not cultural festivals or certain times during working hours were part of an informant's leisure perceptions or merely part of social/institutional obligations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Experience questions</td>
<td></td>
<td>An example:- An informant's explanation on the meanings behind his/her preference for a particular recreation activity or setting in contrast to preferences mentioned by others in his/her ethnic group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Hypothetical questions</td>
<td></td>
<td>An example:- An informant's explanation on the meanings behind his/her preference for a particular recreation activity or setting in contrast to preferences mentioned by others in his/her ethnic group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal Depth Interviews. Interviews following the interview agenda were conducted as a friendly conversation with the informants. New elements and topics were introduced when necessary to assist informants in providing a fuller description of their experiences.

Initial interviews were quite unstructured to enable generating categories of leisure and recreation experiences and their associated cultural meanings. Based on the answers given, more structured questions were formulated on the spot to yield specific personal recreation experiences.

Prior to each interview, an appointment was made with the informant. The informant was made aware that the interview process was likely to last between an hour to an hour and a half. This was to ensure that the informant would allocate sufficient time and, if possible, be free of other obligations to allow for a lengthy discussion of topics. However, interruptions during the interviews often occurred; particularly when speaking to mothers with children in the house or when phone calls interrupted people at their office.

In all interviews, the informants were encouraged to use their native language or dialect (that is, Malay or Chinese dialect) in responding to the questions. This was to minimize their attempt to translate meanings into terms which they felt the researcher would understand in English. Unfortunately, the researcher could only speak Cantonese and this limited her choice of Chinese-speaking informants to those who spoke that dialect. This limitation did not pose a problem in Kuala Lumpur because Cantonese is the dominant dialect among the Chinese. However, the majority of the urban interviews, whether with a Malay or Chinese informant, were conducted in English. A few of the urban informants (particularly those with less education) felt more comfortable speaking either in Malay (for Malay informants) or in Chinese (for the Chinese informants). Even those who spoke English interspersed their conversations with several Malay or Chinese terms. All the interviews with the rural Malay informants were conducted in Malay and those with rural Chinese were conducted in Cantonese. A few of the educated rural Chinese informants chose to speak in English.
Most urban interviews were conducted between the end of March and early July in 1993. However, several other interviews took place later to fill in gaps in the strata. Urban informants were interviewed at a location most convenient for them; oftentimes at their homes, a restaurant or their workplaces. Interviews were usually held after office hours or during the weekends, particularly in cases where the informant was working or attending school.

Rural informants turned out to be more accessible than their urban counterparts because they were centrally located within the confines of the village or small town. The researcher elicited the help of key informants to identify potential informants and set up appointments. Interviews with the rural Chinese began in mid-July and were completed by early September of 1993 and usually took place on Sundays. If interviews were conducted on weekdays, they were with informants who worked in the mornings or with non-working informants.

The rural Malay interviews were carried out over a one month period starting at the end of September, 1993. Interviews were held either during weekdays or weekends. However, during the course of the interview period, a problem arose in that Leha, the Malay key informant, and her friend in the other village could only arrange interviews with female informants, despite their prominence in the community. They found it improper (from a cultural perspective) to approach potential male informants and set up interview appointments for the researcher. Fortunately, Mr Wong who knows many of the Malays in the area (because they are patrons of his wife's tailor shop) volunteered to arrange interviews with Malay male informants. Hence, the interviews were completed promptly.

Profiles of Informants

While it is not possible to highlight all 75 informants (from both first and second stage interviews), brief profiles are presented. The lives of two to three informants from each of the four groups are described in footnotes\(^\text{10,11,12,13}\).
Urban Chinese informants. Thirteen urban Chinese informants from the first stage and ten from the second stage were interviewed. Table 2 presents biodata for this group of people.

Table 2: Biodata of Urban Chinese Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE GROUP (Years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION LEVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCATIONAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occupations of the informants varied widely and included a teacher, a consultant, researchers, a businessman, a student, housewives and retirees. Fourteen of these informants were married. Most of the informants were either Buddhists or Christians.¹⁰

**Rural Chinese informants.** Two key informants and sixteen others comprised the rural Chinese sample. Most of them represent the business community in the small town. However, there were two youths who work in the city but return to their family homes each weekend and a journalist who works in the city but prefers to reside with his family in a small town. Most of the informants were devout Buddhists. Table 3 summarizes other biodata for these informants.

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¹⁰ Two Selected Examples.

1. Fong represents the modern "superwoman"; she is a mother, a housewife and a professional teacher. Her husband is an accountant with a private organization and together they are bringing up a two year old daughter. Both her husband and her were originally from a rural area but migrated to the city upon entering the university. They have lived in Kuala Lumpur for almost ten years. She teaches Physics to upper secondary school students in Kuala Lumpur. When she is not teaching, she plays the roles of housewife and mother.

   Fong and her husband speak both English and Malay. However, they speak Hokkien (a Chinese dialect) and Mandarin at home and their daughter is fast becoming tri-lingual.

   While they engage in a variety of leisure activities at home and in Kuala Lumpur, Fong also mentioned the family frequently travels to their rural hometowns during long weekends and vacation periods as a break for the family away from city life.

2. Mr and Mrs Loong are the retired couple who participated in this study. Before retirement, Mr Loong was an officer with the City Hall and Mrs Loong, a primary school teacher. Being former government servants, they are now receiving pensions. They have lived in Kuala Lumpur for most of their lives, although Mrs Loong originated from a rural town in the northern part of the country. The couple lives with their three grown children; two of them pursuing their professional careers and the youngest still in university. All are English educated but also speak Malay and Cantonese.

   Their routine is usually taking care of and sprucing up the house. Mrs Loong enjoys cooking and spends a lot of her free time trying out new dishes for her family. However, with their new found freedom as retired persons, the couple has been bitten by the travel bug. They have since done some foreign travel. Mr Loong says he enjoys driving his new car along the north-south highway to visit Mrs Loong's relatives to the north. A striking characteristic of this couple is that they do most of their chores and enjoy other activities together.
Table 3: Biodata of Rural Chinese Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
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<td>30 - 39</td>
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<td>50 - 59</td>
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<td>Over 60</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>
All the informants spoke Mandarin and at least two dialects, Hokkien and Cantonese. The educated informants also spoke English. Five of the young informants were single while the rest were married with children and a few with grandchildren.¹¹

¹¹ Two Selected Examples.

1. Mr and Mrs Wong were the key informants for the rural Chinese sample. Mr Wong is in his early fifties while his wife is in her forties. He owns a rubber estate and a fruit orchard and taps rubber for a living. The couple owns a shop selling shoes, where they also reside. Mrs Wong runs a tailoring business in the shop. Her patrons include both Malays and Chinese. Mrs Wong’s shop opens daily from as early as 7:00 AM until about 9:00 at night and is seldom closed for business except during the two or three days of Chinese New Year celebrations. Because they hold multiple work roles, they are representative of most of the other Chinese residents engaged in business who have their own shophouses.

The couple has two sons; the elder is working in the city while the younger is studying abroad. They place a high value on education as both Mr and Mrs Wong work very hard at their jobs to support their son overseas. Through his hard work and thrift, Mr Wong has been able to invest in some property.

During his free time, Mr Wong enjoys hunting or talking with friends at the clan association or coffee shop. Mrs Wong who remains at the shop most of the time usually spends her free time watching videos and television.

According to the couple, when their children were growing up, they could ill afford to spend on a luxury like a holiday because the children’s welfare and education were their top priority. Nowadays, from time to time, they do take a break from routines and go on organized tours. However, Mr and Mrs Wong can only take holidays separately as they fear for the security of their shop if they go on holiday together. During the period of the study, Mr Wong took a vacation to Thailand with some of his peers from the clan association while Mrs Wong visited the east coast states on a trip organized by the Malay community.

2. Mr Soo is one of the few informants who was not part of the business community. He is a journalist with a Chinese daily and his work week includes the weekend (and often public holidays as well). Mr Soo and his family (wife and four children) reside in a neighboring town, but he grew up in Ulu Kalung Pasir and still considers his mother’s home as his own. He has chosen the slow and peaceful pace of the rural area as his place of abode and would rather commute to the city each day for work, than to live there.

On his off days, Thursdays and Fridays, he is actively engaged in solemnizing marriages for young Chinese couples in the village. The rest of his time, either is spent with his children or completing paperwork for the clan associations for which he holds committee posts. Mr Soo is also a very devout Buddhist, stopping by the temple to pray after each work day. He said that this is his obligation to God. Furthermore, Mr Soo believes strongly in abiding by the Chinese traditions and instills Chinese customs in his children. His children attend Chinese vernacular school because of this belief.

Unlike many others in the town, Mr Soo fully appreciates the nature and forest that surround it. He often takes his children to enjoy the streams and forest fringes nearby and to teach them nature appreciation. He stressed that he abhors crowded and commercial places.
Urban Malay informants. The urban Malay sample comprised 21 informants: 11 from the first stage and another 10 from the second. All informants were Muslims. There were 15 married informants in the sample. Occupations included professionals like researchers, administrators and engineers, retirees, sales persons, housewives and clerks. All of them spoke Malay. Several also spoke English as a second language. Table 4 displays their other characteristics.12

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12 Two Selected Examples.

1. Although Razak was a university graduate in the field of agriculture, he is now a successful car sales representative in Petaling Jaya. Having grown up on the east coast, he now resides in Kuala Lumpur with his five children and his first wife and considers the city as his hometown. He is also obligated to divide part of his time to be with his second wife with whom he has no children yet. The family are devout Muslims, abiding closely to all the laws in the Koran. Razak undertook his religious pilgrimage to Mecca some time back.

   His work days are long, leaving the house at 7:30 AM and returning after 6:00 PM. He sometimes works on weekends. He said most of the time after dinner he is too fatigued for more activities other than spending some time with his wife and children. He indicated that being in sales, if he does not work, he does not have income. So, he does not believe in taking many holidays.

   However, he does enjoy the fruits of his success through the ownership of luxury high-speed and high-powered motorcycles. He goes to work on either his Suzuki or Kawasaki. After work or on weekends he rides his Harley for pleasure. He also enjoys taking his children on sight-seeing trips whenever his schedule allows and uses such opportunities to teach them about religion and God's greatness as related to nature.

2. Maz is a working mother, moving between job and family. She works as an accounts clerk with a private organization and has a five-day work week. Time after work is filled with household chores, helping her two school-going daughters with their school work, playing with her youngest daughter and relaxing with the family in front of the television after dinner.

   Her husband is a senior officer in the police force and was formerly from Johore, the southern most state of the peninsula. Maz's kampung, on the other hand, is in Penang in the north. During the school and festival holidays, she and her husband would take leave from work and bring the children to visit relatives at either her kampung or his. At that time they usually visit tourist sites within the state or in neighboring states. The family enjoys travelling and they have spent a number of holidays at beach resorts. Maz said that they have been to Sabah in East Malaysia for a holiday. It was planned as a present for their eldest daughter when she excelled in her examinations.

   On Sundays, the family usually have guests visiting. This is the time Maz tries out her culinary skills by cooking a meal for the family and her visitors. She said she enjoys cooking on weekends compared to routine cooking on weekdays; it is an achievement for her when her new recipe turns out well.
# Table 4: Biodata of Urban Malay Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>EDUCATION LEVEL</td>
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<tr>
<td>COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>
Rural Malay informants. The rural Malay sample was made up of two key and fifteen other informants. All informants except one were married with children. The older informants have grandchildren as well. Occupations of the informants in this group were equally varied as were the other groups, ranging from small businessmen/women, housewives, a teacher, the town's postman, a police officer, a technician, a nurse, a hotel management assistant (at the hill resort nearby), farmers and retired persons. All the informants in this group converse entirely in Malay. Table 5 presents the other biodata for these informants.13

13 Two Selected Examples.

1. The key informants, Leha (in her late forties) and her husband AR (in his late fifties) returned to live in Leha's late father's house after AR retired from the police force. They live in a completely rural setting typical of any Malaysian kampung. There is a fruit orchard surrounding their traditional style house and a stream running behind. In their yard, Leha rears her free range chickens while AR has taken up the hobby of rearing rabbits and a baby mongoose. Leha said that it is AR's pastime to feed the chickens and the animals each morning, and sweep the yard.

   The couple has two grown children. Their married son works as a teacher in the north while their daughter recently graduated from the United Kingdom as an accountant and is presently working in the city. The children take every opportunity to return to their parents' home during long weekends and festival season.

   Leha is actively involved in many of the women's group activities, religious activities, charity and welfare activities, political activities and village council activities. With her peers in the women's group, she has been on several organized trips to various popular holiday spots in the country. When she is not engaged in village activities or travel, she is taking care of the household and orchard. Leha enjoys doing handicraft, cooking and baking during her free time. Her husband visits his old friends in the city almost daily. In the evenings, they relax in front of the television.

2. AM is one of the more active youths in the village. He is the head of the Youth Division of UMNO (United Malays National Organization) for the Ulu Kalung Pasir area. In addition, he is an aggressive businessman aiming to build a successful business. He buys wholesale agricultural produce such as traditional vegetables and local fruits and resells these at the wholesale market in Kuala Lumpur. Sometimes, he collects traditional vegetables from the riverbanks and forest produce from the surrounding forests. He admitted he leads a hard life because if he did not work he would not derive any income at all. During his off days on Mondays he is occupied attending committee meetings and meeting with political representatives of the area to discuss village issues.

   When he is not working or engaged in village activities, he spends time with his wife and one year old son. The family often visits AM's parents' home in the village or his wife's parents' home in another village. Sometimes the family goes to the city for shopping or a movie. The whole family, including his parents, may also visit his sister and other relatives who live in nearby towns to the north.
Table 5: Biodata of Rural Malay Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
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<tr>
<td>VOCATIONAL TRAINING</td>
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Participant Observation

Participant observation was used to get to know the rural lifestyle of both Malays and Chinese and was important because the researcher was less familiar with this portion of the population. Furthermore, the researcher’s apparent presence in the Malay village and Chinese new town gave rise to curiosity among the residents. They began to question the key informants as to
the motive of the researcher's presence and upon discovering the reason established rapport with
the researcher as well. Hence, they knew ahead who the researcher was before the actual
interview.

There were two well-defined occasions when the researcher undertook participant
observations. Participant observation of the rural Malays in the study took place during the "Hari
Raya" festival at the end of the Muslim fasting month in late March 1993. A day was spent
celebrating the festival with the rural Malay key informant, Leha, and her extended family. The
researcher participated in many of the preparatory activities a day before the festival and engaged
in the actual celebration of the festival with the family and numerous neighbors who called at
Leha's house to extend their goodwill and festival greetings. From this occasion, the researcher
was able to observe the significance and meanings of the celebration of the festival among the
rural Malays and whether it was featured as part of their perceptions of leisure. In addition, she
became acquainted with several of the visitors who later became informants. The second
participant observation occasion was with the Wongs at their rural Chinese new village. By
spending a weekend with them, the researcher was introduced to the daily activities and usual way
of life of the Chinese villagers. Mrs Wong took the opportunity to show the researcher what was
available along the only main road in town.

Triangulation

Triangulation is vital for qualitative research. It improves the credibility of findings and
interpretations. There are four different modes of triangulation: the use of multiple and different
sources, methods, investigators and theories (Denzin, 1978). The use of different investigators was
not feasible in this study while the use of multiple theories is not considered acceptable in the
naturalist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; p307). Therefore, triangulation in this study relied on
the use of multiple sources and methods. The task was to compare comparable items and levels
during analysis.
In triangulating information sources, one source of information is tested against another to strip away plausible rival hypotheses and confirm a hypothesis. To achieve contextual validity in this study, multiple examples of leisure and recreation experiences relating to the same question (e.g., preferences for natural recreation sites) quoted by different informants (as the different sources) were compared.

The usage of different methods of data collection in this study, depth interviews, field observations in the first stage and the projective interview technique during the second stage, contributed to the triangulation across methods. Basically, this is another form of testing one source of data against another regarding the same issue.

Data Recording and Output

All interviews were recorded on audio cassette tape. Before each interview an informal informed consent was obtained from each informant before the taping began. None of those interviewed objected to the recording of the interview once the researcher had explained the need for recording it. These audio data were transcribed and recorded as part of the field notes. Interviews conducted in Malay and Cantonese were translated into English during transcription. The translated scripts were not checked for conceptual or linguistic equivalency. However, it was deemed that checking for equivalency was not important since the study did not involve the heavy use of folk terms. Almost all the experiences described by informants were phrased in everyday (Malay or Chinese) language and there were English equivalents without altering the meanings of the experiences. However, Malay folk terms and phrases considered pertinent to the phenomenon were retained and recorded verbatim. It was not possible to do the same with the Cantonese interviews because the phrases would have to be written in Mandarin characters.

The transcribed interviews formed the most complete expanded accounts of the field notes. The other three types of field notes were condensed accounts, the field work journal and analysis, and interpretation notes (Spradley, 1979).
During, and immediately after every interview, a condensed account of certain phrases uttered by the informant, any particular events which happened during the interview, the researcher's perceptions of the informant's reactions toward questioning, the informant's known background, and some of the possessions displayed in the informant's home were recorded on the informant information sheet. To maintain the anonymity of the speakers, each was identified by a unique, special code. The code was made up from either pseudonyms or name initials.

A personal journal also was kept. The reason for maintaining a journal was for the establishment of trustworthiness throughout the study. Three types of information were recorded in the journal: (i) a daily schedule and logistics; (ii) personal experiences, ideas and problems during fieldwork; and (iii) a methodological log with methodological decisions and rationales. This information was entered into an ordinary management diary whenever the need occurred.

A file of notes on analysis and interpretation of the data was also established. Emerging ideas were noted and literature and newspaper reports were collected as part of these notes, and they were used in interpretation of data and preparation of this paper.

The final type of output was the occasional written memorandum regarding the researcher's progress on the study, problems encountered, solutions taken, and emerging interpretations, which were submitted to the graduate committee. Detailed memoranda on observations of the rural sample were created after each visit with the rural key informants. Such memoranda forced the review of activities, identified the need to modify the strategies taken, and helped guide the development of emerging themes.

The first stage of data collection was completed by November 1993.

Phase III: Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis and interpretation phase of the research began soon after the first few interviews and field observations and continued through writing of this final report. In this stage,
generation of etic\textsuperscript{14}-based meanings and themes from the interpretation of emic\textsuperscript{15}-based data, and checking of the validity and reliability of the data were carried out. During this time research instruments were modified to fit the context.

Data Analysis and Reduction

This study used a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Such an approach means that theory is inductively derived and data collection, analysis (and/or interpretation) and theory stand in reciprocal relationship to each other.

Grounded theory uses coding procedures to decompose the data and synthesize them in new ways through conceptualization and categorization. The coding procedures detailed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) in their book on "Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques" were followed closely during the analysis of data. In coding, two analytic procedures are basic, that is, the making of comparisons and the asking of questions (being synonymous with "the constant comparative method of analysis"). Concepts form the basic units of analysis in this method. For the purposes of this study, coding and the development of categories related to the phenomenon were done up to the stage of axial coding. This was followed by the generation of themes based on the developed categories.

Open Coding. Open coding was the first analytic step and refers to the process of breaking data into discrete parts for close comparison of similarities and differences and of asking questions about the phenomenon as reflected in the data.

The process of open coding started after several interviews were transcribed. Sentences and paragraphs were scrutinized to find out what they represented and if they were related to

\textsuperscript{14} Etic: Interpretations generated from the perspectives of the researcher.

\textsuperscript{15} Emic: Meanings generated by the informants as part of their multiple realities.
leisure and recreation experiences of the informants. Incidents from one interview were compared
to other similar incidents from other interviews and these similar phenomena were given the same
conceptual name. Categorizing was the next step in the process when the identified concepts were
grouped. Each category was given a name, but one which was more abstract than that given to
the concepts grouped under it. Also, the properties (or characteristics) of each category, which vary
over a dimensional continuum, were outlined.

Based on these steps, a code list was drawn up and continually updated with new
concepts and categories as interviews progressed. All transcribed interviews from the first stage
were subjected to open coding.

**Axial Coding.** In axial coding, the disintegrated data from the first stage is synthesized once more,
but in new ways. This is the stage where the subcategories are linked to a core category in a set
of relationships and can be simplified to look like the model below (known as the paradigm model
in Strauss and Corbin, 1990):

\[(A) \text{ CAUSAL CONDITIONS} \rightarrow (B) \text{ PHENOMENON} \rightarrow (C) \text{ CONTEXT} \rightarrow (D) \text{ INTERVENING CONDITIONS} \rightarrow (E) \text{ ACTION/INTERACTION STRATEGIES} \rightarrow (F) \text{ CONSEQUENCES}.\]

The use of this model was recommended for the systematic analysis and relation of data
in complex ways to ensure density and precision. Four analytic procedures for axial coding are
given in Strauss and Corbin (1990). Statements of relationships were deduced based on what was
known from the literature. These were then verified inductively against the data from the interviews.
However, these statements of relationships (hypotheses) among categories and their properties
and dimensions are limited to what is found in the data and do not include what might be out there.
This becomes one of the limitations in this study.
To keep track of axial coding, the relationships established based on the model were graphically displayed as a logic diagram (refer to Figure 2 on page 78). The categories and their relationships displayed in the logic diagram formed the emergent themes of this study.

Process

Since the phenomenon being studied is a dynamic one, it was considered necessary to build process into the analysis. Process is a means of explaining change by presenting to the reader a sense of flow of events that occur with the passage of time. In this study, process would be presented as a non-progressive movement, that is, as purposeful alterations or changes in action/interaction in response to changes in conditions. These processes through time emerged naturally when the coding procedures were done.

Process was inherent in every informant's description of his/her leisure and recreation experiences. It was most evident in each person's description of movement through one stage of life to another (in terms of marital status, financial/job status, advancing age, etc.) and how these changes influence leisure and recreation perceptions, preferences and behavior.

Analysis of Concepts using a Matrix

A matrix with its columns arranged to bring together items (or concepts) that "belong together" was employed in the analysis of one of the themes, on informants' preferences for types of natural recreation areas. This activity was done only after data collection was completed, in contrast to the former coding procedures which were carried out simultaneously. The matrix was an attempt to display answers to a few specific questions asked of all informants during the study. It also presented how the categories developed through coding were related in the same specific

16 Known as a "conceptually clustered matrix" and was one of the types of matrices recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984) for data analysis.
theme. Responses by informants were clustered in columns (denoted as categories involved) to show their relationships to a general theme. In other words, a simple informant-by-variable matrix was set up (Appendix D).

**Establishing Credibility: Member Checking**

Credibility is the qualitative research term for internal validity and it pertains to the trustworthiness of information generated in qualitative research. In addition to prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation and negative case analysis, one of the most important technique for establishing credibility of findings and interpretations is member checking (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Member checks involve showing some informants part of the analytic categories, interpretations and conclusions derived from the data and eliciting from them reactions toward these constructs and whether or not they are adequate representations of the informants' own multiple realities. While the researcher is not bound to honor all of their criticisms, it is vital she hears them and weighs their meaningfulness.

Two member checks, but in altered format\(^\text{17}\), were carried out during the first quarter of 1994. The first one was actually the second stage of interviews and used a modified form of the pile sort technique. Objectives of this exercise were the following:

1. Testing the face validity of a selection of thick descriptions (verbatim quotes) given by earlier informants and checking on the validity of the etic (researcher)-based categories generated through coding of these thick descriptions in terms of the informants' multiple realities.

\(^{17}\) Since it would have posed a great inconvenience for the informants from the first stage to read and verify a portion of the results and interpretations, it was decided that a different set of urban informants should be interviewed instead. This second group of informants shared similar criteria one and two characteristics as the first.
2. Further adding variations and density to the data set on hand.

Since member checks required the informants to read quotes off a set of index cards, this method was only feasible with educated urban informants. Urban informants were selected from the staff of the Forest Research Institute, Malaysia. Rather than using a random sample, networking was used to find the staff members who were willing to help and be interviewed. In this way there would be greater cooperation and better rapport. In total, ten Chinese and ten Malay informants were used for this member check.

Several well-described quotes with vivid personal meanings were selected randomly from the first stage interviews. During the interview, the informant was asked to read a selection of cards (some randomly chosen from the stack by the informant) containing the personal experiences of informants from the first stage. Then, the informant was asked to compare his/her personal leisure and recreation experiences to those on the cards and describe how his/hers were different or similar in meanings to those on the cards. A field interview checklist (Appendix E) was formulated for the purpose of this stage of interviews. Although the interviews were still recorded on tape, detailed and intensive field notes were taken during the interviews as the informants spoke.

The completion of the second stage of data collection at the end of January 1994 also marked the completion of data collection for the entire study.

A second member check in the form of a seminar presenting the overall general results of the study was conducted at the end of March, 1994. The audience attending the seminar were the staff at FRIM and their comments were invited after the presentation.

**Reporting and Conclusions**

A *sine qua non* of this report is the many instances where verbatim quotations and thick descriptions are used to vividly reveal the feelings and thoughts of the informants as part of their reality while participating in recreation activities. Verbatim quotations add face validity to the findings, thus supporting the themes generated.
For most quantitative studies, conclusions are a set of generalizations about the applicability of findings to other instances. In qualitative research, generalization is known as transferability. However, the concept of external validity is rejected by the naturalist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Naturalists assert that at best only working hypotheses may be abstracted. Transferability, on the other hand, is an empirical matter which depends on the degree of similarity between sending and receiving contexts. And transferability cannot be made by the researcher who knows only the sending context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; p297).

Therefore, part of the conclusion in this study will be a set of working hypotheses. To quote Lincoln and Guba further, "these working hypotheses are tentative both for the situation in which they are first uncovered and for other situations;...they can only be said to be true under such and such conditions and circumstances" (p124). Differences in contexts from one site to another and even the constant changes that occur in the study site itself might render the conclusions inapplicable and transferability impossible.

These working hypotheses will hopefully pave the way for future, larger scale quantitative or qualitative studies. Such results can then be incorporated into social policy analysis.

**Phase IV: Leaving the Field**

The prior three stages of research were completed by the end of March 1994. However, before exiting the research site, commitments were made among the researcher, her key informants and colleagues at FRIM to future communication and interaction. The latter parties had requested copies of the dissertation upon its completion as their benefit from the research process.

**Ethics in Field Research**

Ethics pervaded every stage of the research process. Several points required ethical considerations.
One of the most salient ethical considerations in this study was the determination of the ownership of the raw data. As an agent of Oregon State University, the researcher claims ownership of the raw data to maintain the confidentiality promised to the informants during the study.

Before fieldwork, specifically in the rural area, formal consent through written communication and meetings with the village committees was obtained. Once in the field, the informed consent of all informants was sought informally before the start of interviews and audio-recording. The goal of the study was explained to each informant when requesting participation in the study. At all times, the researcher had the obligation to protect the privacy of her informants. As mentioned earlier, pseudonyms or codes were used to disguise the identity of the informants and any confidential data. These were used in all notes and memoranda generated by the study as well as for thick descriptions reported here.

Finally, since the researcher used a great deal of her informants' time, some form of reciprocity for their help was usually returned. However, most of the time, the informants requested nothing in return and were happy to help. In fact, the researcher was received warmly in the homes of informants during interview sessions. In sum, the informants who participated in this study contributed altruistically to its contents.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter are presented findings of this study and a discussion of these findings. It focuses on the subjective definitions of both leisure and recreation that emerged from multiple realities as experienced by the informants themselves. To begin, findings about the informants' perceptions of the differences between work, non-work and leisure are presented.

**Work-Leisure Dichotomy**

When the informants were asked to describe their daily activities, all of them invariably described their day as starting off with going to work. Or, for those informants not working, they started off their day with their obligatory tasks such as housework for the housewives or going to school for students. This ability to distinguish between work responsibilities and other activities (whether non-discretionary or discretionary) was evident for all informants, regardless of ethnic group or their place of residence. Table 6 presents some examples on how informants usually begin a weekday.

From the descriptions in Table 6 it is obvious that all the informants in this study are occupied with work or routine responsibilities for much of their day. The time used for such responsibilities determines and influences the amount of time left for other activities, among them being leisure or recreation activities.

**Leisure In Work**

Although most of the time the informants were engaged in production oriented work, some of them, particularly the urban Malay and Chinese professionals, mentioned they found leisure while at work. Bowman (1987) in his study on playful variations of work activities found that on
Table 6: Examples on the Work-Leisure Dichotomy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK ROLE</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Professionals</td>
<td>Ms Sim, Mrs Mei, Mr Tay (Chinese); and Mrs Maz, Mr Saliyed, Mr Zul and his wife, Lina (Malay); all informants from FRIM</td>
<td>All of them wake early and set off to work in the city between 7:00-8:00 AM. Have fixed working hours, the work day starting between 8:00-9:00 AM and ending around 4:30-5:30 PM. Some of them work a five and a half day week, while others work a five day week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural office workers in either the public or private sectors</td>
<td>Mr Raz, Mr ZA and Mrs Nor</td>
<td>Work day similar to their urban counterparts above, with fixed working hours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Chinese business community</td>
<td>Mr Wong, Mr KY, Mr Chong and Mr YC</td>
<td>Begin their day as early as 7:30 AM when they open their shops for business and their shops stay open as late as 7:00-9:00 PM at night. They open for business seven days a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shift workers</td>
<td>Mrs Mai (urban), Mr KR and Mr Arim (rural)</td>
<td>Working hours are either in the morning or afternoon. Or like Mr Arim in the night-market business, his working hours begin in the late evenings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture workers</td>
<td>Mr Wong, Mr Siew (Chinese) and Mr THH (Malay)</td>
<td>Working in their rubber estate before sunrise, around 5:00-5:30 AM and they toil until noon. In the afternoons, they continue to work in their orchards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural and urban housewives</td>
<td>Mrs Wong, Mrs Lau (urban Chinese), Mrs Chow (rural Chinese), Mrs SA, Mrs Idah (rural Malays)</td>
<td>Rise early to prepare breakfast for the family, send their children to school, do their marketing, other housework and meal preparations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners</td>
<td>Mr and Mrs Loong, Ms Lee (urban Chinese), and Mr MN (urban Malay)</td>
<td>No longer obligated to rush off to work in the early morning. But they occupy themselves with chores around the house, or gardening.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
many occasions individuals spontaneously play in their jobs. He stressed that playing at work is not always antithetical to getting the job done. In fact, playing on the job transforms the monotony and boredom of tasks into more enjoyable and pleasurable experiences. This study adds another dimension to Bowman's study in that a number of the informants perceived some situations of their work as being a part of their leisure experiences (and leisure being a form of play behavior) with the same resulting effects.

For the officers at FRIM who were interviewed, many had expressed the occasions when they attended conferences and training overseas or locally and when they conducted fieldwork in the forest or in another town as leisure. Common reasons quoted for perceiving these experiences as part of their leisure were the opportunities to see and experience new and interesting environments (for example, a foreign city), meet old and new friends during meetings (opportunities to socialize) and change environment away from the office and routine.

The teachers in this study also cited occasions in their work schedule when they had leisure experiences. These experiences occurred during study trips with their students or while teaching extra-curricular classes which were separate and different from the school's routine syllabus. Mrs Lau, who lives in Ulu Kalung Pasir, but is a primary school teacher in a neighboring small town, expressed her enjoyment in teaching traditional and modern dances to her students:

Once they (the students) have mastered the steps of the dance and they are moving gracefully during a performance...I feel extremely elated by this success! ... (Dance) is a very "active" activity. I don't like routine activities (such as teaching Mathematics and Malay)!

Certain types of work can be perceived as a form of leisure. This situation was revealed by a young Chinese businessman, Mr PK who runs a batik and crafts shop in the heart of the city. He recalled that most of his business trips to order and purchase crafts in the East Coast of Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand were also leisure trips;

A holiday cum work trip...for me, again, I'm fortunate enough to be involved in a business which is like a hobby, you know,...because...ummmh...I'm really
enthusiastic about what we're doing here. Because it's a creative business...really everyday is different! Because creative work is dynamic; it's ever changing! So, when I go (on trips), I look at a lot of things; I look for inspiration mainly, ya. And look for business ideas... that idea snowballs into a concrete product...into a thing which is in this shop. And then, someone buys it, you know... I get revitalized when I come back from these trips...I come back with a whole lot of ideas and sometimes to streamline what I already have. Sometimes to start something or sometimes to polish a thing which I'm already thinking about in my mind...and that is leisure!

From the above, it appears that the informants' perceptions of leisure during work are context dependent. Perceiving an activity to be leisure is dependent on the motives and the experiential outcomes during and after the activity. While the informants were able to separate their work or routine tasks from other daily activities, the occurrence of leisure experiences while at work reemphasizes the point that leisure and work are not exclusive activities but interacting in certain situations.

**Informants' Definitions of Leisure and Recreation**

Since Malaysians seem to differentiate between work and leisure, the next task is to learn how they perceive leisure and recreation. Do informants perceive any differences in meaning between the two terms? In general, none of the informants were able to precisely separate the two terms, and "leisure" was the more widely understood term.

Language reveals a lot about how people define certain concepts and the terms available in Malay and Mandarin are particularly revealing, especially since some of the interviews were conducted in these languages. While the officially accepted term for "leisure" in "Bahasa Malaysia" is "senggang," many of the Malay informants did not understand this term when it was used it during the interviews. The Malays were more accustomed to using the following terms to refer to leisure: "free time" ("masa lapang") or "a time for rest or relaxation" ("masa beristirehat"). In Mandarin, there are at least two widely understood terms which refer to "leisure." These are
"娱乐" (Chinese character for "leisure") and "消闲" (Chinese character for "free time"). These terms were understood by all the Chinese informants who were interviewed in Cantonese. In the other interviews, English-speaking informants also tended to frequently use the term "leisure" to refer to their free time or activities. Informants who spoke of their "hobbies" or "pastimes" perceived these activities as part of their leisure activities. A few examples on how informants defined leisure when they were relating their usual activities are given below.

It's a time to look forward to something... **weekend activities**; so it's kind of exciting!

And sometimes, if I feel my body needs a break, Sunday, I take half a day.

Okay, to me, there's only two things. There's **work or leisure-lah**.

It's part of my **relaxation**; it's part of **enjoying** something which you're **not paid for**.

I managed to do what I like, especially my **hobbies**.

Leisure is waterfall, **go to see the islands**... what do they call it? Recreation?.

Leisure time is like **playing with my child; watching television**... that is leisure.

We are not forced into participating, it is out of our own **free will**; so it is leisure.

Gardening as my hobby; it is **voluntary**... it is one of my **interests**.

From the above descriptions, one might conclude that the concept of "leisure," as perceived by the informants, has dimensions of time and activity.

While leisure was a common concept, informants also understood the term "recreation." For many, "recreation" referred to an outdoor setting such as a recreational forest, park or other natural area. In fact, forest-based recreation areas are called "recreational forests or recreation sites" on signboards denoting such areas.

The general understanding of leisure and recreation are in line with the concepts as promoted by Malaysian policy-makers, planners, researchers and media. But, the informants did not necessarily differentiate between the two terms during the interviews, "leisure" and "recreation"
are used to categorize and refer to the behaviors and experiences described by the informants. Given the image created for outdoor recreation, "recreation" will be used to denote physical settings, activities and on-site behaviors as presently accepted.

Based on the findings given above (including the descriptions on leisure experiences during work) and the subsequent leisure experiences which unfolded during the interviews, leisure perceptions of informants were more than just focused on activity or time. The findings indicated affective and subjective responses such as "excitement," "interest," "relaxation," "enjoyment," and "free will" also are part of leisure. Thus, while leisure may refer to an activity engaged in during free time (and away from the work environment), the perception of leisure among informants extend beyond these two dimensions to include intangible motives and feelings as well. As shall be revealed in the next several sections, these intangible concepts play bigger roles in explaining the meaning of leisure in the lives of the informants than do activity or time alone.

**Conceptual Framework of Leisure Perceptions**

Although activity and time are essential components of the leisure experience, there also were other important intangible concepts. Through data reduction and categorization in axial coding, a conceptual framework for leisure perceptions was developed. Statements of relationships between and among categories were proposed and were verified against the data. The categories in the framework (Figure 2) represent the shared characteristics in the leisure perceptions of all the informants.

The model shows how an informant defines his/her leisure experience; the process is partly social-psychological but is simultaneously influenced by external stimuli and the person's "given" conditions. The individual considers his/her antecedent conditions, motives, constraints (which may be external or internal) and engages in a leisure activity. Positive and beneficial experiences result from this engagement. When reading the diagram one should assume that there are no simple
cause and effect linkages as one category links to another. Several categories may be operative simultaneously when an individual makes decisions about leisure preferences and participation.

A more detailed discussion of each of these categories and how they are related is developed below. In some cases, verbatim quotes by informants are inserted to support the logic of the linkages suggested between categories.

Antecedent Conditions

Antecedent conditions are actual or perceived characteristics or situations which influence occurrence of a phenomenon, which in this case is perception of leisure. The following three categories of antecedent conditions were identified: given variables such as ethnicity or education, psychological states such as stress or boredom, and opportunities such as being able to take a break from work or routine.

Variables such as ethnicity (Malay or Chinese), place of residence (rural or urban), education, income level, and occupation are fixed at the point when an individual is thinking about leisure. These existing socio-economic conditions and the culture which has shaped them influence a person's perception of leisure. Other antecedent conditions include the personal attributes of each individual informant and a few examples are given in Table 7.

Often, perceived personal comfort during an activity is also taken into consideration. An individual's tolerance for long hours of travel (for example, susceptibility to motion sickness), affinity to crowds in a setting and physical endurance within the micro-climate of an area (for example, the heat at the beach) are among the factors considered by the informants in their preferences for activities.
Table 7: Antecedent Conditions: Personal Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Attributes</th>
<th>Example Quote by Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Absence or level of skill when considering a leisure or recreation activity.</td>
<td>&quot;...I'm not an outdoor person. So, ... I like to work with my hands (+ doing handicrafts) and that is how I relax. ... Outdoors-wise, I always believe that exercise rots my brain (+ ha! ha! ha!)! I don't like to sweat. ... Ummh, maybe it's one of the reasons I don't jog but I swim. Because...the water carries half my weight... I don't think running around with a 130 pounds is good for the heart! At least, when I swim, the water supports 60, or maybe 70, the rest is chicken-feet!...&quot; (Ms Sim).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Religiosity.</td>
<td>&quot;...My husband is a devout Muslim, so he doesn't like his children exposed to such elements (+ people in swimsuits) ... so many inappropriate influences on the children's minds. We have to remind them of our religious values. I don't swim because it's inappropriate for me to wear shorts at the beach; what will my children think of me then. ...&quot; (Mrs Hasmah).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Simple disinterest in participating.</td>
<td>&quot;...Just to go out for a while, a chance to stroll. To do something aimless, we are not interested; we are already old. I mean like bathing in the river... it's more for the grandchildren. ... Usually my children and their children would go on their own. ...&quot; (Mr THH).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the second category, the psychological state of routineness is illustrated well in this statement from an urban Chinese:

Normally, my work patterns, my daily routine is quite "routine"... Because when you work such long hours, you can't go straight to bed or you can't go straight home; because you need to unwind. (Mr PK).

Stress and boredom do not afflict urbanites alone and the informants from the rural area were just as likely to succumb to an unstimulating environment:

But from time to time, when I think of it and it's so boring being at the shop all day...wouldn't it be nice to go somewhere to relax for a while? (Mr Chong, rural Chinese).

The opportunity available for a break from work or routine also is important for leisure activities. Most informants expressed that "free time" available for leisure activities includes time after work, weekends, annual work leave, the school holidays and public and festival holidays. The amount of "free time" available during each of these periods varies from informant to informant, being somewhat dependent on occupation and income status. Informants working regular office hours have more time than do informants who are self-employed as illustrated in the example below:

We're open all week...no such thing as a holiday. Even on festivals, we're open. ... I can say our shop is open all 365 days a year! Well, during the Chinese New Year...on the first and second day, we take time off. ... Because of the business now, I'm at the shop more often. Going on holiday, very rarely. ... Only during the New Year, we have more time. (Mr Chong regarding his family business on traditional Chinese medicines).

Even when an opportunity for a break arises, perception of the opportunity as leisure is dependent on the informant's subjective evaluation of the context or setting for the activity. The following two examples highlight this point:

(i) Suitability of the activity opportunity for the family,
There are many recreation places available around here. But I rarely bring the children there. It is located within the forest. I'm afraid it's not suitable for the children. I'm worried they can't adjust to such surroundings. Even for us adults, some of us might not be fit enough to withstand the surroundings. (Mr Raz).

and (ii) whether the context is perceived as routine or leisure,

I like cooking during the weekend because there are more dishes. ... Because during the weekdays, we eat "chin-chai, chin-chai" (+ simple dishes), just fry that, cook that, just ordinary one or two dishes only. But Sunday, special-lah, special cooking. When people say, oh, they are coming to our place...so we try this dish for them. (Mrs Maz).

Motives

From the interviews with informants, at least fourteen different motives surfaced. Several were mentioned frequently while the other motives were mentioned less often. However, engagement in an activity is seldom due to one motive alone.

Primary Motives. At least five motives were frequently mentioned by informants as their reasons for participating in certain leisure activities, regardless of their ethnicity, place of residence, age group, occupation and education level. These motives were gaining social interaction, escaping from routine and work, seeking novelty, seeking learning, and appreciating natural and physical features of settings. Table 8 gives a description of these motives and the possible situations when such motives were fulfilled.

Secondary Motives. Nine secondary motives were identified. These motives need not necessarily be present during every informant's leisure experience, but usually accompanied the primary motives. Such motives were often context specific and informants sought to meet these motives when they engaged in specific activities. They were often dependent on the informants' life-stage and their attitudes toward the ends offered by the leisure activities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Primary Motive</strong></th>
<th><strong>Possible Variations in Context</strong></th>
<th><strong>Example of Leisure Experience</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Interaction:</strong>&lt;br&gt;Refers to the need for interaction and affiliation with friends, colleagues and family members</td>
<td>Every informant mentioned the desire to interact with others through certain recreation activities. Companionship was a major deciding factor for participation in social events:&lt;br&gt;* Family get togethers,&lt;br&gt;* Socializing with friends during lunch, work, conferences and courses,&lt;br&gt;* Teachers interacting with students during informal school activities, and&lt;br&gt;* Cooking special foods for family and friends on special occasions.</td>
<td>&quot;...On my own? I don't think I'd be interested to go (shopping) on my own - I'd find it meaningless. When I go with my friends, then, it's fun - we can talk and laugh together. ...&quot; (Mrs Lau)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Escape:** Desire for change of environment and routine, relief of boredom and from stressful situations. | Opportunities for escape:<br>* briefly in between working hours,<br>* briefly after work or on weekends, and<br>* for longer periods during vacation.<br> Variations of escape:<br>* getting away alone or with a few close friends,<br>* getting away with the entire family or lots of friends, and<br>* returning to the tranquility of rural or natural settings. | "...the main purpose to go to the beach is try to get off from those busy routines... (from) meeting too much of people...maybe, a few friends ... is good enough..." (Mr Chein on his trips to the beach with close friends.)<br>"...So, when we're in K.L. and they're (+ her relatives) in P.D. (+ Port Dickson)... so, they appreciate us going back...and then, it's also away from work-lah... relaxation-lah. ..." (Mrs Fong describing her trips back to her hometown on weekends or school holidays.)
Table 8: Primary Motives for Leisure (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Motive</th>
<th>Possible Variations in Context</th>
<th>Example of Leisure Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seeking novelty:</td>
<td><strong>Opportunities for seeking novelty:</strong></td>
<td>&quot;...Because we are already familiar with such surroundings. ... So, we seek out other types of places. To see something new and different, if possible. There must be something different to experience. ... That's our desire, to have change. ...&quot; (Mr Raz who lives in Kampung Tuah. He often brought his family for shopping or visiting relatives in the city. He said he wanted to expose his children to life in the city.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking novelty:</td>
<td>* during holidays when travelling to a different place, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* carrying out official duties away from the regular office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>environment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Opportunities for learning within an enjoyable social environment:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* on trips overseas,</td>
<td>&quot;...So, in terms of going on vacation overseas ...I... go because number one, I do not see it as a vacation... it as an opportunity... an educational trip. ... To see something new; something that I can learn. ...So, I go down the wet markets, backstreets; basically to see how people live-lah. Walk around and see places in general. ...&quot; (Ms Sim).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* visiting historic sites,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* visiting natural areas,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* attending civic classes, particularly among the rural Malay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>informants,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* attending meetings and conferences, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* going on field or study trips.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: Primary Motives for Leisure (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Motive</th>
<th>Possible Variations in Context</th>
<th>Example of Leisure Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appreciating nature: Learning</td>
<td>Opportunities for appreciating nature occur while recreating at the:</td>
<td>&quot;...It is very peaceful...no hustle-bustle of the city. We go and see the trees. Walk along the roads; appreciate the scenery. ... Because it is very hot in the lowlands; so, if we travel, we seek cool places. ...&quot; (Mr KY).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| while recreating in a natural setting also offered the opportunity to appreciate of nature. | * beach,  
* forest, river and waterfalls, and  
* hill resorts.                                                                                     |                                                                                                |
|                                |                                                                                              |                                                                                                |

Table 9 explains some possible variations of the teaching motive which was usually present among parents with small children and/or school-going children. This motive often was linked to the learning motive; while the parents taught or socialized their children, the children learned from their new experiences.

The other secondary motives were the following:

* Convenience

* Achievement, mastery, competence and creativity

* Nostalgia

* Adventure

* Utility

* Spiritual/religious

* Solitude

* Prestige or status

Table 10 explains these motives with examples for clearer illustration.
Table 9: Variations of the Teaching Motive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunities for Teaching Children</th>
<th>Example Quotes from Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pointing out general features or helping children associate certain features of the environment with others.</td>
<td>&quot;...I'll be telling them: &quot;You see, from the egg, that's the butterfly. ... sometimes when you kill an insect... that caterpillar or what when you found on the leaves... that is the caterpillar, we normally kill it because they'll be eating up all the leaves.&quot; ... Ya, I will normally teach them actually. In a way, telling them.&quot; (Mrs Mei teaching her two children while on a family visit to the butterfly park).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instilling the importance of kindness in children.</td>
<td>&quot;...like the tiny crab come out from the hole...so the children like to catch it...and then put inside the plastic bag...so, I must tell-lah:- &quot;Let's say, if you're walking with your mother and then, people steal you and put inside the gunny-sack, how you feel ? You're away from your family...release it!&quot; Just let it go like that...&quot; (Mrs Maz and her children at the beach).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching children the principles of religion.</td>
<td>&quot;...they ask why you have to pray. Then, you have to explain. There are things... the sound at night, the &quot;cacing&quot; (+worms) ...because we believe in Islam, the sound they produce is a form of prayer. But of course-lah, when we tell the children, we cannot go in detail. We just say that the &quot;cacing is sembahyang&quot; (+ the worms are praying), okay. That's how the &quot;cacing&quot; do it. The &quot;cacing&quot; is also another &quot;mahluk,&quot; another life. ...&quot; (Mr Saiyed and his children while on a camping trip).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9: Variations of the Teaching Motive (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunities for Teaching Children</th>
<th>Example Quotes from Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instilling the importance of strong family values.</td>
<td>&quot;...Usually, if we go for picnics...when all my sisters and relatives return to the kampung. ... Let the children play among themselves, get to know their cousins ...we get to be together as a family...talk, laugh, tell stories. ... It's a way to develop closer ties with our relations. ...&quot; (Mrs Idah).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10: Secondary Motives and Context for Achieving Motives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Motive</th>
<th>Possible Contexts for Achieving Motive</th>
<th>Example Quote from Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Convenience:** Refers to the proximity or easy accessibility of the recreation site and comfortable facilities available at the site. | * Most urban informants chose to recreate at shopping malls, restaurants or urban parks because travelling further would require too much time.  
* Most rural informants engaged in recreation activities at nearby river recreation sites or hill resort.  
* During longer trips away from home, informants often considered their comfort during travel and comfort offered by facilities at the site.  
* Visiting an area because it was on the way to a predetermined destination. | "...we visit the popular destinations like the causeway in Johore or the beaches. ...  
Because when we travel out of this area, it takes time... at least set aside three to four days for the trip to be enjoyable. ... And I don't yet have the time to do this.  
So,...we take the opportunity while we visit our relatives to stop-over at these places for a visit. ..." (Mr Arim uses the opportunity to visit tourism sites with his family while visiting relatives.) |
Table 10: Secondary Motives and Context for Achieving Motives (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Motive</th>
<th>Possible Contexts for Achieving Motive</th>
<th>Example Quote from Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement, mastery, competence and creativity.</td>
<td>* Particularly among informants who engaged in craftwork such as knitting, crocheting, embroidery and</td>
<td>&quot;...With my own creativity, my very own hands, ...I have crafted something. I feel proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>carpentry,</td>
<td>that I have built it. ...I have to work at designing the thing myself. But it's part of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* When maintaining and decorating the home,</td>
<td>my interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Mastering fishing skills,</td>
<td>...Sometimes, ...if you think about it...you can release tension...and you forget about your</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Mastering photography techniques,</td>
<td>work at the office. And concentrate on my craft.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Mastering a sport like golf, and</td>
<td>...&quot; (Mr Zul who enjoyed carpentry as a hobby).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Achieving better physical fitness.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Secondary Motives and Context for Achieving Motives (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Motive</th>
<th>Possible Contexts for Achieving Motive</th>
<th>Example Quote from Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia</td>
<td>&quot;A few informants had expressed their desire to return to either a former place of growing up or place of work.</td>
<td>&quot;...When my daughter grows up, I'd like to take her back to the rubber estate and all-lah. I still have friends there, where I stayed once. ... Let her know how I grew up. ... Seeing the animals - chickens, ducks. Let her see the messy place, never mind. ... Yes, under the plantation without all those facilities. But, of course, I wouldn't want her to live without all those (modern) facilities. ...&quot; (Mrs Fong expressing her desire to share her place of growing up with her little daughter).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Motive</td>
<td>Possible Contexts for Achieving Motive</td>
<td>Example Quote from Informant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Adventure**: This motive appeared to be age and gender specific in this study. | * Most of the informants who mentioned the desire for adventure were younger and usually male.  
* The forest setting was considered as the most appropriate for adventure because of the activities it offered like camping, mountain climbing and hiking. | "...I prefer the forest...the coolness. The silence. And the mysteries. When you go inside there...you feel that something is stalking on you - you don't know what is that. ... Something like you're playing enemy and police...Mystery! ...And then, also, the interesting part is when you go into the forest, you try to step on...those barks ... although quite dangerous...it can hurt you....when you get the bruise ...scars from those barks...you feel like...very adventurous - a "man" feeling! That's the interesting part ...something like when you go for big adventure..." (Mr Chein) |
Table 10: Secondary Motives and Context for Achieving Motives (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Motive</th>
<th>Possible Contexts for Achieving Motive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utility</strong></td>
<td>Refers to extractive behaviors during recreation. Mainly expressed by rural informants who engaged in fishing and hunting. Fishing was by far the more popular of the two activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spiritual/religious</strong></td>
<td>Achieved through meditation, prayers and religious texts. At least three informants mentioned the benefits of fulfilling this motive. Meditation and prayers offered spiritual uplifting, peace of mind and escape from stress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Solitude</strong></td>
<td>The wish to be alone to enjoy passive relaxation (e.g., strolling) was mainly expressed by the younger informants. In most cases, this motive related to spending time with loved ones or a small group of close friends, away from interruptions from the crowd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prestige or Status</strong></td>
<td>The least mentioned motive. However, from some of the activities mentioned by urban professional informants, it could be gathered this motive was important for them. &quot;Prestige&quot; activities included playing golf, snorkeling, target practice (at a shooting range), riding expensive motor-cycles and joining time-sharing holiday schemes. These activities usually required membership at a private club, expensive equipment or long distance travel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Constraints

Structural and interpersonal constraints are intervening conditions affecting leisure behavior (Crawford et al., 1991). Interpersonal constraints inhibit individuals from participating in leisure activities because they are unable to find partners or friends with whom to participate (Raymore et al., 1993). Summaries of the various types of interpersonal constraints faced by informants are given in Table 11.

Commonly mentioned structural constraints were financial and temporal. Other structural constraints are the following:

(i) **accessibility** problems are encountered when recreation sites are located too far away, access is too difficult, there is a lack of facilities or infrastructure at the site, or there is a lack or inadequate transportation to the site,

(ii) **unfamiliarity** with a recreation setting occurs when one has insufficient information on what the site is like or on opportunities available,

(iii) **lack of opportunities** suggests unavailability of facilities within one’s reach or lack of knowledge on what is available, and

(iv) **concern over one's safety** occurs both while travelling and at the site.
### Table 11: Variations of Interpersonal Constraints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Interpersonal Constraint</th>
<th>Possible Situations for Encountering Constraints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inability to find a family member or friend to join in a recreation activity.</td>
<td>Most commonly mentioned constraint. Friends and family are unable to co-participate due to conflicting time schedules such as: * members of the group are busy with other obligations, * families restricted to taking holidays during the school breaks, and * working spouses unable to coordinate their holiday schedules.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to locate a partner or group of friends who share a similar interest in an activity.</td>
<td>Differences in interests arise due to differences in: * age, and * priorities. Situations identified in study: * parents with babies and/or young children were hampered in their mobility, * informants with aged parents are unable to bring parents along for certain activities, and * friends within group have moved on to other interests and careers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Process

Process was built into the model to show that an individual's perception of leisure was not a static phenomenon. In fact, an individual's perception is dynamic and changes through time as the individual moves from one life-stage to another. Changes in life conditions lead to changes in both leisure motives and constraints. The process described here is similar to the life course model described by Kelly (1983). There are many elements involved in this process leading to several role changes for the individual. Such changes in social roles alter the individual's leisure expectations.

Table 11: Variations of Interpersonal Constraints (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Interpersonal Constraint</th>
<th>Possible Situations for Encountering Constraints</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflicting situations.</td>
<td>Situations where conflict is perceived:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* sharing recreation facilities or settings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>with people the informant perceived as</td>
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<td></td>
<td>disagreeable, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* crowding at recreation sites causing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>displacement. Informants often sought</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alternative sites, visited during non-peak</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>days, refrained from visiting or engaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in social coping behaviors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generational gap differences causing</td>
<td>* Younger informants mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conflict between parents and children.</td>
<td>they had to restrain from folly and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>having fun during family outings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because of parents' disapproval of such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behaviors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Parents also restricted children from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>engaging in certain recreation activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perceived as dangerous.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
and meanings. Changes in types of leisure engagement are also expected of the individual by those whose lives are interrelated with the individual.

Several changes in life conditions were identified from the interviews. Among these were a shift from single to being married, family life cycle changes (without children, with young children, with school-going children and with adult children), advancing age and sometimes disabilities, companionship changes, progression in financial position, increases in responsibilities (particularly in career) and changes in generational values.

Experience use history (EUH) is a specific process element and is defined as the amount and extent of leisure participation by the individual (Schreyer et al., 1984). It is a process element because an individual builds experiences in a leisure activity through time. As an individual continues to participate in a leisure activity, an accumulation of information regarding the activity occurs.

Informants frequently spoke about their previous experiences with a recreation activity or site when discussing their present choices. Lack of previous experience and preconceived notions about an activity or recreation site also were found to affect preferences and participation. Previous positive experiences (positive EUH) were found to reinforce continued behavior in a leisure activity. These previous experiences become antecedent conditions and affect the way an individual perceives of leisure in the future.

**Leisure Behavior**

Leisure behaviors result from perceptions of activities as suitable for fulfilling leisure motives within a set of constraints. Leisure behaviors change accordingly to changes in life conditions which affect motives and constraints.

Leisure activities were classified according to an activity typology proposed by Hendee et al. (1971) for activities in wilderness and forest environments. Since they developed five types for outdoor recreation activities, two additional types adapted from McKechnie (1974) were added to
include indoor activities. Table 12 presents some of the commonly mentioned leisure activities, their type and possible settings for them.

**Table 12: Classification of Common Leisure Activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Group</th>
<th>Leisure Activities</th>
<th>Settings for Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appreciative-symbolic:</strong> activities directed toward appreciation of features of the natural or physical environment.</td>
<td>Visiting natural sites, appreciating scenery and atmosphere/climate, photography, hiking, strolling, camping, mountain climbing, meditation and retreat.</td>
<td>Natural settings: coast, islands, forest-river-waterfall environment, and the hills. Meditation and retreat usually took place in a temple located in a natural environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passive-free play:</strong> activities which require little effort and are easy-going.</td>
<td>Relaxing at the site, picnics, playing by the beach or river, driving and travelling, playing &quot;tourist,&quot; going sight-seeing and shopping while on vacation.</td>
<td>Natural settings, and tourism attractions (urban, rural or natural). Also includes travel to foreign sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociable learning:</strong> activities which allow learning, discovery and exploration of the site within a social and relaxed atmosphere.</td>
<td>Nature study and observation, visiting historic sites and prominent landmarks, attending exhibitions, visiting museums, attending self-improvement classes, training courses and conferences.</td>
<td>Outdoor, natural settings, and outdoor/indoor urban or rural sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity Group</td>
<td>Leisure Activities</td>
<td>Settings for Activities</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Active-expressive:</strong></td>
<td>Swimming, exercising at the health club, jogging, walking, golf, badminton, tennis, squash, table-tennis, basketball, netball, &quot;sepak takraw,&quot; motorcycle riding, bicycling, target practice and snorkeling.</td>
<td>May occur in both rural or urban settings. Depending on the activity, may be conducted outdoors or indoors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extractive-symbolic:</strong></td>
<td>Fishing, hunting, collecting shellfish and traditional fruits and vegetables.</td>
<td>Usually in rural, natural settings such as by the river or in the forest, and by the coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slow living:</strong></td>
<td>Watching television, listening to music, going to the movies, conversing with family/friends, dining and entertaining, reading, shopping and visiting friends or relatives.</td>
<td>Usually indoor in an urban or rural setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Crafts</strong></td>
<td>Crocheting, knitting, sewing, cooking, woodwork, interior decorating, home maintenance, and gardening.</td>
<td>Maybe outdoor or indoor at place of residence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Informants indicated their leisure activities as taking place within the home, urban setting (outdoor or indoor), rural setting (outdoor or indoor), natural environment or a foreign country. In addition, the selected leisure activities could involve companions or be undertaken alone.

Consequences

Consequences are the outcomes of leisure behaviors. Just prior to, during and after engaging in a leisure activity, an individual experiences leisure. Such psychological experiences are usually positive and beneficial in nature and add positively to an individual's EUH.

Informants experienced stress relief, were invigorated and felt renewal of psychological and physical well-being. Emotions and moods such as happiness, joy, fun, relaxation, peacefulness, reminiscence, and intimacy with companions were frequently expressed by informants. There also were feelings of reaffirmation of group solidarity and bonding.

Brief Conclusions based on the Conceptual Framework

Based on the findings reported so far, informants' perceptions of leisure are built on many variables, both intrinsic and extrinsic to the individual. It is evident that a definition on leisure cannot simply phrased. The many variables and relationships posited by the framework must be considered to fully understand the informants' perceptions of leisure.

It has been proposed that rural and urban informants of both ethnic groups share similar motives and face similar constraints (although the degree of constraint may vary from individual to individual) when forming leisure preferences and choosing leisure activities. Their motives and constraints are in turn affected by life cycle changes, temporal context and previous experiences. The framework suggests that these variables impose greater influences on (and offer a better explanation and description of) an individual's perceptions of leisure than do ethnicity or place of residence variables taken alone. In addition, the concept of leisure as perceived by informants is
not one of mere dimensions of time and activity (the very dimensions considered by planners and policy-makers), but also includes an affective dimension.

**Emergent Themes and Interpretation**

The conceptual framework developed in the previous section not only illustrates how a sample of Malaysians define leisure but also proposes a set of emergent variables which influence perceptions of leisure. Using these emergent variables one can examine whether or not ethnic (Malay/ Chinese) or geographic (rural/urban) groups define leisure similarly or differently. The emergent themes to be examined:

(a) for ethnic comparisons are:

1. Structural constraints and marginality,
2. The social nature of leisure and recreation,
3. Outdoor recreation and preferences for natural recreation sites,
4. Hedonic pursuits and benefits of leisure,
5. Cultural leisure/cultural identity

and (b) for rural-urban comparisons are:

1. Utilitarian leisure and extractive-symbolic activities, and
2. Community activities: Maintaining rural identity.

**Ethnic Comparisons of Meanings of Leisure**

One of the findings of this study has been that the informants, regardless of their ethnic group and place of residence, share similar primary motives in their pursuit of leisure experiences. Furthermore, the informants also appear to share similar leisure constraints. Ethnicity and place of residence do not play key roles in influencing their perceptions of leisure. The analysis which follows demonstrates this observation.
Structural Constraints and Marginality

Informants in this study share similar structural constraints on their leisure behavior. Malay and Chinese participation in leisure activities are not so much constrained by poverty, unmet basic needs and "ghetto" residence (as the Blacks were in Washburne's (1978) study) as they are due to marginality of other factors. Level of income might restrict access to private recreation services and several types of recreation activities requiring expensive equipment, but financial constraint was not the sole and most salient explanatory variable in forming preferences and participation in recreation activities. Following is a discussion on the types of structural constraints, bringing about marginal conditions, as perceived and experienced by the informants.

Financial Constraints. One of the most common structural constraints to leisure participation is the availability of financial resources. Most individuals are faced with a finite amount of financial resources. They often have to make a choice on the types of recreation activities they can afford. Their finances also affect the frequency or form of participation and in the worst case, non-participation. Table 13 presents the various situations in which recreation participation is limited or altered by financial restrictions.

Many of the rural Malay informants quoted financial limitations as a reason for not traveling for leisure more often than they were presently doing. However, they were not the only group faced with such a constraint as a few of the rural Chinese informants also mentioned this constraint.
Table 13: Situations In Which A Financial Constraint Exist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context for Financial Constraint</th>
<th>Example by Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limited income, further compounded by lack of transportation.</td>
<td>&quot;...like I said earlier,...we are financially constrained. If we have money, we can go anywhere. And we don't have transport. Only the motorcycle...how? If we go, we have to depend on the bus. And that requires expenditures. We need to budget our expenses and ensure we don't overspend. If we go somewhere, we are sure to spend above our limit. And we don't want that to happen. ...&quot; (Mr ZA, who works as a postman {a full time position with secure monthly income}, in Ulu Kalung Pasir explaining his reasons for infrequent family outings and holidays. However, the family of five pre-planned and budgeted their savings for their holidays to visit their relatives.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired persons dependent on a pension.</td>
<td>Mr THH, a retired policeman who was on pension, lived alone with his wife (rural Malays); Mrs THH: &quot;...If we always go out, it costs too much. Having to depend on his pension, there's not much money.&quot; Mr THH: &quot;...Usually we go on our own to visit our children ... But usually it's to those living close by; those living further away, it's more difficult. The children in Johore Bahru, in Seremban...are too far away. It is difficult to get to Johore Bahru. If we don't have enough money, we can't go. The return fare is around RM 50.00! By train, it's a little cheaper...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context for Financial Constraint</td>
<td>Example by Informant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single people, particularly those who just started working.</td>
<td>&quot;...So many of us...with one car...it is impossible. ... No, it's not because I didn't have friends to go with. It's more because of financial constraints. I just came out to work. Lacking in experience, my pay wasn't that much either. ...&quot; (Ms KP, rural Chinese, who explained her infrequent holidays with friends when she started working one and a half years ago).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Children's education expenditures take priority over leisure expenses. | For both urban and rural parents, their priority was to save for their children's education and spending on leisure was considered less important. 

"...We only go for day trips. ... I need to adjust my spending accordingly. Because my children are still in school and my financial standing is not exactly firm. ... To balance my income and expenditure. ... For me, this is not important. It's the children's education and their up-bringing. ..." (Mr Udin, Malay). 

"...Because I have four children ... everyday, there's some sort of expenditure...they're all schooling...so, I've to ensure I have sufficient budget for their expenses. At the moment, there's very little leisure. ... The time is not right. ...For my leisure, perhaps, in the future, when my children have grown..." (Mr KY, Chinese). |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context for Financial Constraint</th>
<th>Example by Informant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costly accommodation at local holiday sites.</td>
<td>&quot;...We're going to Kelantan for a holiday, for sight-seeing. ... If we had relatives in Kelantan, it would be much easier in terms of a place to stay. Now, we need to arrange for hotel accommodation or a chalet. So, it'll involve quite a lot of expenses on top of transportation and meals. ... That's why we still haven't visited the place...&quot; (Mrs Hasmah, Malay).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who are financially dependent on their parents.</td>
<td>&quot;...Ya, usually once a year. For me, I think, the financial problem is keeping me down. I'd like to go more but then, ...er...I couldn't earn much, you see. During break time, my part-time job won't earn much; I try to cover my fee and my books...&quot; (Mr Chien, Chinese).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferences for holiday abroad in foreign countries.</td>
<td>&quot;...For me, if resources, you know, there's no constraints, then, I'd tend to go for overseas holidays...there'll always be limited resources - then, you have to make a choice... Because holidays at home are affordable, why not? After all, you need to give yourself a break from time to time. ... If I don't have more money, then, a local holiday would just be okay. ...&quot; (Mr Tay, Chinese).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;...Maybe, I'm a snob, vacation means overseas! No such thing as vacation locally, ... I prefer to go overseas first. Because the opportunity doesn't always arise while the places at home are always there. ... You want to see things which are more difficult to see first and things which are easier, you leave for later. ...&quot; (Ms Sim, Chinese).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Urban informants also mentioned that taking a holiday could turn out to be an expensive affair. Expenditures on hotel accommodations could prove prohibitive when the informant decides to go on holiday with the extended family. Mrs IS (professional, urban Malay) felt that bringing her family of six plus her sister's family on a local holiday was very costly in terms of hotel accommodation. However, if her sister and her family did not come along, the holiday experience would not have been fun. Mr Zaman, an urban Malay professional in the private sector, also said that bringing his family (with four children) for a three-day weekend holiday was too expensive to be affordable.

However, for the majority of the urban informants, specifically those who were working professionals, local holidays were affordable. They were able to budget ahead for any preplanned holiday. In certain instances, their financial constraints came about because they had different preferences. Many of them aspired to take holidays abroad, but a family holiday abroad would be too costly. Therefore, they have to settle for a local holiday with the family. Mrs HK looked forward to the day when her children would become financially independent and she and her husband could afford a holiday overseas. She said travelling around Europe would have to be reserved for retirement.

While travelling and holidays were not always affordable, most of the informants mentioned they set aside savings for a holiday. Their views on the need to save for holidays were, perhaps, best summarized by Mrs Chong from Ulu Kalung Pasir:

We budget our expenses. We decide where we want to go...if we want to go further, we save more. We don't withdraw one lump sum when we decide to go...we save slowly. When we have saved enough, we go...to visit a place...experience it...after all, how many years of life do we have. He's (+ her husband) always asking me if I'd like to go on tour. Then, I'd say it cost too much. But then, we'd dig into our savings and go on tour again! How many more years can we still be active? Now that we are still physically able, we should go.
Work/Time Constraints. The results indicate that work and other obligations represent the most constraining factor limiting the amount of time informants are able to spend on leisure. As the following quotes indicate, work has an effect beyond the time actually spent at work.

Leisure...we don't have any! At night, we are at home ...reading the papers or watching TV. If not, I'll look for my friends and we'd go to the coffee shop for coffee and a chat. (Mr YC, rural Chinese businessman).

To say to enjoy or relax for enjoyment...there isn't any! What can we do? After work, we feel so very tired. To engage in any sports or games, already tired. ... Therefore, if there's some time, just relax a little. (Mr Zaman, urban Malay professional)

A working day for most of the urban informants, whether employed or self-employed, could be divided into specific working hours and time after work such as evenings, weekends, public holidays and vacation time. Urban retired persons and housewives in the study scheduled their free time to fit those of their family members and friends. Most of them mentioned that the best times for vacation and engaging in recreation activities which required a substantial commitment of time (particularly if the activity involved travel) were during the school holidays (for families), festival holidays and work vacation.

Work attitudes of rural Chinese and Malays. For the rural informants, school and festival holidays represent the best times to go on vacation. They work hard and do not take time off very often. Most of them work both weekdays and weekends. A good example was Mr YC, an industrious individual who runs a family sundry shop and a biscuit-making factory:

My family is very understanding (+ He is a father of three.). They realize that I'm unable to take a break from work like other people; I can't because of the nature of my work. Even when I'm ill, I still have to work. Unless I'm too sick to move! ... Unlike other people who have weekends off and vacation time. And it doesn't matter whether it's a public holiday or whatever day it is; I think it is close to impossible...(to close the shop). It's easier to win a lottery! So, whatever public holiday, the shop stays open for business.
Mr YC is also bound by his parents' wishes and attitudes toward working for profits:

And what they say is the "law." It is extremely difficult to change the way they think. For them, to be able to earn ten, twenty ringgit more is very important. ...It's a big thing for them! ... Since I'm able to carry out their wishes, I do what they want.

Among the rural Malays whose incomes were more likely to be lower than the other three groups; many of them took on a second job or part time work whenever such jobs were available. They shared the view on the importance of work with the rural Chinese. Mr ZA, the local postman, described the importance of part-time work:

Well, we are kampung people...and we need to augment our income. Once in a while, some people will request we help them clear the weeds in their orchard. That is an additional income for us. Sometimes, our income alone is insufficient. So, a Sunday like today, if someone asks for my help to spray weedicide in their orchard, I'd go. But it's only during weekends when I have time like this. It's a part-time job.

Mr KM, the village headman of Kampung Tuah, in his sixties, worked everyday of the week during the year:

I don't have any weekends. Not that I'm working all the time but I feel that working keeps me healthy. If I sit around aimlessly and I don't sweat...it doesn't feel comfortable at all. ... Since my father's time, he had to work hard all his life and now, I carry on that kind of life.

Besides being engaged in multiple work tasks, most of the rural informants interviewed also held positions as committee members in several committees in town or in the kampung. These people were quick to attest that the responsibilities bestowed upon them required much commitment on their time. Mr Tan, the village council chairman, reported that he spent a lot of his afternoons after teaching school in the mornings at the Land Office to help the local Chinese with their housing or land applications,

I feel the heaviness of my responsibilities. Sometimes, when I go on holiday, I still think about having responsibilities to carry out. But it's never ending! I finish one,
another crops up! On most day, I use up my time carrying out these tasks. ... It takes time...but some people don't understand; they think if it's through me, the matter will be resolved promptly.

The same views were expressed by the rural Malays who were committee position holders in the kampung. Mr KM said that as village headman, he was on duty round the clock:

Any problems in the kampung has to be solved. It is among the duties of the village head. So, it is part of my responsibility to solve them. It's a difficult job and the allowance is not all that much! Especially when we are called to solve a problem in the middle of the night ...we start to wonder why people never consider what time it is. I'm called on to solve all sorts of problems... religion, misunderstanding.

In addition, he explained that being a village headman had hampered his mobility. It was difficult for him to go away somewhere when at any time, the residents of the kampung might look for his assistance. They usually find him at his farm tending his goats.

These rural informants seemed to be "trapped" in, what would be described by the urban informants as, work attitudes of a former generation. Mr Teoh, retired newspaper columnist (but still working) in his late fifties and living in Kuala Lumpur had this to say about work:

When talking about recreation...I don't think I put too much emphasis on that...especially before I retired. I don't know whether because I'm really silly or because of what...so, I think work...working is the most important thing in my life...all these years! Only recently, I think I worked enough...I must do something else-lah...for recreation. I think, normally, that is the style - people like myself-lah,...generation. They think work is most important than anything. ... (Regarding his two adult daughters)...oh, different! They're going for...on holiday every now and then. Not like my day, when I was young...I seldom go...go out so often.

Therefore, the rural informants who had to divide their time between work, personal and community obligations would have less available blocks of leisure time than their urban counterparts. It would follow that they were more likely to engage in leisure activities which were less demanding of their time and requiring less travel.
Other Structural Constraints. Table 14 summarizes several structural constraints encountered by the informants.

Lack of transportation for several rural Malay families, coupled with financial constraints, hindered their ability to travel more often as a family. They needed either to use public transportation or rent a vehicle. However, non-ownership of a car do not mean non-participation. Many rural Malay informants (including those who owned vehicles) indicated opportunities exist to travel to interesting places when one of the local community groups organizes a trip for its members. Travelling as a group also reduces expenses. Joining such organized tours is how Mrs Diah, a grandmother in her sixties, traveled with her peers from the kampung:

> By joining a tour group, it's more convenient to go visiting. If we go on our own...in one car...it's far too expensive! We would need to spend a lot of money. By following a tour group, it's a lot cheaper...our expenditures are much less. Like when I went on the UMNO organized trip to Kelantan, UMNO subsidized most of the costs - we only had to pay about RM20.00 for the hotel. And then, we paid for our meals.

Due to work and time constraints, recreation sites which are too far away are not as preferable as the ones which require less travelling time, particularly during the weekends. Furthermore, when lack of transportation and finances are added to work and time constraints, the desire to travel to a far off place is curbed. Mr Raz described that his trip to Kelantan on the east coast took too long on the road and was extremely tiring. The length of journey reduced his excitement for seeing something new:

> We would like to visit more often but such places are too far away. They are not near. We spent a lot of time on the journey itself. The time we spent there was not very long; we spent more time on the bus. Just a short while here and there; didn't feel satisfied.

Lack of opportunities or available facilities coupled with the other structural constraints also hampers the frequency of participation. The rural informants were the group which perceived there
were fewer leisure opportunities in their area than if they were living in an urban area. In fact most of them sought entertainment in Kuala Lumpur during the weekends or evenings on weekdays.

Table 14: Other Structural Constraints as faced by Urban and Rural Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Constraint and Variation</th>
<th>Urban Group</th>
<th>Rural Group</th>
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</table>
| Lack of transportation           | Not an acute problem as almost all the informants in this group owned private transportation. Students and those who just started working were the only ones faced with this problem. | Most acute among the rural Malay compared to the other three groups. 
"...With so many of us, we can't go by motorcycle... so, picnics are very seldom. ... Once or twice, we do go out further. Like to visit her (+ his wife) relatives, during a wedding in Kedah. ...We rent a van. ... By train, it's a problem to get to the station itself. ... If we rent a car, the cost per day is so high. And we have to rent it for several days. We have to spend on petrol, toll, food,...so, it can be a big problem for us. Because of that, I very seldom go on holiday with the family. ..." (Mr Raz, rural Malay). |
Table 14: Other Structural Constraints as faced by Urban and Rural Informants (continued)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Constraint and Variation</th>
<th>Urban Group</th>
<th>Rural Group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>&quot;...It's not that there's nothing in the forest that appeals to me...just that most of the time just coincides with a work trip. ... Okay, there's an island available, let's go there! ... (+ The National Park)...it's located in the middle of nowhere...&quot; (Mr PK, Chinese, explaining the remote location of the National Park makes access difficult if one has no time.)</td>
<td>&quot;...But for my family, they've never been there yet. The problem with that place is accessibility; the road is in very poor condition. The road is terrible! We either have to use a trooper or a lorry. If we use a lorry, it's not too safe (for the children). And if we go by motorcycle, we'll have to go in many motorcyles. ... If we use our regular car... after we return, it'll be in a sorry condition.&quot; (Mr Udin, Malay, describing a recreation site near Ulu Kalung Pasir which has fallen into disuse with the locals).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>For many urban informants, their weekend leisure and entertainment activities were confined to their homes or within the city.</td>
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<td>&quot;...the Taman Permaisuri (+urban park) ...it's very near, about ten minutes drive. Ya, we do take her there... evenings ... weekends. ... It's near...because if you were really to come all the way to Titiwangsa, it's really inconvenient. You'd get in the jam for one hour...&quot; (Mrs Fong, Chinese).</td>
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<td>2. Location of site too far away for easy and convenient access. This problem is further compounded by work/time constraints.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rural informants also were restricted to engaging in recreation activities at sites nearby.</td>
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<td>&quot;...my usual routine is to return to my mother's place on Sundays ... it's nearby. ... enjoy a picnic by the river...that's quite usual ...with my husband and daughter. ... We do (go) to nearby places ...like Mimaland, Genting Highlands... then to K.L. ... The main decisive factor for me...during the holidays ...is to go to places which are nearby ... does not require too long a traveling time...&quot; (Mrs Rau, Malay).</td>
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Table 14: Other Structural Constraints as faced by Urban and Rural Informants (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Constraint and Variation</th>
<th>Urban Group</th>
<th>Rural Group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of opportunities or available facilities.</td>
<td>Because natural recreation sites were often located some distance away from the city, urban informants had less opportunities to visit such sites other than during vacation periods. &quot;...If I had a chance to go to the beach everyday; if I have a chance to relax by the sea; I would do it. But because of work, you don't have that opportunity. We don't have a resort just a stone throw away. And if there was, there'll be millions of people going there, I'd be the first not to go...&quot; (Mr Tay, Chinese)</td>
<td>Many rural informants perceived there were less leisure opportunities in their area than if they were living in the city. &quot;...By night time...living in a rather isolated area, there are not many places to go. ...most activities die down by night time. If you want to see a movie, there's no cinema. There are not even karaoke lounges. It's not like in Kuala Lumpur where there are many kinds of entertainment. ...&quot; (Mr KY, Chinese). &quot;...Where is there to go at night? There's no entertainment here. Maybe in the city there are many kinds of entertainment and we can go out at night. Here, at night, we remain at home. ...&quot; (Mr Raz, Malay).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to some combination of the structural constraints above, travelling to places further away were often reserved for longer holidays for both urban and rural informants. Many of them took comfort into their consideration when making travel plans.

The beach, you see, if you've got holiday bungalow, then I go-lah. I don't like to go there; go in the morning and come back in the evening, ... no point, ... very rush, first and foremost. Secondly, you want to go into the water, you find yourself all sticky everywhere; got to drive back again. So, might as well go and stay one
night. ... Have a good bath. Spend the night there. Refresh yourself. Then, drive back again-lah. No point going one day. ... At least must stay one night. (Mr Loong, an urban Chinese, explaining his preference for two to three day holidays which are more comfortable than day trips.)

The structural constraints described above with supporting experiences from the informants indicated their vital influence on the informants' leisure preferences and level of participation in recreation activities. Extent of these structural constraints may vary among the four groups but all of them faced these constraints when making leisure choices. It is important to realize that the informants often negotiated around these constraints. Many of them took short breaks from routines by inserting leisure into their schedules. In fact, Kelly (1983) described one form of leisure opportunity as existing interstitially at the workplace and in work times as well as on weekends. Mr Chong, the young Chinese traditional medicine shop owner, is one of those whose nature of work did not allow him to take a holiday whenever he pleased. Instead, he engaged in hobbies which allowed him to make full use of any leisure time that arose in-between working hours:

Free time ? It depends whether I have customers in the shop. And if I have no customers, and if I have a little time, I do a bit of gardening...and rest a little. But if I have customers, I'll be serving my customers. ... If I have a little time, just go to the back of my shop, sit and relax a while. ... My aquarium is behind my shop...it's a lot easier. ... They can call me out to the front if they need my help.

The Social Nature of Leisure and Recreation

Social interaction was one of the prime motives influencing leisure choices and behaviors among the informants. Regardless of ethnic group and place of residence, all the informants considered the opportunity for social interaction in leisure as vital for a satisfactory experience. Although recreation activities were intended to fulfill multiple motives, interaction with family members and friends formed the core of many of these experiences.
Family Leisure. Kelly (1983) reported that investigation into the family-leisure issue began only in the 1970s. Since then, he and researchers like Parker (1976), Roberts (1978), and Iso-Ahola (1980) have devoted chapters of their books to the question. Indeed, all the informants in this study stressed the importance of family leisure as part of their leisure experiences. "Family" as reported here may mean either nuclear or extended family. In many cases, when the informants engaged in recreation activities, it involved extended family members as well.

For a majority of adults, family roles are considered the most important in life. Investments of self and resources are often focused toward a familial kind of productivity because the family holds a central meaning in their lives (Kelly, 1983). This study also shows that family takes on a centrality in the lives of the informants. Many of the working parents in this study managed to overcome their work demands to set aside blocks of time for family leisure. And, when this was not possible or the amount of time set aside was perceived as insufficient, they engaged in interstitial leisure behavior with their children in other activities, such as when mothers helped their children with their school assignments. Several examples of quotes by informants from each of the four groups clearly demonstrate the salience of family relationships in leisure experiences:

On Sunday, I spend all my time with my family. I let my Mrs. decide what the family should do. Like take my children out or do whatever they would enjoy. My time on Sunday is set aside for them only. ... Unless I have some meeting or association activity to attend. If not, every weekend, I'll go out with the family. (Mr LF, a rural Chinese father of two).

I'm called the driver in the family now. Fetching them here and there. But I think I enjoy...because while we're in the car or what, we're actually talking to each other...sometimes, it's fun. It's not only fun... sometimes it could be educational, you know. It could be just a conversation but you know...on and off...you're telling him something...introduce new things to him, so that he'll understand more. ... Sometimes I feel very guilty actually. I just don't have enough time...quality time to spend with them. (Mrs Mei, an urban Chinese, working mother with two children).

The most important thing is the opportunity to be with the family. It does not really matter where we are. It can be at the zoo...it's a place we go often... sometimes a few times a year. It's not just to see the changes which have taken place but
what's important is being with the family. ... A chance to strengthen family ties. (Mrs Rau, a rural Malay teacher with a daughter).

Playing with our child,...for the two of us, my wife and I,...when we return home, we feel obligated to play with our child. If without the weekends, like on weekdays; we don't see her and she doesn't get to be with us either...during those two days...we must spend as much time with her as possible. ... Certainly, we enjoy and feel happy,...especially my wife. Sometimes, she teases our daughter until she cries. My wife says because she doesn't get to hear her child cry; so even once in a while, to get a chance to hear her cry, she feels satisfied and happy. (Mr Zul and his wife, Lina {urban Malays} with their three year old daughter whom they leave in the care of their parents during the week).

Family leisure can occur within a multitude of activities in a variety of settings. Watching television, family conversations, reading to the children, cooking and doing handicrafts with the children are some of the leisure activities in the home. Also, both urban and rural informants reported going for family meals and shopping as typical weekend activities. Family day trips could mean going on a picnic at a natural recreation site, visiting urban attractions like the museum, the zoo and urban parks, going on nature walks or participating in an activity such as swimming. During holidays, most parents and their children visited new places, went sight-seeing, or spent time with relatives.

Regardless of the types of activities chosen and considered appropriate by the family for their leisure, participation in such activities holds a central meaning in the lives of the informants.

Family leisure roles are dynamic and progress through the family life cycle. As a result, leisure motives and constraints also change as a family progresses through life stages. However, the social and familial interaction motives transcend and remain the core of all stages. The following discussion demonstrates the various stages of the family life cycle and their influence on the informants' leisure pursuits. The descriptions tend to hold for all informants across ethnic groups and their place of residence.
Single informants. Interaction and bonding with parents, siblings and other family members appears to be the dominant motive for unmarried informants. Very often, these informants face work and time constraints which hinders interaction with the family outside of leisure. The following single informants shared their meanings of family leisure:

1. Chein (urban Chinese) described his close relationship with his younger sister. He said that she had been working over time almost every day and he hardly got to see her except for a short while at night and on weekends. Therefore, they share their brother-sister intimacy through cooking the family meal on the weekends.

   We both come up with some interesting recipe. Actually, we don't plan anything. ... Let's say, we're doing this...er...especially, noodles...we are fond of noodles, actually, me and my sister. So, we try to braise or stir-fry or fried or boil...come up with a funny taste...put in those tomato sauce...oyster sauce...try to make up some soup...mainly, my sister will come up with fantastic ideas. ... My sister...she tends to reveal a lot of things...most of her privacy...not even to my mom...and then, she spoke to me. ... Especially these feelings towards this stress and this boys and girls relationships. Only me and my sister. I think she don't talk with my brother. ... Maybe, I like cooking or what, she like cooking. ... In the weekend only or at night.

2. Tan (rural Chinese) spoke about his "duty" to drive his parents to visit his brothers and their families who live in Kuala Lumpur. He explained that his profession as a teacher allowed him to have the free time to go with his parents on social visits during weekends.

   Because my brothers are working, they seldom have time to return home. And my parents seldom get to see them too. If we don't see each other often enough, our relationship will drift apart. ... Sometimes, we wait until they come home before we go on a trip (+ to the beach) But it's not with all my brothers. Those brothers who are closer in age with me, we are closer. ... Those who are older than I, usually we visit them at their homes. Just have a chit-chat. Play with my nephews. But my brothers whom I'm closer to, we do go on holiday together.

Married with no children. The next stage of the life cycle consists of married adults with no children. The informants in this group still participate in recreation with their parents and siblings but in this stage, they are joined by their spouse. Motives for this group are still social interaction
and family bonding, while they are constrained by their work schedules. Leisure offered them an opportunity to be with their families.

1. Zak (urban Malay) described his usual outdoor activities with his wife and other family members. They usually went for a picnic at a waterfall nearby on weekends. He said the opportunity to chat among themselves fostered relationships.

   We have a long relationship...time. We can spend more time. Family members, not really parents. Parents...old already. Member...like sister-in-law or brother-in-law. Normally, when we see each other like working day, we just say like a few minutes; then, we go off. ... But this one, long time together. More time together.

2. ML (rural Chinese) described his trip with his family to the beach at Port Dickson.

   I think it was a public holiday...that day. ... Two families on this trip - my sister, her fiance and his parents, my elder brother and his family, my parents, my wife and I...we all went together. In three cars. After we got there, we looked for a suitable picnic spot... spread our food...sat around to relax. Chit-chat with each other. Had our meal. Relaxed.

Married with toddlers. Although parents with non-school going children are not confined to leisure during school holidays, they are restricted in their mobility (compared to when they were single or childless). Some mothers described the inconvenience of traveling with a toddler:

Because Peggy is still young. Before we had her,...we used to go out, yes. Both of us would go to Camerons and we would walk along the roads. And then, we'll just walk anywhere. But with her around, it's not as convenient, you see. ... Ya, carry her. Bring her food. Bring her clothes and all that. Not as convenient as just the two adults going anywhere. (Mrs Fong).

It's not very convenient to travel with a baby. Also, I'm not brave enough to travel on my own without my husband along. So, I don't go anywhere. (Mrs Nor, a rural Malay nurse whose husband works in another state. She explained the inconvenience of travelling long distance with an infant by public bus).
Married with school children. Married informants with young and/or school children are the next group. For this group, leisure roles are quite different than for the first two groups. The informants in this group face more constraints, both structural and interpersonal, when deciding on recreation activities and participation. Parents find themselves needing to fulfill other leisure motives besides interaction and bonding with their children. However, family bonding remains the objective of recreation activities with other motives being secondary.

Two prevalent motives for parents when they are with their children for recreation activities or travel are teaching about and exposing their children to new environments. Two fathers in Ulu Kalung Pasir spoke on their intentions during leisure experiences:

My objective right now...as for me, I have reached middle age, I don’t care that much...but it is for my children. So, sometimes, I take them out to expose them to other environments. To see how life is in the city or by the sea. I do it for my children’s sake. Because I am already middle-aged, it doesn’t really matter anymore. But for my children, I need to introduce them to what’s happening outside. To know what it is like to live in the city. ... Yes, it is for my children when we go on outings. (Mr ZA, Malay).

My objective is to bring my children to see and experience any new and interesting place. Especially if it’s not too far away and I am free to bring them there; I’d definitely bring them for a visit. To let them experience something new. But nowadays, children are so smart - when they see the commercials on TV, they will ask me to bring them there for a visit. They will be telling me where the place is; how to get there - and I’d have to arrange a time to take them there. But we have to wait for a Sunday. Or perhaps on public holidays. (Mr LF, Chinese).

While rural parents were interested in showing their children some aspect of city life, urban parents tried to introduce their children to nature and life in rural areas.

Because I really like them to be...be more with the...nature. ... I mean, they must know how to appreciate nature; what nature has for us. ... What’s K.L. like... it’s push a button or things like that... everything comes in so...er...simple and easy, you know. Everything is there for you, you see. But say, in this environment (+ nature sanctuary), it’s different. You don’t see so many concrete things around. ....back in nature, you hear the birds, the insects and all these things. (Mrs Mei, Chinese).
These natural things, how people live, different environment,...I have to tell them.
I have to make them see these kind of things. ... They ask many questions. For
instance,...why Orang Asli (+ the indigenous people) does not use a gun for their
hunting; why they use blowpipe? Then, you have to find the answer for them. ...
To get away from...because I feel that it is too commercial nowadays. ... Of
course, they can see television,...but they have to see how other people live. (Mr
Saiyed, Malay).

It is during recreation activities that parents took the opportunity to instill in their children
the importance of family values (eg. when visiting relatives), good social etiquette (eg. kindness,
being considerate and good manners in public), religion, and appreciation for nature. Mrs Maz aptly
described this socialization opportunity which she takes advantage of during family lunches on
Saturday; "...want to give your ideas..."brain-wash" your children, that time-lah!.*

One characteristic in most family leisure experiences is that parents always tried to expose
their children to either their own values or the experiences they had when they were youths. Urban
parents from rural areas made it a point to introduce their children to rural and natural
environments during recreational outings. Indirectly, these parents seemed to be fulfilling a
nostalgic motive.

In addition to the motives described above, family-based leisure activities also offer a
chance for both parents and children to escape from the stresses of work, school and routines.

In pursuing leisure activities parents are not only constrained by their own work and time
commitments, but also by the schedules of their children, and thus, are limited to weekends, public
holidays and/or school holidays for many leisure activities.

Most of the parents with school children, including those from the second stage of
interviews, identified the school holidays as the only time when the family is able to take longer
holidays or visit relatives at their hometowns in other states. Naturally, the school holidays are peak
travel seasons for many Malaysians.
Married with adolescents and young adult children: When children reached adolescent age or become adults, parents find difficulty in scheduling a time for family leisure in between their children's programs with peers and their own work schedules. Mr KY, like many of the parents with teenage children, lamented that his three teenage daughters, with the eldest eighteen years of age, preferred to go shopping with their friends rather than do things as a family. Mr KR and Miss Lim, two informants in their early twenties, preferred to go out with friends as they felt free to "act their age" when they were with people of similar interest and age:

And we're more at ease and flexible when we're with friends. If we go out with the family, we can't do this, we can't do that - a lot of grumbling - how are we to enjoy like that? I feel it is more enjoyable with friends...same ideas. ... I usually go (on holidays) with my friends at the kampung...I prefer because we've been friends a long time...It is more enjoyable. (Mr KR).

Without friends, it's no fun. If you go with the family, it's very monotonous. Our lifestyle don't match...they're older. We are still young. Our "methods" are never the same. Like when we were in Genting and we wanted to go for a boat ride, they didn't want to. They didn't think it would be fun. We want to enjoy ourselves but they don't want to; there's no fun in that. However, if there's a group of us of the same age, then, of course, we'll be doing the same things which we enjoy. (Miss Lim).

Retired with adult children. The final stage of the family life cycle includes people who were retired and those with adult children and grandchildren. At this stage of life, many of the informants once again found themselves engaging in leisure activities on their own, with their spouse or with their peers. Mr Teoh related that his leisure experiences with his two adult daughters were limited to family dinners on special occasions:

No family activities. Very seldom. Just a gathering, say, for dinner...certain occasions like birthdays, or Mother's Day or Father's Day; something like that - we go together.

Several other informants in the same age group like Mr Loong, Mrs Chong and Mr MN echoed similar responses. Family dinners appeared to be a major leisure activity for them and their
families. Those with married children like Mr THH and his spouse, Mrs Diah and Mr HV often paid social visits to their children's homes.

The above description of the various family life stages indicates that it is a dominant explanatory variable bringing about changes in leisure roles. Therefore, an informant's perceptions of appropriate leisure activities and consequent experiences are apparently dependent on the life stage he/she is experiencing.

Leisure with Friends. A second perspective which describes leisure as a social phenomenon is leisure with friends. One of the most prevalent reasons mentioned by informants for engaging in activities with friends was the opportunity for affiliation and social interaction. Spending leisure time with friends was most frequently mentioned by the group of non-married informants. Most of the informants in this group lived apart from their families. Naturally, they spent a portion of their leisure time with colleagues and friends while away from their families. However, leisure with friends was not limited to this group alone. Even married informants, despite constraints, managed to engage in leisure activities with friends whenever the opportunity arose.

Leisure with friends takes many forms such as travel with friends, picnics, fishing, playing games/sports, swimming, golf, photography, taking self-improvement classes, dining, going shopping or to movies, or conversing/joking, and these activities occurred in a variety of settings. Furthermore, friendships, like the family life cycle, change as an individual progresses through life. These changing friendship conditions are highlighted below.

Absence of companions. Absent friends often leads to less or no participation in what was a usual recreation activity. It alters choices of recreation activities as the situations below indicate:

Last time...I played badminton in the evenings. That was when I lived in Desa Jaya. ... (After shifting) ... Now, I don't have any friends to play the game with. I used to play with my cousin when we lived nearby. Now we live far apart, it's difficult. So, in the evenings, I just watch TV and take a rest. (Miss Shikin).
I have only a couple of friends in the gym. It's a very individual kind of thing. ... If I'm playing squash, I would play with a friend of mine but not anymore. I'll be picking up squash again, actually. I don't play as often as I used to. Okay, before Keong left for Singapore, we used to play about two three times a week, which is pretty often. (Mr Tay).

In fact, many of the younger informants from Ulu Kalung Pasir remarked that they seldom keep in contact with their childhood friends. Many of their friends had left to work in the city or elsewhere, for those who remained or those who return home during the weekends, not as many friends are around.

Some of them are working in K.L. ...some of them rarely return. ...Ah...the only time we really have a get together is during the Chinese New Year. Our classmates ... we'll all get together at the restaurant...catch up on news about each other. (Mr Tan).

I don't have many friends here...most of them are working elsewhere. Our activities here...usually in the evenings...the youths would play badminton...in town, at the multipurpose hall. Sometimes, "sepak takraw." ... In addition, there are not many of us around. It's difficult to form a team. To play "takraw", we need six players but it is difficult to find four players! So, most of the time, we play badminton only. For that, two of us would do. (Mr KR).

**Changing interests and friendship circles.** Mr PK explained that through the years his friends and he have shifted their interests over a variety of leisure activities.

I think it's the same for everyone...every year our lives change. The group of friends you go out with, well, ...some stay, new ones come in and some leave - not necessary by intention but because their jobs have moved them away. So, you know, your group of friends change every year, sort of...the hard core stays the same every year. So...er...different groups have different wants and needs and different recreational activities. At one stage, we had a group which enjoys bowling and we've been doing bowling quite often. So, this year,...a lot of meals and a lot of drinks!

His description more or less accurately described the kind of friendship changes many of the other informants have gone through in their lives.
Changing responsibilities. Two other informants described how growing up or growing familial commitments meant leaving former recreation activities in the past and only for reminiscing:

Last time during school days, we can come back can still go to swim... at the river over there. But now, seldom-lah. ... Because very dirty (+ polluted); I don't know. Maybe, already... grown-up... most of them don't go already. 'Cos last time always go in one group, you see... during school days. Now,... seems like everybody not interested already. So, we just gather-lah. Say, at night, for supper. Chit-chat for a few hours... Saturday night. ... (Or)... we'll gather Sunday morning to have a late breakfast. (Mr Goh).

When we were on Kapas Island, we tried to climb up a hill there. We tried to look for a way up. It was exciting, a lot of fun! If there is an opportunity, I'd love to again. But I don't have any members (+ friends) now... it is difficult to contact them now. Furthermore, now that I have a family, my time is limited. (Mrs Nor).

Family commitments over friendship. Many informants also find that parenthood decreases their ability to spend leisure time with friends. Their peers were equally busy with their own families. A number of informants said scheduling recreation with friends often ran into difficulties of conflicting schedules. As a result, recreation activities with friends after establishment of a family was a rarity.

I have actually lost touch or seldom keep in touch with them now. But only last weekend, I made a point to go visit my friend... that's it... I consider that also as a leisure. ... But unfortunately, my friend was not around. ... (Visiting friends)... I think it is seldom because I don't have time, you see. To me, I feel that I already don't have enough time for my kids. So, any time which I have... I'll devote my time to them. Not so much because I don't like to go and see my friends and relatives... actually I love to... if only I have more time. (Mrs Mei).

Our friends have their own families and they're working as well... it's difficult to get together. ... Once in a long, long while... we call some friends over and we have a get together. ... (But) with so many children, my entire time is spent on them... taking care of them. (Mrs Chow).

For some of this group of informants, specifically those who are working, leisure time is spent with friends during work breaks, as described by Mrs Lina:
During office time...like on Fridays, our women's group hold cookery or needlework classes during the long lunch hour, from 12:15 to 2:45. But that's on Fridays only. Other days, we'll sit and talk during lunch... because I work in a pool, there are like sixteen of us. We might play games like carom, "syahiba" (+ Malaysian scrabble), scrabble, that's it.

As a concluding remark, the descriptions and supporting experiences of the informants presented above clearly demonstrate the social nature of many leisure experiences. Despite changes in social roles, the desire for affiliation and social interaction are salient explanatory variables in the formation of leisure perceptions.

Outdoor Recreation and Preferences for Natural Recreation Sites

Informants in the study were asked which type of natural recreation site they preferred for their outdoor recreation: the beach/coastal environment, the forest-river-waterfall environment, or the hills (these sites refer to developed, semi-developed and primitive areas).

Table 15 gives a brief overview of the preferences of the informants interviewed in this study. A larger number of Chinese informants chose the beach/coastal environment as their preferred natural recreation environment where as Malays more often chose the forest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Beach</th>
<th>Forest</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Hills</th>
<th>Others(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Others refer to preferences for urbanized areas or foreign travel as places to visit.
Recreation Activities and Motives

The common recreation activities mentioned by informants while at the beach or at a forest recreation site are grouped according to the outdoor recreation activity typology (Table 16). The informants usually engaged in several recreation activities to fulfill multiple satisfactions and the motives for all four informant groups were the same across recreation sites.

The motives for social interaction and affiliation were the prime motive for most outdoor recreation engagements. The most popular activity for fulfilling these motives was having a picnic with family or friends. For many of the informants, recreation at the beach or by the river-waterfall included their nuclear family (average size between 3 - 5), extended family or friends. Therefore, group size varied but large groups (for example, two families) appeared to be the norm.

Even the handful of informants who expressed individuality while at the beach went there in a group, but broke away temporarily for solitude.

Ms Shikin recalled vividly her family’s outing to an off-shore island the year before. Her family experiences during that trip portrayed the significance of family togetherness in outdoor recreation.

Like last year...we planned a trip to Bidan Island. ... we set up our things under the tree, lay the mat. My uncle prepared a space for barbecuing the meat or fish. Some of them started enjoying the food. ... My uncles, they went fishing in a small boat. They wanted to row the boat but didn't know how. They rowed, rowed, rowed but the boat did not go forward. ... Being city people, they did not how to row a boat. ... (Finally) ... they reached deeper water, they started fishing...from 11:00 AM until evening. No one caught a single fish! Their faces were flushed red from the sun; they were all tired but no one caught any fish...(but)...they still felt happy because the brothers got to spend time among themselves...they got the chance to talk among themselves ...the closeness among the brothers is not lost. ... The mothers sat around to chat, listened to music on the radio and prepared lunch ...they chatted and laughed. ... I had to look after my younger brothers...in case they ran into difficulties in the water...(but)...I'd probably sink if I went in to help him!... It was a lot of fun! ... In my opinion, if we go to these natural areas, it is better to go as a group... then, it becomes a fun experience when we go in a group.
**Table 16: Recreation Activities at Natural Recreation Sites**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Group</th>
<th>At the Beach</th>
<th>By the River-Forest</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appreciative-symbolic</td>
<td>Appreciating the physical and natural features at the beach or coast such as the sea and waves, sounds of the waves, the breeze, the sand, the corals, the scenery.</td>
<td>Appreciating the physical and natural features in the forest such as the river or waterfall, sounds of running water, the coolness of the atmosphere and shade of the trees, sounds of animals and insects, unique flora and the scenery. Photography, hiking and mountain-climbing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive-free play</td>
<td>Relaxing, quiet contemplation, picnics, sunbathing, reading, playing on the sand and in the sea, strolling on the beach.</td>
<td>Relaxing, quiet contemplation, picnics, reading, playing in the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociable learning</td>
<td>Parents teaching their children about the coastal environment.</td>
<td>Parents teaching their children about the forest environment; nature study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow Living</td>
<td>Affiliation and social interaction with family and friends.</td>
<td>Affiliation and social interaction with family and friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active-expressive</td>
<td>Swimming in the sea, playing games on the beach.</td>
<td>Swimming in the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractive-symbolic</td>
<td>Collecting mussels and cockles.</td>
<td>Fishing, hunting.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mr KR, while not having many opportunities to go for outdoor recreation with his parents, went with his brother and friends instead. The significance of camaraderie also was part of the outdoor experience.

If my friends drop by and ask us to join them at the river, we'd go along. Go in a large group...enjoy ourselves with friends there since we haven't seen each other for so long. So, we do. Play in the water, have fun ...with friends. ... And there are many people there. It's just a lot of fun to go there! ... The more people, the better. Because being in the river, we do not need to focus our attention on swimming alone...we just enjoy the water, the big group of us. When we join the other people, it's more fun. ... We like to go see the crowds there...people-watching. ... A feeling of being part of the crowd.

The importance of the social motive in recreation is further supported by the occurrence of "product shift" among many of the informants. Product shift refers to a psychological re-evaluation of the definition of an experience when greater than expected density and use levels are encountered at a recreation site (Shelby et al., 1988). Many informants had mentioned the problem of crowding at several beaches, river and other developed recreation sites. However, some of them felt the opportunity to be with their family or friends was more important and central than to have their overall experiences affected by the crowds. In other words, they underwent a redefinition of their experiences to cope with the crowds and focused their attention on their own group instead. There were many examples quoted by informants which put the social setting as more important than the physical setting for satisfactory recreation experiences.

We can adapt ourselves in the crowded situation... it's not a problem. We can find our own space. We have our picnic basket and we can enjoy our meal there. We don't care...other people are like that too. We're together with the family;...the crowd...it's okay! (Mrs SA relating that the weekend crowds at the Sungai Tua river recreation site did not pose a hindrance to her and her family from visiting and enjoying the site.)

Because I'm there with my family,...we don't really mind the crowds. We can't go there alone. If we want to be alone, then we should go else where. In fact, we are seeking a place where many of us can be together (Mrs Hasmah relating her family experiences at Port Dickson, a very popular beach and there are always large crowds on weekends).
Other major reasons for visiting natural recreation sites are presented in Table 17. The quotes presented in the table demonstrate motive uniformity across both environments. Since the beach/coastal and forest-river environments offered a change of scenery, informants perceived recreation at these places as opportunities to experience something new or different.

Some of the informants from the second stage of interviews also chose the beach/coast as their preferred recreation environment because they felt so accustomed to working within a forest environment all the time. While they enjoyed being in forested surroundings, the beach offered a nice change. Although an individual might become accustomed to living or working near a forested environment, a few of them still felt the forest was a unique place to explore.

Table 17: Motive Uniformity Across Natural Recreation Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Escape and appreciating nature at the coast:</th>
<th>Escape and appreciating nature in the forest:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;...Because I like the sea. I like to see the great expanse of the blue ocean; I like to hear the waves - they're very therapeutic...listening to the sea pounding onto the shores...it's really nice! ... When you're at the beach...it's total relaxation. There's no interference...just...don't hear cars...just hear the waves... sometimes hear the birds...or you hear the trees...you hear the wind...and that's it! That's total relaxation! ...because living in the city...we don't have that...That's a change and this sort of change is very good!...&quot; (Mr PK and his recreation experiences at the beach.)</td>
<td>&quot;...the most thing I like is the forest...I like seeing all the trees, so tall. Then, under the trees, it's full of leaves. It makes me think of something I like... it's so beautiful! How God create it; it's so nice the environment. And then, it's very like... very peaceful...if we walk into the forest, it's very tranquil in the forest...no distractions...we can hear all the birds; then all the jungle creatures... sounds very nice to me...I feel so nice, and then, I feel so relaxed...I feel very enjoy, refreshed...I need!...&quot; (Mrs Mai).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking novelty and arousal at the coast:</td>
<td>Seeking novelty and arousal in the forest:</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;...very excited seeing the sea. Seeing the water coming in. Play around in the water. At least that's something different, you see. All the time, you're on dry land. At least when you're near the sea, you are sure you're not on dry land...sit down, relax,...enjoy the sea breeze... run around on the beach... picking up shells; throwing stones into the sea and all...&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;...I prefer the forest more. ... The sea...it's the same all the time. But the forest...you see something different all the time. It is different from place to place; each place is unique. The sea... the beach...is the same everywhere. ... Eventhough we live here (in Ulu Kalung Pasir),... it's not possible that we'll get to see all the features of the forest here. I feel there's always something new to see and learn. ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mr Loong).</td>
<td>(Mrs Lau).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seeking learning at the coast:</th>
<th>Seeking learning in the forest:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;...I found it a very odd place...there are no roads there. The houses are built on stilts connected by bridges. I saw many strange creatures in the mud...a lot of crabs, some with pincers, some without and some with only one...it was a strange sight! I was really attracted to these new sights around me. This is because we don't live near the sea. For those living by the sea, it would seem very normal. Not just my children alone, I, myself, found it to be a wonderful experience!...&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;...Because in the forest you can learn about the various life forms there. ... We can see and learn about the living things in the forest, like the trees, wild birds and monkeys. You learn to identify trees; say, perhaps you don't know how a Meranti looks like, you can see it there. ... In the forest, you have a chance to learn about nature. While at the beach, you don't go there to learn but to relax your mind...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mr YC).</td>
<td>(Mr Zul).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17: Motive Uniformity Across Natural Recreation Sites (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seeking adventure at the coast:</th>
<th>Seeking adventure in the forest:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;...going to the sea and snorkeling...that's an entire different thing. Because you don't do it everyday...it's kind of fun...it's quite adventurous, in a sense. ...What goes through my mind is that I see a lot of life in the sea...a lot of beautiful life...and it's nice to see them! I feel happy, in the sense that, there's life, you know. ...&quot; (Mr Tay).</td>
<td>&quot;...They don't mind sleeping, not one or two times, but quite a number of times that we had to sleep in a thunderstorm where water seeping into our tent. All the pillows are wet; we still sleep - no problem! Still comfortable...ya...just sleep! In Kenyir Lake there, only three of us...no problem. Then, next morning, you may find that, er,...&quot;beruang&quot;, bear...you see, before we slept, we took off our clothes and hang it by the branches...and next morning, we see everything shredded! Why? The &quot;beruang&quot; torn it apart! ...&quot; (Mr Saiyed).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the beach and forest environments offer parents the opportunity to teach their children about nature and its processes. This teaching motive, which is complemented by the curiosity of children, is frequently a motive for participation.

For those who prefer the forest, the forest is seen as offering more opportunities for adventurous activities. This adventure motive was mainly mentioned by single, young male informants. They have had experiences in exploring and trekking through the forest and mountain climbing, and they have had the thrill of sleeping in a wet tent during a thunderstorm. Both Mr HS and Mr NZ, from the second stage interviews, enjoyed taking on these activities as challenges and tests of their endurance.

Another difference between those with beach and forest preferences was that some informants did not mind the heat at the beach and found the seabreeze cooling, while other informants preferred the forest-river setting as it was a cooler environment.
I prefer the forest...at the beach...it's very hot. ...If at the river, we feel refreshed and cool bathing in the river (Mr AM).

For me, at the beach...it's very warm. But I love to see the waves and the sea. ...But if I go to places, like... the forest...I prefer these places because it is very cooling, shady (Mrs Nor).

These two informants plus a number of others perceived the sea to be polluted and unsuitable for swimming.

The beach...is no longer clean like last time. ... It's polluted. The beach is dirty. Can see...it's no longer clean. And then, you swim, you body...especially in P.D.-lah, itchy after you swim. Itchiness! Not like this forest. Forest is very nice. Cooling. ... But at the waterfalls...the water is clean. (Mr Zak).

I find the recreation forest more enjoyable than the beach. Because at the beach...it is very hot; a lot of disturbances and many other distractions. In the recreation forest, there is no disturbances... from human activities or the noise of vehicles. If we seek rest, that's a suitable place for comfort compared to the beach. (Mr Udin).

There is a similarity of motives across both coastal and forest settings. Informants visit these natural recreation sites to escape from stress or routine and have a change of environment while simultaneously enjoying the beauty of nature with family or friends. There are some differences too and they seem to make important distinctions regarding preferred recreation places.

Recreation Constraints

There are constraining factors regarding recreation preferences and behavior. Informants from all four groups mentioned varying degrees of the same constraints as part of their perceived and actual experiences.

Structural Constraints. The major structural constraints of work, time, accessibility (in terms of distance), and finances apply to recreation. These constraints, along with a few others identified
Lack of adequate and accurate information. A major constraint is not knowing or having only faint ideas where recreation forests are located, particularly among the urban informants. Recreational forests are usually located some distance from the city and the prolonged travelling time required becomes an inhibiting factor to participation.

In fact, visiting the forest...we all staying here (+ Kuala Lumpur)...where we're going to visit the forest, where? Which forest to go?...Templar's Park now...is no more Templar's Park already (+ referring to the poor management of the place). ... (+ In Malacca)...No, I don't think I'd take the trouble to go that far to the forest. (Mr Loong responded that he had no interest to visit the forest and much less if he had to travel far for it).

Not venturing out into there places? Well, they are new places. And certain places, we do not know where it is, one thing. And then, apart from that, er,...we do not know how it is like yet. So, we don't go-lah. We prefer the old places. We're used to it. (Mrs Fong explaining why her family frequently chose to visit Port Dickson and not other beaches, the rivers or the waterfalls).

Misconceived ideas. There were at least two variations to this constraint. The first was, what is a forest? When informants were asked if they had ever visited a forest setting for their recreation, a few of them drew perplexed responses. These people seemed to have a non-forest concept of a forest.

Like Genting? Yes, I've been there with my family - to look around the place and to relax. Bring the children for a holiday. (Mrs MWong likened Genting Highlands, a highly developed hill resort, to a forest. The road up to Genting Highlands is forested but the resort area is not forested).

The forest? Oh, no. Because living here, we feel we are already living inside the forest! ... We go to the orchard, it's quite "forested" (+ referring to the many trees there besides the cultivated crops), just that it's next to the kampung. ..." (Mrs Idah's response to visiting the recreational forests near Ulu Kalung Pasir She felt the family orchard closely resembled a forest setting).
The second variation was, fear of the unknown. Informants' were afraid that they might be attacked by some fierce forest creature. In some cases, these fearful imaginations were fuelled by long-held myths and "ghost" stories about the forest.

Going on an excursion to the forest...even if I return "alive," I would have probably been extremely frightened by the experience. I just don't think I'm that brave a person. ... In the forest, it's quiet. And when you see the frogs and insects...it can be very frightening...you don't know what will jump out at you. That's why I don't dare go. (Mrs Lau; she preferred the soothing seabreeze and listening to the waves.)

Old people don't like it. They don't agree with the idea of bringing small children into the forest. Because they have superstitions about the place...they just don't like it. Even when I bring my children to the waterfall, she doesn't like it because of these superstitious beliefs...she says children can be stunted in growth by supernatural powers in there! (Mrs RLau; she had been camping and jungle-trekking when she was undergoing teachers' training. However, not anymore since she started a family and living with her mother.)

If I say that I'm superstitious, "masuk hutan, ada hantu ikut!" (+ there are evil spirits following you around inside the forest). ... Then, people said when you go inside the jungle, then when you come back, the children might be crying or what. ... No,...I feel so dark because of the trees. And then, when you see the big, big trees...because you from kampung people, then you feel that people say, "pokok besar ada hantu!" (+ big trees are the abodes of the spirits). (Mrs Maz and her husband have never brought their children into the recreation forest except to visit a waterfall. The family prefers the beach.)

**Perceived safety.** Safety concerns might hinder frequent participation and/or bar attempts at participation. Many informants, especially the men who said they personally preferred the forest as a recreational setting, chose the beach for family recreation because of safety concerns. As a result, their family's recreational preferences overrode their own and most families ended up visiting the beach for their recreation (another indication of the significance of family in leisure decision-making). Most of the parents interviewed shared similar fears over their children's safety while in the forest:
No, no, no... because it's not convenient with the children. When I was young, I had been... I enjoyed camping;... I enjoyed jungle trekking. But for us now... as a family... it's not appropriate... it's not convenient... because the children are still young. ... They will find difficulty in trekking along the paths. Furthermore, every minute there's some danger. Because the forest, for us - it's wild! ... We don't want to expose our children to any danger present there. If I'm going on my own... or with my friends, it's easier to take care of myself. ... If I have to take care of a few, it becomes hard. Furthermore, they may not be able to adapt to such a lifestyle - camping in the forest - I feel it is difficult, especially for children. Very hard work. (Mr LF).

Because in the forest, there are a lot of fallen leaves and branches on the ground, it's difficult for the children to walk... so, it's better to go to the beach. The children can play on the beach, we don't have to worry. But in the forest, we have to make sure we hold onto their hands tightly... they might slip and fall. At the beach, the children can run around, we don't need to worry... but there, they can't. Even when we go to the river,... we have to be careful because there are a lot of rocks in the area and it's slippery. That's why for me, with my small children, it's better to go to the beach. ... At the shore, they just need to sit there and feel the waves when they come in. Furthermore, at the beach, there's no obstruction to our view; I can see where my children are. (Mrs Hasmah).

While some parents do not consider adventure activities like camping and hiking as suitable family activities, passive activities such as picnics along the river, by the waterfalls or casual strolls in a well-managed, developed recreation forest were acceptable.

My children prefer Pertak (+ a river recreation site). We can park our car near our picnic spot; the river is almost on the same level as the road. It's level and it's easy to walk around. The water is not too fast. We usually look for places like these because we have the children along. You know, children... can't be watching over them all the time... the more dangerous it is, the more they like it! (Mrs Idaho on her preference for well-developed, easily accessible recreation sites.)

However, some parents still felt their children can have safer and more varied activities at the beach such as playing with sand, wading at the water's edge, swimming and running around. Furthermore, these parents felt the openness and brightness of the beach environment made it easier for them to watch over their children's movements.
**Perceived lack of interesting activities.** Several informants felt there were a lack of interesting activities in the forest setting, particularly if an individual was not interested in adventure. In this situation, the beach/coastal environment was thought to offer more interesting sights and activities.

Okay, come evening, by the beach, there'll be a lot of activities. You can either have a barbecue. Or you can just walk...stroll by the beach...and listen to the waves ...or you can even take... ummhh...go down to the...pub and maybe, there might be a bar there, by the beach and you can sit down and drink there. Whereas, in the forest, in the evening,...it's so...it's a bit dark to really walk out, you know. You might slip on the wet leaves,... and you might fall, or...secondly, there might be leeches crawling up to your...whatever...you don't realize it because it is dark. ... And even if you want to walk, where can you walk to ? ... Why? Whereas in the sea, if you want to walk because you want to hear the sound of the waves, right ? Ya. And in the evening, in the jungle, what can you do except to hold each others' hands and start hugging each other! (Mr Tay).

What do you find so interesting about the forest ? Tell me why would it be an interesting place to visit? There is nothing to see there! What is there to see ? There are no roads. Perhaps, you can even get lost! There is nothing! (Mr YC who finds the seaside fascinating but does not feel the same about the forest).

Structural constraints are encountered by both ethnic groups and their responses do not appear to be culture-bound. Informants from both groups had misplaced and incorrect ideas about forests, causing fear and uncertainty about that environment. Naturally, parents of both groups were concerned about their children's safety. Thus, logically, they chose to recreate at the safer of the two environments, the beach. Lack of information also contributed to the perception that the forest was a boring place which did not offer many activities, except camping and hiking.

**Intrapersonal Constraints.** Two forms of intrapersonal constraints were identified by informants: non-interest and advancing age.

**No interest.** A few informants have no interest in visiting the forest for their recreation; they prefer other settings (the beach, the towns etc.,).
There are people who are interested to go camping or jungle trekking but for me, I don't. I prefer to visit the shopping malls or other attractions in that place... I don't know whether it's because I'm in the hotel line... I don't know why I prefer that sort of environment... more than the forest. ... I prefer to visit places like the mall or museum. Rarely visit the forests; not interested. (Mr KR).

What do you see there? You see nothing but trees. The beach, at least, I can go and swim, play in the water! But you go to a forest, what can you do? You just walk and then, you admire the trees and all. I'm not interested in those things. I can't differentiate one tree from another... I don't appreciate seeing trees. So, what's the point of my going? (Mr Loong).

**Age constraint.** Parents with young children were not the only ones who found it inconvenient to hike or trek through the forest; older informants with lower stamina found their participation in such activities hindered as well. Mr and Mrs Chong, a couple in their fifties, said they usually went to Fraser's Hill for relaxation rather than for strenuous activities:

Fraser's Hill... we've been there. It's very cooling up there. ... Just sit around to relax and feel refreshed. Going into the forest and climb up the hills... no. ... No way! Too old, can't climb, we'll be half dead! ... We never go to the forest... not for us as we're old. When you're young, you are able to climb the hills.

Even a few informants in their thirties and forties felt they lacked the stamina required for active recreation in natural areas. Mr TP, Mr AD, Mrs NH and Mrs IS, from the second stage of interviews, reported that as they grew older they found it too strenuous to swim, climb mountains or go hiking. These informants also felt they had lost their adventurous spirit as they advanced in age. Mrs Mai, who loves the forest and had been on several camping trips with her office colleagues, admitted she did not have the stamina to go for several activities organized by her office recreation club,

But I can't go-lah because I must have my own stamina. Before, ... I managed to go to like climbing the Gunung Tahan (+ Mount Tahan) and other mountains.
**Interpersonal Constraints.** The final type of constraint is interpersonal constraint. Very often, despite an interest in hiking or camping, an informant was not able to participate because he/she could not find friends with whom to engage in the activity. Perhaps, the current group of friends were not interested in such activities or the former group of friends who had participated in these activities had moved on to other things. When he was in school, Mr Goh and his friends often went to bathe by the river in the afternoons, but not anymore since everyone in the group is working in the afternoon. Now, they prefer to vacation at the beach or visit popular holiday destinations.

No, we just pass by only...the waterfall. ... Actually, there're a few over here, ... now we seldom go. Last time we went there...a few years back! ... I don't know-lah...everybody seems like...not...not...no more interested on that. Last time, we used to go there and swim. Then, come back. After,...since we're working, it's no more. ... But if someone asked me to go, I'd go. But now,...I think..."no kaki" (+ no companions) ...because I'd only enjoy it with my friends. ... If I go there alone is...I don't think I'll enjoy it.

Mr Tan also found it hard to find friends interested in going hiking with him:

It's not that I am not interested. But my friends ...very seldom engage in such activities. People here, very seldom. It could be because many of them are rubber tappers; they always go there. So, very seldom, we want to visit the forest to see what is there. Very rarely. But for me, I'd enjoy jungle trekking. But I just don't have the opportunity. If I had this opportunity, I'd go. ...No, not my friends who are rubber tappers... their parents. So, some of them when they were young, they followed their parents into the rubber estates...I think this is one reason they do not have an interest to visit the forest.

**Over-familiarity with an Environment**

The rural informant group was most familiar with scenes of the forest. Every rural informant remarked that the natural features of the local environment were commonplace. Some of them added that only urban people would find such features extraordinary.

It's no longer exciting! It's like we get to bathe there every day. The waterfall...everyday, we pass by. But every Sunday,...a large crowd will congregate there. But they are all urban people... these people love to come to the river. But us, kampung folks...we find nothing fascinating about the river. There's even a
river behind the house! Sometimes, we build our toilet over it! But definitely, we don't find the river unusual. However, I have often observed these urban folks, they really enjoy themselves by the river. (Mr AM).

In addition, many of the rural informants also associate forests and rivers as places of work. The rural Malays often go into the forest to collect traditional vegetables, fruits, bamboo and medicines. A number of the informants owned orchards and rubber estates which they conceive to be the same as forest areas because of the trees and rivers. These people also use rivers as a source of water whenever there is water rationing in their area. Therefore, many of these informants are often "over-familiar" with the forest and its features,

I'm afraid...of the hard work. I don't like it! ... No, no, no such thing as to enjoy...if I go in with her (+ her mother)...it means work. ... There isn't much there...you only see trees. It's just that the atmosphere is fresher. Nothing special there. Like my mother is a rubber tapper, I've always been following her into the rubber estate...until I don't like to. Nowadays, I don't go there anymore. (Miss Lim).

Never! When I go into the forest, it's just to collect the banana leaves...that's it! When I'm done, I return. Why would I want to remain in the forest for too long a time? (Mrs Diah).

Over-familiarity with an environment came out as boredom when some rural informants visited other environments similar to their own,

Recently, I went on a group trip...to the Bukit Cahaya (+ Agricultural Park) in Shah Alam...I didn't enjoy myself there. I felt walking from one point to another was so far apart...my feet ached! ... It's a beautiful place...there are animals and many flowers... we can identify the trees...but most of those trees can be found in the kampung. (Mrs Idah).

To Fraser's Hill...with my family. Since we've not been there before and people tell us it's very near; so, we just went there for a visit...just to walk around; experience a new place. ... When we saw it, it was not bad. Actually, almost like Ulu Kalung Pasir itself; it's forest! ... Ya, it was nothing new, just normal for us. ... It was not a really new experience. Nothing so special. (Mr Chong).
For many of the rural informants, their leisure preferences were for something new and they seized any opportunity to participate in recreational activities located in a new environment.

Preferences and Experience Use History (EUH). In recreation research (Schreyer et al., 1984), experience use history refers to the amount and extent of participation by the individual in recreation pursuits. Previous and continuous participation in an activity helps an individual develop a diverse information base about an activity or site.

When it comes to personal preferences (but not actual participation), over half the rural Malay informants prefer the forest-river setting. Furthermore, more Malay than Chinese informants personally preferred the forest-river setting; the Chinese informants preferring the beach/coastal setting instead (Table 15).

There appeared to be a greater tendency for an informant to prefer the forest as a recreation setting, especially, when he/she had been exposed to outdoor recreation experiences in the forest when young or still single. Several examples of the present preferences of informants and their previous experiences will illustrate this point.

1. Mr Saiyed grew up in a small rural town in the interior of the state of Terengganu. He recalled some of his childhood games when his friends and he looked for bamboo in the forest to shape into toy guns or swam in the river. He said he preferred his leisure activities to be "kampung-style" because natural areas are part of him. Nowadays, he brings his children along for camping in the forest, fishing and swimming in the river.

2. Mrs Mai (urban Malay female) attributed her present fondness for natural areas to her upbringing. Her father was a forest ranger and the family stayed where he was sent on duty. She recalled going into the forest in the late evenings with her friends and neighbors to hunt. Since then, she has gone camping with her office colleagues several times but never with her family. Mrs Mai wants her daughter to be equally fond of nature-based
activities. She had enrolled her daughter for several nature camps organized by her office recreation club.

3. Mr Soo was one of the few rural Chinese informants who preferred the forest as a recreation setting. He recalled his enjoyable experiences exploring the jungle fringes at Ulu Kalung Pasir alone before he became a scout in secondary school. Today, he wants his children to appreciate nature in the forest environment as he does. He brings his children for recreation at the streams in the area and shows them the differences in plant life in the area.

4. Mr TP, an urban Chinese informant, related that when he was a young boy, he used to go with friends into the jungle near his home to catch birds or collect branches to make catapults. Later on, he went camping and hiking with friends. Today, his appreciation for nature is expressed through his hobby, photography. While he preferred the forest environment, the family often went to the beach because his children enjoyed playing on the sand.

The above examples describing the EUH of both Chinese and Malay informants posit that the present preferences of the informants were strongly influenced by previous experiences. In addition, the preferences of informants who are rural-urban migrants (Mr Saiyed, Mrs Mai and Mr TP have lived in the city for more than twenty years) tend to reflect the results of other studies which showed wilderness visitors as more likely to be urban residents but they were more likely to have grown up in the rural areas (Roggenbuck and Watson, 1989; Watson et al., 1992).

Contrary to the above, when the forest is conceived as a place of work or when there is over-familiarity with the forest environment, informants in this situation tend to prefer the beach, the hills or other settings for their recreation. Rural-urban migrants, Miss Su, Mrs Fong and her husband, grew up in rural areas surrounded by rubber plantations. Mr Siew, Mr HV and Miss Lim, are a few of the rural Chinese informants who have experiences in rubber tapping. All these people associate their "forested" rubber plantation surroundings as a place of toil. Hence, the beach is
their preferred recreation environment. This result was supported in the second stage interviews when several of the informants from FRIM showed preferences for the beach because they often undertook field research in the forest. Thus, previous familiar experiences also can affect present preferences for recreation sites.

Several hypotheses are offered in the discussion section as possible explanations for these two contrasting patterns of preferences.

Hedonic Pursuits and Benefits of Leisure

This theme deals with the affective dimensions of the leisure experiences of informants. It portrays leisure as hedonic experiences for all four groups in the study. There were commonalities in the emotions expressed by all the informants.

Writers about leisure denote its affective dimensions as a state of mind and/or subjective experience as conceptualized by Neulinger (1983, p21). In a review of the literature, Hull (1990) concluded that “mood”, as a specific set of subjective feelings which occur as a consequence of leisure experiences, is both a prevalent and relevant product of leisure activities. Moods are the intrinsically rewarding feelings resulting from leisure engagement. One portion of his review recognized the fact that a person's past mood has the potential to affect the identification of goals and evaluations of new and future (leisure and non-leisure) situations. In Hull's theoretical evaluation of the variable, mood is purported to influence future behaviors, moods and cognitions of an individual.

Similarly in the conceptual framework of this study, affections are the proposed outcomes of leisure participation. All informants were encouraged to express their feelings and emotions as part of the description of their leisure experiences. These resultant moods or subjective feelings, often positive in nature, are not ends themselves. They add to an individual's cognitive base and form part of his/her EUH of a particular recreation activity. This information base is recalled from memory when an individual evaluates future participation.
Six dimensions of leisure were used by Unger and Kernan (1983) in their investigation into the determinants of leisure as subjective experiences. Of the six determinants, intrinsic satisfaction, involvement, arousal, mastery, perceived freedom and spontaneity, the first four apply to this study.

Throughout the preceding discussion, feelings were integral to many of the quotes used to illustrate the informants' leisure experiences. Hence, an attempt is made to classify these feelings into Unger and Kernan's (1983) determinants, realizing that leisure experience usually involves more than one dimension.

Leisure experiences are often portrayed as pleasurable and gratifying. In fact, Roadburg (1983) suggested that enjoyment was a very important condition for leisure and a key concept in distinguishing work from leisure. Naturally, every one of the informants agreed that they derived satisfaction on nearly every occasion of their leisure engagements. In most cases, satisfactory experiences also included conditions of involvement. A few examples of informants' leisure experiences illustrate these dimensions of satisfaction, pleasure and involvement,

When we were there, we had total freedom to do as we pleased. We had barbecues; played card games; got up in the middle of the night to listen to the waves. But when we are at home, we feel inhibited. Everything we do, we have to respect and follow the elders' wishes and be polite to them...when we are there, we are at ease. Besides, when we see our children playing happily on the beach, we feel happy ourselves. ... No one thinks about their worries while there. This sort of experience is something very new and exciting for us! (Mr YC).

Such games...we play for the fun of it. After the game, we sit around and enjoy the refreshments. It's really enjoyable. ... It's just for the sake of having fun! ... That's how it is...it's a good opportunity to meet friends. (Mr KR).

The beach...just to enjoy...to be away from what you live in, your environment. Just to forget about people, business, anything-lah! Try not to achieve anything. No activity...inactivity. Try to be lazy. (Mr Teoh).

Well, it is enjoyable. It is relaxing because you do not have work in the head. You do not think of housework ... Because that is the time when you spend only with her (+ daughter) and you don't get so worked up. So, that is also enjoyable-lah. (Mrs Fong).
Relaxation, enjoyment, fun, happiness and intimacy were among the most frequently expressed pleasurable moods of the informants when they spoke about their leisure experiences. These moods were felt under various leisure contexts such as during the enjoyment and appreciation of nature and social interactions with family and friends. Relief and escape from stress and boredom generated by work and routine refer to the involvement dimension. In a lot of cases, recreation opportunities which offer calmness and peace of mind add to the informants' hedonistic experiences.

An arousal dimension is reflected in the feelings expressed by informants when they visit new places where they have a chance to learn from and experience new environments or to experience a change in routine. Their feelings of awe, excitement and heightened interest are depicted by the motives of escape, seeking novelty, adventure, learning and appreciation of nature.

Feeling...like very extraordinary; very happy... For me, it's spellbinding when I see the forest! When we visited the National Park, went trekking...wow, the leeches were all over, everywhere on the ground! We were racing through to avoid them. It was different! It was a whole new experience. (Mrs Lau).

Oh, I really enjoy myself. I look forward to it! Even my daughter looks forward to it. She also likes to go on holidays...because you look forward to change of environment, you know. A change of scenery and places. ... You're cooped up in K.L. for so many months, so you feel that it's a real treat to yourself...to go and breathe, er, ...breathe air in a different area, you see. (Ms Lee).

Feelings of mastery were more activity-specific, being expressed by those who engaged in a hobby or recreation activity which required some form of skill. These feelings usually arose from achievement or completion of a project.

I find handicrafts, you use your fingers, your hands to create something...and there's not much brain work involved. It's just skills of the hands. So, it's very therapeutic, in the sense that, it gives your brain a chance to relax and create something. And at the end you see something and you feel happy! (Miss Sim).

And you get satisfaction! To a fisherman, when you get a "strike", that's the most...er...you're happy! You get a strike on your line...you can see your rod bend... sometimes they pull your boat! Sometimes, you play with the
fish...sometimes for ten minutes, for fifteen minutes before you can land it on the boat. (Mr MN).

Thus, commonly expressed feelings as part of leisure experiences can be grouped into one of the four dimensions. These feelings of pleasure, enjoyment, sense of novelty and accomplishment might have, in some of the cases, produced flow or optimal experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) for the informants involved. No matter what the form of activity, conversing with family or friends, appreciating the beauty of nature, or engaging in activities which required skill or challenge, the gratification derived from concentration and involvement in the activity itself plus the disassociation from worries and self-consciousness provided conditions for achievement of potential flow experiences. However, whether or not optimal experiences were achieved is unknown.

Benefits of Leisure

Some informants in reporting their leisure experiences implied benefits derived from their participation. Driver et al. (1991), in their formulation of the benefits-based approach to leisure management, have organized the beneficial consequences of leisure into four groups: personal, socio-cultural, economic and environmental. Several personal and socio-cultural benefits were identified by the informants. Using a list of benefits compiled by Driver et al. (1991), one can list the personal and socio-cultural benefits of the informants as shown below.

Personal Benefits.

Better mental health and health maintenance.

* Holistic sense of wellness

* Stress management
* Physical rest and relaxation
* Reduced depression/anxiety
* Positive changes in mood and emotion

These benefits were expressed by informants during physical exercise or active activities, and in their descriptions of the primary motives.

**Personal development and growth.**

* Self-confidence
* Self-reliance
* Self-competence
* Independence/autonomy
* Leadership
* Humility
* Aesthetic enhancement
* Creativity enhancement
* Spiritual growth
* Nature learning
* Culturing/history awareness/learning
* Environmental awareness/understanding

The top four and creative enhancement benefits were identified from the experiences of informants engaging in crafts, adventure-based and extractive activities. Leadership was expressed by the rural informants in community activities. The lower half dozen benefits could be derived from the nature appreciation, seeking learning and novelty experiences of the informants.
Personal appreciation/satisfaction.

* Sense of freedom
* Sense of competence
* Sense of adventure
* Challenge
* Nostalgia
* Creative expression
* Aesthetic appreciation
* Nature appreciation

These benefits were easily detected from the intrinsic satisfaction and involvement dimensions of leisure discussed above, the reasons for engaging in adventurous and nature appreciation activities, and craftwork, and from the nostalgic desires of some of the informants.

Socio-cultural Benefits.

* Community satisfaction
* Pride in community
* Reduced social alienation
* Community/political involvement
* Ethnic identity
* Social bonding/cohesion
* Social support
* Community integration
* Cultural identity and continuity
* Family bonding
* Reciprocity/sharing
* Socialization/acculturation

The clearest examples of socio-cultural benefits came from the descriptions of community activities undertaken by the rural residents. Cultural and ethnic identity and continuity benefits were derived from the celebration of cultural festivals. The last three benefits in the list were very evident in family-based recreation activities.

The implications of the above benefits for both leisure research and planning are further discussed in the next chapter. One can conclude, however, that the informants in this study consciously realized the kinds of positive emotions and benefits which can be derived from leisure and recreation participation. These desired emotions and benefits form one part of the informants' perceptions of leisure.

Cultural Leisure/Cultural Identity

Ethnicity is directly related to some forms of leisure behavior. Cultural festivals and traditions are ethnic specific and ethnicity and cultural background determine the manner in which festivals are celebrated.

Celebration of Cultural Festivals. The two major cultural festivals considered in this study were the Chinese Lunar New Year and the "Hari Raya Puasa" (the celebration of "Syawal" after a month of fasting in "Ramadhan"). In Malaysia, the celebration of cultural festivals usually occurs over two to three days of public holidays. Cultural festivals are important holiday periods for almost all Malaysians. Many people take the opportunity to go on extended vacations, lasting seven to ten days, during these festival holidays. An unusual and uniquely Malaysian phenomenon called the "balik kampung" phenomenon occurs during every major festival period. "Balik kampung" when translated, means "going home." During any cultural festival period, there is a mass exodus of people out of the city. Rural-urban migrants who are employed in the city take the opportunity to
return to their hometowns to celebrate. Even the people who do not celebrate the festival capitalize on the holiday period to go on vacation.

Celebration of a festival usually means gathering with family and friends for renewing and strengthening blood and friendship ties. There is an abundance of food and drink and age-old festival traditions are closely followed reflecting the unique cultural identity of each group. Informants from all four groups were asked if they considered such celebrations as part of their leisure experiences or if they are simply a social obligation. The informants indicated they consider their own cultural festival as part of their leisure experiences; social interaction was the prevalent motive in all cases. Festival participation is a leisure activity in which most of the interpersonal and structural constraints described earlier are overcome.

The meaning of the Chinese New Year. Although not all the Chinese informants considered the Chinese New Year as part of their leisure experiences, a number of them echoed responses similar to the following two informants,

Chinese New Year to me...family gathering. I see it that way now. That's the time, actually, we catch up with each other. Because my father...he stays in a different town. I seldom go back. And my aunts also; some of them are there, you see. So, that's the time, actually, I'll be taking a week off...that's the best time. And when I'm back there, normally, they will do everything, you know. I don't have to do anything. So, that's the time when we catch-up with each other. ... I think I enjoy it... whether it is a public holiday or it's a festive season. But maybe festive season I have more time with them... it's better in that sense...it's a family gathering. (Mrs Mei).

My family is considered small. And we see...every week. So, for me is with my old friends. Because some of them working quite far away, not going to come back...not as often. So, it's a time for us to get together. Everybody will come back. ... Visiting friends, we enjoy. But relatives, not all-lah. some, are my obligation, just to bring my parents there. Show our face. If close ones, we enjoy. ... The main enjoyment is to see our friends. Because holiday we can have a lot. We can take annual leave. But this one is...everybody is on leave; so everybody are free. So, get more time to get together. One year, once only. ... Different type of enjoyment (now) actually. Young...you are looking forward for new dress, "ang-pow" (+ red packets stuffed with money). Now, is different type. Now, you get to see friends. Different type of enjoyment. (Mr Goh).
For those Chinese informants who did not consider the festivities as part of their leisure, the holiday still means a break from work,

It's a chance for me to have a long holiday! We are open (+ family sundry business) for a few hours on the first day (of the New Year). Then, we close until the third day. My parents will be running the shop. I don't work, I go on holiday, until maybe the fifth day,... I go to my in-laws' place or to some other place. It's a time for me to take a longer holiday... to rest. Meet my friends, my old school-mates. If I don't go anywhere, I remain at home and sleep! Usually, I start work only on the sixth day of the New Year. (Mr ML).

The Chinese New Year... three days... I just go back, help my mom out, visit; do my obligatory visit with them and that's it! And I don't do anything else but watch tele, read papers... I would consider it a yearly routine. And people expect you to go back, ... And if you do not go back, then, you would break the social norm. ... It's something which society expects you to do and you do it. ... Something which I automatically do. And if you do not go back, you find that something missing. ... You look forward too because it's a public holiday. ... Chinese New Year now is like any other day, other than the fact that you don't have to go to work. That's it! You look forward to just the break. (Miss Sim).

Thus, whether the festival was perceived as a cultural celebration or a public holiday, this group of Chinese informants considered the holiday period to be an important opportunity for leisure with family or friends.

The meaning of "Hari Raya Puasa." Almost every Malay informant considered the "Hari Raya" as a leisure experience. Like for the Chinese, it is an important occasion for family gathering. In addition, the "Hari Raya" is a religious festival for Muslims. Although the social interaction motive was dominant in every experience reported, there were subtle differences in the content and functions of the Malays' celebration of the festival compared to the Chinese celebration of the New Year. For example, religious significance, festival norms and types of traditional food served were different.

Zul and his wife, Lina shared their yearly experiences of the "Hari Raya" when they return to their hometown in Malacca to be with their family,
Zul: "...Okay, from a religious viewpoint, it is time for us to celebrate our victory because we have fasted a month. On that day, it is forbidden to fast...on 1st "Syawal", we cannot fast. We must celebrate our success in having fasted for one whole month. Other than this, "Hari Raya" is a time for us to be with our families, a holiday...also, at that time we get to be together with our families... and we get to see each other and ask for forgiveness..."

Lina: "...During this time, we get to meet our family members who live far away...and whom we do not see often. Also, we go visiting others in the kampung. It strengthens relationships..."

Zul: "...If you take it as part of leisure, we can go visiting our relatives at any time...but during "Hari Raya", we must go! If we don't go, we'll feel something...bad...maybe, regret..."

Lina: "...We go in a group, our siblings and our parents...the whole family...we find it enjoyable..."

Zul: "...Although it is an obligation, we find it enjoyable. We don't see the activity as being a burden. ...Indeed, it is a must to visit our relatives. But,...although we must go visit them, we enjoy the visit. ...

Lina: "...And we get to celebrate with all the "Hari Raya" goodies like "ketupat" and "lemang," ...which we don't have everyday. Only during the month of "Syawal", we make these "ketupat" and "lemang"...so, we feel the joyousness of the occasion...feel the festivities in the atmosphere. Because during "Ramadhan", we fast. So, during the "Raya", we celebrate our achievement and we prepare all the traditional foods like "lemang", "ketupat", "rendang"... Because "Syawal" is only once a year, "Hari Raya",...usually, there are no other plans other than to visit our relatives. ...

Zul: "...During the "Hari Raya", we enjoy preparing the cakes, because we don't enjoy the food alone,...the whole family and relatives get to enjoy the food together. So, we feel happy..."

In every Muslim household, similar experiences are felt by the individuals celebrating this festival with their family and friends. Zul and Lina's "Hari Raya" experiences were confirmed by observation of similar experiences at the key informant, Leha's household during the festival.
Rural-Urban Comparisons of Leisure

As evident from the discussion thus far, both urban and rural informants engaged in types of recreation activities common to mass leisure. Using the activity typology described earlier, there were two activity types which differentiated between the rural and urban informants.

Utilitarian Leisure and Extractive-Symbolic Activities

A major difference between the urban and rural informants was that more rural informants engaged in extractive-symbolic activities. They also engaged in these types of activities more frequently than did their urban counterparts.

Most of the rural Malay informants (both genders and all ages) reported enjoying fishing during their spare time. There was one rural Malay informant who enjoyed hunting. Fulfillment of motives such as appreciation of nature and escape seemed to be important in selecting these activities. Some examples illustrate this point,

Well, like today (+ Sunday)...sometimes, my wife and I go angling. My wife also has an interest in angling. I think she is more skilled than I. ... When fishing...we don't think of anything else. Our thoughts are relaxed. Our concentration is on the fishing. We think of catching a big one! Don't remember anything else. And we are overjoyed when we catch a fish. We forget our difficulties. And we forget our problems. (Mr ZA).

On Sundays, if I have no other activities, I enjoy hunting...yes, this is my hobby. ... With my friends around this area...we go in a group of four to five... hunt for mousedeer...at the forest reserve...wild fowls ...in the oil palm estates. ... First of all, it's a chance to get together with friends. To be successful in our hunt or not is another, different question. The fun is when we're together at a hunt; whether we are able to shoot our prey or not does not matter. But the fun is there. ... (And) when we see such a beautiful natural environment...we become like...our heart feels...you really appreciate it while you're hunting. It's really enjoyable! Even if we are not successful in our hunt and even if we are tired from the exertion, we feel immensely satisfied! (Mr Oma).

While none of the rural Chinese informants interviewed actually engaged in fishing or hunting for their recreation, some Chinese do engage in extractive-symbolic activities. Mr Wong,
a key informant, occasionally goes hunting for wild boars during his spare time in his rubber estate. Mr Oma said his hunting party usually included some of his Chinese friends. According to the key informants, many people cannot engage in hunting because of the difficulties in obtaining a gun, a license for the gun, and hunting permits. These items are costly.

Fishing is an activity which does not require a license and is less expensive. Among the rural Chinese, Mrs Lau mentioned that her mother often went fishing at the former mining ponds in the area. In fact, a few of the informants made the observation that the former mining ponds were favorite fishing spots for the Chinese.

A few of the urban Malay informants mentioned they went fishing when they returned to their kampungs for a holiday. Although they had desired more frequent participation, they were hindered by the obvious constraints of time and accessibility.

Community Activities: Maintaining Rural Identity

Active engagement in community activities is another difference between the urban and rural groups. Almost all the rural informants were active members of their community. For the rural Chinese, community activities are almost always formal. Their activities are often arranged by clan associations, village committees, the local political party, or school board committees. In the Malay community, activities are either formal or informal. Formal activities are usually organized by the local political party, women's group, parents-teachers' association or village committee. Informal community activities among the rural Malays include weddings, thanksgiving feasts and religious gatherings.

Some of the informants who held committee positions in their community perceive their community leadership roles as heavy responsibilities. In almost all cases, these informants performed their leadership roles on voluntary bases and as altruistic acts. Below are two examples illustrating this expression of responsibility by a rural Chinese and a rural Malay community leader respectively,
If you want to get involved, you must take on the responsibilities passed on to you. As a committee member, there is a lot to do - organizing annual dinners and making necessary arrangements for the function. I have been given a heavy workload. ... It's not a form of leisure but a responsibility. (Mr Siew).

For me, whatever task delegated to me, I'd perform it as part of my responsibility. ... Furthermore, we are appointed by the other members; a lot of people appointed to take on such positions are unable to carry out the responsibilities associated with it. (Mrs Idah).

On the other hand, being community leaders provides fringe benefits like the opportunity to go on sponsored study trips. These study tours are part of community and government efforts to encourage the exchange of ideas and goodwill among residents of rural communities throughout the country. While routine tasks are considered as responsibilities, most informants perceive this opportunity to travel as part of leisure,

It is a holiday, to experience and understand new things in another place. To get to know how other people live. And to learn how other villages implement their development programs. (Mr LF who went on study trips to other villages with other Chinese village committee members.)

We learn from their experiences (other villages' light industries and agricultural projects). After we return, we have new ideas and feel inspired to follow this successful example of entrepreneurialism. ... Besides being a study trip, we take the opportunity to tour the place. ... So after the visit, we can make plans to visit other areas or do some shopping. Or recreation sites in the area. ... We get to see the social environments in other areas. (Mr Arim who is a youth leader of the local political party and youth group in Kampung Tuah.)

For other residents who were neither committee members nor leaders, membership (whether formal or informal participation) in at least one community group is considered vital as part of their community obligation. Activities organized by the community groups/associations provide opportunities for social leisure among neighbors.

Our efforts are not concentrated solely on work alone. It is only by name...we have community projects. It is more of concentrating our energies on building better relationships among the community. The work we do are very light chores. One person can do the job in one day. But because we want to socialize with one
another, we call everyone together to do the work. There'll be 30 to 40 people turning up and the work will be done in half an hour. After that, we can converse; have our refreshments together. (Mr Udin describing the nature of village beautification projects as opportunities for neighbors to get together.)

In addition to the above organized but occasional community events, informal community meetings occur daily in Ulu Kalung Pasir. For the rural Chinese, the associations are the centers for social activities. Mr KY described the Hokkien Association as the center of attraction (sometimes for lack of better alternatives) where friends gather for a game of mahjongg, conversation over coffee or to read the newspapers,

In this place, first there's no cinema; second, there's no pub or bar. In town, the association is the biggest building around; most people will end up here. Anyone may come in; not necessarily members only. Some people can't sit at home for too long, so they come out to town and they'll end up at the association. So, if you're looking for someone, you can usually find him at the association. Because there's no other place to go. ... Therefore, if you're looking for someone, look for him at the association first. Friends,...are usually at the association, sitting around to chat. ... Here, it's very easy to locate someone; he's either at the association or at home...as simple as that! ... (Or)... ah,...yes, at the coffee shop.

In the Malay kampung, the youths meet in the evenings for games,

So, if we have some free time...we meet at the courts. ... Coming home early (from work), there's nothing much to do at home too. So, as residents of this kampung, we feel compelled to take the opportunity at this time to mix with our friends and chit-chat with them. It is only at night we can get together. While we play the game, we can also discuss other types of activities we would like to carry out. ... So, it's not just playing the game itself but at the same time, we get to exchange ideas on how to increase our personal or community income. (Mr Arim).

and the elderly meet at the mosque for prayers and social interaction,

Usually we get to meet our friends there...and we pray together. After that, we discuss the kind of activities we would like to have in the kampung. We have a chance to sit down to converse and discuss among ourselves the sort of activities that would be good for the kampung. (Mr KM).
Besides fulfilling the need for social affiliation among residents, these community gatherings bring about a string of community benefits. By encouraging and strengthening friendships, these activities play important roles in maintaining community integration and harmony. Mr Raz identified these community benefits for his kampung as follow:

There's no time to go from house to house, visiting each day. The only opportunity is then. To get to know each other better. I feel these activities are important; so we can use the time to strengthen relationships and to discuss our problems. ... It's the same with a feast in the village. ... During that time, we get a chance to meet all the families living around here. It's a good place and time to develop closer relationships.

In addition, the annual dinners and concerts organized by the Chinese clan associations, besides being social gatherings for members, also are important occasions for fund raising to support the activities of local Chinese vernacular schools and scholarships for needy and deserving students.

For both communities, membership and participation in these social leisure activities has other consequent advantages. During times of need, a resident is assured of aid (monetary or in-kind) and avoids alienation from the rest of the community. Neighbors will rally round to help lessen an individual's burden. The role of the clan association in helping members during troubled times was described by Mr KY:

So, that if you need help, other members will be ever ready to lend a hand. Say, your father passes away, "touch wood," his funeral expenses will be taken care of. Members will pay their condolences and a small donation to the bereaved family. (+ Therefore, it is very important to become a member of an association because of this "help" ?)...yes, very important. If your mother or father passes away, the family need only sit down to grieve, other matters will be taken care of by association members...like buying coffin and setting up a shade, provide tables and chairs. They'll come and help "automatically." The women will come to cook food for those coming to pay their last respects. But one must always remember to return this kind gesture. Each member must help out each other in times of need. That's the good thing about this place. ...

...most people in town are members of some association. Like if you're a member of the "Muhibbah" Club and you're bullied by some people, you needn't fear, the club will take steps to protect you. So, being an association member, one is less likely to be bullied by outsiders who fear the consequences. It's like a safe haven.
But what's important, it's for the welfare of the family. If the family needs any sort of aid, the association will help out.

Thus, it is evident that the role of community groups and associations feature prominently in the daily lives of the rural residents. Social cohesion is the ulterior motive for both community leisure and non-leisure activities. In this regard, leisure for the rural informant not only involved the informant, his family members and a circle of friends, but the community as well. All these institutional groups influence the rural individual's perceptions of leisure. In addition, while the social interaction motive is prevalent, the content of these community activities was different for the ethnic groups. Content of these activities was apparently influenced by ethnicity and the group's objective to maintain cultural identity. These aspects and purpose of community life were clearly missing from the urban group.

**Discussion**

The findings point to a very complex situation regarding leisure and recreation. No one factor seems to dominate how these phenomena are defined and how leisure and recreation activities are carried out. Instead, multiple factors influence Malaysian concepts of leisure and recreation including motives, residential location, cultural traditions, structural and interpersonal variables, and available opportunities. Leisure and recreation both appear to be viable concepts as Malaysians can and do discuss them, and they discuss participating in leisure and recreation activities. As with other groups, however, they do not always clearly distinguish between these concepts.

**Definitions of Leisure and Recreation**

In the Western literature, leisure can be categorized into three main groups: leisure as time, activity and state of mind (Ellis and Witt, 1991). Recreation is often cast into two perspectives:
recreation as an activity or as a psycho-physiological and beneficial experience (Driver and Tocher, 1970, Driver et al., 1991). While the applicability to Malaysia of these conceptions of leisure and recreation were questioned at the beginning of this research, they each are represented in the minds of some informants. The interviews revealed that each of these ways of viewing leisure and recreation are in the statements made by informants.

How leisure and recreation are defined have potential implications for policy and planning strategies. For example, if leisure is rigidly defined as "an activity engaged in during free time," then, planning for leisure will be focused on providing leisure activities suitable for free time. Planning for activities and facilities will be dependent on participation rates. Adopting other definitions will lead to different implications for policy and planning.

During a national seminar on outdoor recreation in Malaysia in 1983\textsuperscript{18}, many of the papers presented adopted the conceptualizations of leisure as "free time," while recreation was conceived as "an activity" or referenced to natural, outdoor settings. None of the participants in the seminar considered the cultural context in which these phenomena take place. The majority of the papers on recreation planning either focused on existing policies or on the physical aspects of design. A few other papers described the socio-economic and environmental aspects of recreation. There was only one paper on the role of leisure in Islam (Hj. Hamdan, 1983) which could be considered as dealing with cultural aspects of leisure.

Thus, Malaysian leisure and recreation planners tend to consider the concept of leisure in terms of time (in Malay, "kesenggangan" which means "free time"). "Recreation" refers to outdoor recreation (in Malay, "rekreasi luar") with two dimensions: as activities such as fishing, hiking, camping, rafting, and mountain climbing or as natural settings such as the recreation forests, national parks (forest/marine), coasts and islands, nature sanctuaries and rivers/waterfalls. It is

\textsuperscript{18} Proceedings from a National Seminar on the role of Forest, National Parks and Urban Parks in Recreation, 26-28 September, 1983; Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia.
highly probable this narrow focus on the two concepts has led to leisure and recreation policies and planning being entrenched in the activity approach.

Furthermore, in recent years, the mass media and the government have been promoting buzzwords like "tourism" and more specifically, "ecotourism," "agro-tourism," and "ecotourist sites." These terms have been attached to many adventure or nature-related activities and are used to describe outdoor, natural areas such as the beaches, islands, rivers/waterfalls, national parks and wildlife/marine sanctuaries. Print or television commercials on these natural areas promote them as "tourism spots" or "holiday sites." The attainment of objectives for escape, pleasure, opportunities to revitalize the mind and body and to visit and experience interesting, novel attractions are declared by all these tourism promotion commercials. In a 1992 four-page advertisement\textsuperscript{19} by the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board to promote "Visit Malaysia Year, 1994," major events for the promotion were categorized as culture and performing arts, festivals, carnivals and exhibitions, food festivals, sporting activities (Grand Prix, international marathon, boat race, etc.) and competitions (kite, top spinning, freshwater and deep-sea fishing competitions, etc.). Evidently, the tourism areas and activities described above refer to or imply leisure and/or recreation areas or activities. However, the focus is still centered on the physical aspects, sites and activities with no references to the socio-psychological perspectives of the actual users of these sites and activities.

Undoubtedly, Malaysians are constantly exposed and influenced by the above professional and media definitions of leisure and recreation. Despite the fact that Malaysian professionals considered these concepts narrowly in their work, the results of this study suggested that leisure in the multiple realities of ordinary Malaysians was a far richer phenomenon than mere physical dimensions of time, activity and setting. As revealed in the leisure experiences of the informants, there were various subjective dimensions central to the manifestation of leisure time and recreation participation. The incorporation of motives, constraints, feelings, past experiences and benefits in

\textsuperscript{19} New Sunday Times, August 2, 1992.
leisure experiences offered a richer, albeit more complex, definition of leisure. These variables are more salient in the shaping of a definition for leisure than whether Malaysians have the ability to differentiate between the concepts of leisure and recreation as held by professionals in the field. Hence, subjective definitions of leisure as a state of mind and recreation as a psycho-physiological and beneficial experience describe the Malaysian context better than do definitions of these concepts as activity or free time.

Ethnic Influences on Leisure Perceptions

There are several possible explanations for the muddling of the ethnic variable in revealing differences in the leisure perceptions of informants.

The first possible explanation is the proliferation of popular leisure and recreation behaviors among the people in this study. Godbey and Jung (1991) have suggested that television is one of the factors promoting and encouraging homogeneity among developed and developing nations. According to them, television has hastened the homogenization of needs and definitions of success and happiness as well as portrayed models for the successful use of leisure time.

Roberts (1978) offered two counter-arguments against "mass society" and "class domination" theories on the role of the media in influencing the public's tastes and participation in leisure. First, he presented the observation that the media's powers of persuasion are not as effective as once thought. The general public has a capacity to discriminate and their tastes and opinions are not easily shaped and swayed by the contents of movies, commercials or political campaigns on television. Still, the media play important roles in contemporary life and in many advanced countries, it has helped blur regional contrasts to project a national culture. Second, Roberts argued that the media was not wholly biased on systematically endorsing the opinions and propaganda of certain sections of the dominant community. Instead, the media often worked to reflect and reinforce the current opinions and tastes of the majority to encourage and retain mass audiences. In short, one of the functions of the media is to consolidate a consensus which is
compatible with the existing political and economic systems. When such systems change, the output of the media would follow suit correspondingly.

The above arguments and social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) reflect the situation in Malaysia today. Domination of the media, in particular the television, in promoting modern trends and lifestyles among contemporary Malaysians was vividly described in an article by Karthigesu (1994). The whole nation hears, sees and reads the same news, movies and commercials broadcast or printed by the media. Despite some informants in this study indicating that watching television was not part of their leisure (unless there was a good movie on), many more claimed it as a leisure activity done while simultaneously interacting and relaxing with the family in the evenings. One might conclude, therefore, that the images promoted through the mass media have contributed to expanding the set of leisure activities recognized by Malaysians.

A second possible explanation is the way leisure was conceptualized in this study. One of the themes presented leisure as social phenomenon. Emergent variables such as family life stage, interpersonal constraints and product shift were identified to project the social nature of leisure for the informants. Leisure also offered opportunities to inculcate good family values and socialization. That such variables were common in the experiences of the informants are part of the collectivistic attitudes and behaviors of both ethnic groups. The results indicate the importance of friends and family co-participating in many of the recreation situations described. Seeking solitude as a recreation motive faded in contrast to the dominance of the social interaction motive in directing recreation behaviors of the informants. Also, examples showed the importance of the social setting over personal choices for physical settings. Such a finding fits the Schreyer et al (1984) reconceptualization of the motive-environment link. They suggested that people did not search for specific elements of the environment as much as they searched for settings which allowed them to behave in the way they desired and attain their desired cognitive state. As they had proposed and as inferred in this study, the social milieu in which the recreation activity takes place is one of the chief criteria in choice of environmental settings. This also fits Crandall's (1979) assertion that
social interaction may be as important in the enjoyment of leisure activities as the facilities or activities themselves. Hence, leisure programs which provide opportunities for social interaction would likely be more successful than those focused on activity or setting alone.

Increasing socioeconomic parity between the Malays and Chinese, and rural and urban residents, could be a third reason for the similarities in leisure perceptions depicted here. This would fit the observations of Floyd et al. (1993) in their investigation of recreation participation differences between Mexican-Americans and other users of public recreation areas. The implementation of the New Economic Policy (1971-1990) and the New Development Policy (1991-2000) by the government to restructure Malaysian society and bring about economic reforms beneficial to all segments of the population have recorded success in economic growth and in education. Although some of the rural Malays still lag behind in socioeconomic status when compared to the other three groups studied, present socioeconomic differences among all four groups are not as evident as in the past. In this study, financial constraints do not appear to be major constraints leading to differences in participation. Even where finances were an issue, people found ways to participate in affordable leisure activities.

Education parity is increasing too, and educational increases are likely to promote greater selective acculturation. In Gramann et al.'s (1993) study, the most structurally assimilated Mexican-Americans placed the highest importance on family-related recreation activities. Gramann et al. (1993) suggested that this particular group of Hispanics underwent selective acculturation despite pressures to conform to Anglo values. Thus, as depicted in social cognitive theory (instead of total assimilation), ethnic groups might choose to assimilate certain new values while maintaining other existing cultural patterns in their lifestyles. The findings in this study suggest that some selective acculturation might be evident among ethnic groups in Malaysia regarding their views of leisure and leisure behavior.

One of the patterns in the findings where an ethnicity influence is likely but could not be established directly is the differences in preferences for natural recreation settings between the
Malay and Chinese informants. Table 15 showed that more Malay than Chinese informants personally preferred the forest-river setting. The following emergent hypotheses are introduced as possible explanations for these pattern differences:

* Those who have had **positive (reinforcing)** recreational experiences within a forest setting - such as childhood experiences, experiences while as a youth - were **more likely** to prefer the forest environment for recreation later in life.

* The EUH variable **interacts** with constraints encountered and place of residence of the individual to bring about participation, less participation or non-participation; regardless of personal preferences.

* The more an individual associated a setting as a place of work, the **greater the likelihood** the individual would prefer a different setting for his/her recreational experiences.

The first hypothesis is based on the finding that informants who has had earlier exposure to forest recreation were more likely to prefer the forest as a recreation setting at the present. Rural Malay informants and those who are rural-urban migrants were the groups most likely to reflect this tendency in their preferences.

The second hypothesis is based on structural, intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints which limit or hinder the use of the forest as a recreation setting. There are three scenarios for this case.

First, if the individual has never had any positive recreational experiences (no EUH) within a forest setting, he/she also is more unlikely to be interested in forest-based recreation activities. The combination of limited or no knowledge and misconceived ideas about the forest heightens the disinterest in visiting the forest. This situation was represented by many of the urban Chinese informants who grew up in urban areas and has had little exposure to the forest.

Second, there were many informants who personally preferred forest-based recreation but their preferences were overridden by structural and interpersonal constraints. A good example was that many married male informants, who personally preferred the forest, relented to family
preferences and chose the beach for family recreation instead. Some other informants had an interest in participating in forest-based recreation activities but could not find friends who were equally interested. In addition, forest-based recreation activities (e.g. camping and hiking) usually required some travelling time and a period of stay. Therefore, even informants who actually participated in such activities found their participation limited by time and work constraints.

The final scenario gives a possible explanation for the tendency of the rural Malay informants to prefer the forest-river setting for their recreation. It was noted that this particular group of informants were faced with greater structural constraints (holding two jobs, lower budgets, no transportation, lack of opportunities) than the other three groups. This group also has had greater exposure (work as well as recreation) to the forest-river environment in their lifestyle (due to place of residence) than the other three. Therefore, with EUH of and easy access to the forest-river environment coupled by structural constraints, this group engaged more frequently in fishing, swimming/bathing and picnicking by the river for lack of better alternatives. However, seeking novelty during leisure still remained a primary motive for all of them.

The third hypothesis is related to the influence escape and novelty motives have on the recreation preferences of informants. Examples on associating the forest as a place of work as well as "over-familiarity" (residing near a forested environment) were given earlier. Informants in this situation tend to prefer the beach, the hills or other settings for their recreation which offered a change of environment and escape.

Ethnicity is very often related to an individual's occupation and where he/she lives, and together, these factors influence the kind of experiences had by an individual. Thus, ethnic background contributes to an individual's experience use history of an activity or site. In this study, however, the present recreation environment preferences of an informant can only be linked to the informant's past experiences. The relationship between ethnicity, experience use history and present preferences for natural recreation sites cannot be established and also appear muddled.
Ethnicity and its relationship to leisure clearly is a complex phenomenon. The four explanations of why the relationship is muddled in this study suggest that more investigation is warranted.

Allison (1993) has cautioned that using single indicators of "ethnicity" oversimplifies the very complex essence of culture. She stressed that within "ethnicity" are an array of other implicit variables which describe the group, such as family networks, social groups, values, attitudes, meanings, behaviors, history, social and political developments. Yet studies often assume generic ethnic labels to describe the culture of the group itself. In this study, the operationalization of the ethnic variable as a singular entity, Malay or Chinese, might have contributed to the muddled explanatory power of the variable. The results show the roles of other variables such as social groups, values, meanings, socio-economic and demographic factors in the construction of perceptions of leisure. Indeed, these factors offer good descriptions of both ethnic groups and the collective nature of their culture, resulting in many similarities (in the case of this study) in leisure perceptions. Though, as Carr and Williams (1993) suggested, there is tremendous potential for differences in style of participation within a given recreation activity (eg. social organization and on-site behavior) within and across ethnic groups. Therefore, future research might consider observation of social networks (eg. type of family or peer group) and the nature of behaviors of each of the two ethnic groups during recreation. The content of recreation activities is an area where there might be differences due to ethnic influences. According to Allison (1988), similarity in form or type of activity shared by several groups does not necessarily mean similarity in content, meaning and function. It is the content of the activities that shapes their cultural nature and relevance (Allison and Geiger, 1993). Although the Malay and Chinese informants in this study participated in similar types of activities and shared similar meanings (motives) for their engagements, each group appeared to adapt the content of recreation activities to suit their cultural needs. While content of activity was not always apparent in the informants' responses, several differences in functions appeared in the manner cultural festivals were celebrated and in the
undertaking of community activities. An obvious example of differences in content could be the
different ethnic foods consumed during a picnic by a Chinese and a Malay family. Another activity
where there are differences in content between the Malays and Chinese is fishing. Fishing by the
river or at a former mining pond reflects an ethnic difference attributed to diets and cooking styles
(based on casual conversations with the key informants). Malays tend to prefer the riverine fishes
which are smaller in size and are usually served deep-fried, while the Chinese prefer the larger and
meatier pond fish (because these can be steamed). Thus, although motives for fishing are similar,
the “content” of the activity may be different for the two groups.

Allison (1988) further posited that variability between ethnic groups may be as large as
variability within a group. This variability may be as much a function of age, gender, income and
education as a function of culture. Another related factor is social class. Stamps and Stamps (1985)
concluded from their study that race was more important than social class in predicting participation
differences between Blacks and Whites in at least ten leisure activities. On contrary, the overall
results on activity preferences from a newer study by Floyd et al (1994) indicated more similarity
than variance across race (Blacks and Whites) and social class (as defined by respondents). These
researchers concluded that there was a convergence of leisure preferences at the middle class,
but a divergence in preference patterns among poor-working class blacks and whites. Since their
overall results seemed to indicate neither marginality nor ethnicity alone shaped leisure
preferences, they suggested that the effects of race on leisure preferences may operate differently
at different levels of social class.

In this study which involved informants from the middle social class, the ethnicity variable
was defined by the researcher. The results here tend to be similar to those found by Floyd et al.
(1994), in that there were similarities rather than differences across racial groups when controlling
for social class. Both studies also indicated variations in leisure patterns within ethnic groups. In
Floyd et al.'s study, the variations were between the middle and poor-working classes, while in this
study variations were implied from age, life cycle and education differences. As socio-economic
distance between the two ethnic groups is reduced, there tends to be agreement with the suggestion that the significance of ethnicity as a salient determinant of leisure choices recedes for the middle class.

Although the findings here tend to suggest a marginality perspective for the Malaysian situation, in light of the discussion above, the ethnicity perspective should not be rejected outright. As Floyd et al. (1994) have suggested, these two hypotheses, while on one hand independent issues, should not be taken as two ends of a continuum. In fact, the two hypotheses appear to have interactive effects on leisure preferences. The issues of ethnicity, marginality, class, gender, age, education and social structure and their relationship with leisure and recreation in Malaysia require greater refinement in conceptualization and operationalization than has been attempted in this study. It would be wise to consider Allison's (1988) suggestion to incorporate "play and leisure as part of the culture-creation process rather than a result of it" in our studies of such issues. We also should bear in mind that at any time, most of the cultural matter associated with a human population is not constrained by an ethnic boundary; it can be varied, learned and changed.

**Possible Explanations for Urban-Rural Differences**

The second singular indicator considered in this study was the place of residence. There were several differences in the findings between rural and urban informants. These differences were indicated in the themes on availability of recreational opportunities, accessibility to facilities and sites, and community activities. However, while there are differences in recreation participation, similarities in behavior are more striking.

There is a probable explanation for the similarities in perceptions between the urban and rural samples. Ulu Kalung Pasir, although rural in character, is located very close to the city of Kuala Lumpur. There are many residents in Ulu Kalung Pasir who commute daily to work in Kuala Lumpur. Other residents often seek entertainment in the city and a large proportion of the residents
have at least one relative living in the city. Therefore, it is hard not to be exposed to and influenced by the lifestyles and social developments occurring in the city.

Findings in this study supported the premises of the urban-rural recreation theories, opportunity theory (Hauser, 1962), familiarity theory, pleasant childhood theory (Burch and Wenger, 1967), compensatory theory (Burch, 1969), and new experience theory (Knopp, 1972). No one of these theories offers comprehensive explanations for the patterns observed in the results. Indeed, Hendee (1969) had criticized these theories as being too general and ambiguous. He suggested the lack of or minimal differences found in urban-rural recreation presents a need for alternative theories to be more appropriately built around demographic factors such as age and socio-economic status, rather than residence alone.
IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Results

A general summary of the pertinent findings and interpretations is presented below.

1. The leisure perceptions of the informants are complex interactions of many extrinsic and intrinsic variables. These universal characteristics, as conceptualized in the conceptual framework, must be considered holistically for a complete portrayal of this multi-faceted phenomenon.

2. Ethnicity and place of residence must be placed in the context of several other variables when considering leisure definitions and behaviors. They appear to not be dominant factors since they are interwoven with many other factors which also affect leisure. This makes the situation rather muddled and no definitive statement can be made about the importance of these factors. In addition, an interaction effect between the two variables, ethnicity and place of residence, cannot be explicitly ascertained from the findings due to this muddled situation.

3. There were similarity in leisure motives and constraints across all four groups. All the informants engaged in popular leisure activities and shared common meanings about these engagements. Differences appeared in frequency of participation among the groups because participation rates were dependent on the degree of structural and interpersonal constraints encountered. These constraints also modified the types of activities in which informants participated.

4. Leisure motives and constraints are dynamic and are often moulded by past and present social and personal factors such as an individual's life stage, antecedent psychological conditions and experience use history. Despite changes in most motives and constraints, one leisure motive apparently remains constant and dominant throughout the life cycle of
the individual, that is, the desire for social interaction. This finding adds support to the view that leisure and recreation are social phenomena.

5. Differences in "personal preferences" for natural recreation sites between the Malays and Chinese can be attributed to experience use history. Although EUH may be dependent on an individual's ethnic background, the findings here could not establish this correlation. When motives and constraints are taken into consideration for "actual" choice of natural recreation site, differences between the Malays and Chinese are no longer as evident. A person's life stage appears to have a larger role in determining and shaping motives and constraints and hence, decisions on choice of natural recreation site and actual behaviors on-site.

6. The greater preference for and participation in extractive leisure activities (fishing and hunting) among the rural Malays, in comparison to the other three groups, can be explained by experience use history and living in proximity to natural resources. Furthermore, some rural Malay informants experience greater structural constraints such as lack of transportation and finances, which in turn lead to difficult access to leisure opportunities, than the other three groups. Once again, the relationship of ethnic influence on preferences for extractive leisure, place of residence and experience use history cannot be clearly established.

7. Community leisure activities and cultural festivals are venues in which each ethnic group's cultural identity was reinforced and maintained. Undoubtedly, the chief and common reason that both ethnic groups engaged in cultural leisure was for opportunities to socialize, interact and strengthen ties with family, friends and members of the community. Although both ethnic groups shared several motives for such engagements, the "content" of these cultural activities was different for both groups. These contextual differences can be attributed to differences in cultural backgrounds between Malays and Chinese.
The results support the presently held view that work and leisure are not bipolar opposites. Although both Malay and Chinese informants, from urban and rural areas, were clearly able to demarcate between work and leisure, there were incidences which showed the perception of an activity as leisure was contextually dependent (e.g., study/work trips; a daily routine, for example, cooking becomes leisure during the weekend when the social scene changes). In addition, the results tended to indicate it was the affective consequences of the activity which helped differentiate between work and leisure. Recreation activities were considered as hedonic pursuits because the outcomes of participation were enjoyment, pleasure, escape, satisfaction, arousal, and mastery. These experiences and moods are perceived to lead to benefits for the individual, his family/friends, and the community.

Definition of Leisure

Based on the findings of this study and the categories of variables identified in the conceptual framework of leisure perceptions, leisure as perceived by Malay and Chinese informants, from urban and rural areas, can be defined and summarized as follows:

On one hand, leisure is perceived as consisting of activities undertaken during a designated time period, separate from work, routine, and most social obligations. On another, the leisure experience evolves from a subjective state of mind and is context-dependent. Leisure is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and not mere dimensions of activity and time alone.

Several extrinsic and intrinsic antecedent conditions such as socio-demographic factors, socio-psychological states, and the availability of temporal opportunities lead an individual to think of leisure. In addition, an individual's perceptions of leisure are moulded by multiple motives and constraints. Leisure motives and constraints are dynamic; varying in extent and degree depending on the life stage of an individual. Motives and constraints determine leisure preferences and participation.

After considering motives and constraints, an individual chooses a leisure or recreation activity from a wide range of activities which are a part of popular leisure. Engagement in leisure and recreation activities occur in a variety of settings with either the family (nuclear and/or extended), friends, or alone. The presence of family, friends, or community in most leisure contexts portrays leisure
as a social phenomenon. Leisure presents important opportunities for social interaction, affiliation, bonding and maintaining cultural or group identity.

Leisure engagement almost always result in positive and satisfactory outcomes in the form of feelings and moods. In addition, personal, group and community benefits also are derived from leisure participation. These feelings, moods and benefits offer positive reinforcement and become a part of an individual's leisure experience base. Past experiences of leisure and recreation activities and settings in turn become antecedent psychological states which influence future leisure perceptions of an individual.

The above presents only a general definition of leisure which evolved from leisure experiences as lived by informants of this study. There shall always be individual variations and contrasts, of which some were portrayed in the "processes" (life stages) described in the themes. However, the salient point to note is that leisure is a complex, multi-faceted, subjective, social phenomenon weaved into the multiple realities of daily life and not a simple interaction of time and activity as commonly perceived.

Limitations of the Study

It is important to realize that there were several major limitations to this study. First, the relationships among variables were formulated from and limited to the actual data collected. Generalizability of these relationships is limited by the conditions under which the study was carried out, particularly the choice of study sites and the small, non-representative sample. This study only has exposed the surface of a very complex social phenomenon. It has brought to light the interactions of several variables operating in the perceptions of Malaysians as they define leisure in their daily lives. Many complexities of the phenomenon have yet to be unveiled and understood. There is a need for quantitative and larger-scale research to explore and support the etic-defined conceptual framework and the resulting relationships put forth in this study. Larger representative samples, involving more areas of study also are required to learn whether or not the relationships
made here reflect those experienced by the larger population. Hence, several hypotheses have been developed to provide insight for future research.

Implications for Future Research

Several variables in the study provided insights into the perceptions of leisure among the Malaysian population. First, family life cycle and its relation to leisure perceptions was boldly represented in the findings. This study demonstrated that as an individual goes through the different stages of the life cycle, motives and constraints for recreation participation change accordingly to meet the person's needs at each stage.

Comprehensive literature reviews on various aspects of the relationship between family and leisure have been carried out by researchers such as Orthner and Mancini (1980) and Holman and Epperson (1984). In a more specific study, Witt and Goodale (1981) investigated the relationship between barriers to leisure enjoyment and family stages. Their study reinforced the potential value of family stage as an explanatory and predictor variable. Results from their study explained the changes in particular barriers over different family stages. In conclusion they recommended the use of family stages to assess the relative importance of certain barriers. However, despite its potential as an explanatory variable, Witt and Goodale cautioned that it could only explain a relatively small percentage of variance. Holman and Epperson (1984) made the same point in their review and argued against using family life cycle as an empirical variable. Instead, they suggested investigating the impact of family transitions on leisure by using specific transitional variables such as the presence of children. In Witt and Goodale's study, they suggested paying greater attention to other variables like motivation, attitudes and values (capacity to choose) as critical barriers besides the commonly cited time, money, and opportunity constraints. Aging, a related process in the family life cycle, was conceptualized by McPherson (1991) as not just a biological process but one affected by changing social, cultural and economic environments. He suggested that in the study of aging and leisure behavior, a combination of socio-demographic factors such as gender, race,
ethnic membership, education, income, marital status and type/place of residence, plus a variety of socio-psychological factors should be included because these factors can influence past, present or future leisure values, preferences and opportunities.

While Holman and Epperson advised against using the family life cycle variable in predicting or understanding leisure behavior, they identified several other variables that could have potential in family leisure research, namely, employment status of spouses/parents, family's socio-economic status, leisure behaviors of an individual's parental family (or family of orientation), current family type, family size, location of relatives, family leisure activity patterns and the congruence between preferred and achieved activity. This list of variables would likely be very useful for research into leisure as experienced in a Malaysian family context.

The Malaysian family today is undergoing many changes and more and more families have both spouses working. A lot of families are achieving better socio-economic status and standard of living. There also are changes in values between different generations. Two other features of the average Malaysian family and leisure behavior (and indicated by this study) are the extended family is often a part of the experience and many families visit relatives while on vacation. The importance of family as part of Malaysian life as well as in leisure cannot be denied, as illustrated in some of the reports from the informants. Although the results of this study were displayed in terms of the different family life stages, it should be realized that family life is not a separate, unidimensional and static process, rather it is dynamic. Therefore, it is proposed that future research consider deeper clarification of the salient variables in the relationship between family and leisure as seen in the perceptions of leisure among Malaysian families.

According to Orthner and Mancini (1980), the family of the future is likely to depend more on shared leisure experiences to hold it together. They hypothesized that shared leisure experiences facilitate personal growth, flexibility, and relational commitments within the family. These experiences are seen as opportunities to creatively communicate those preferences and interests which must be reconciled in order for group commitments to continue. In 1990, Orthner
and Mancini reviewed the literature to assess the potential value of leisure experiences in family bonding. They concluded that there were relatively consistent findings indicating leisure experiences to be associated with such positive outcomes as family satisfaction, family interaction and family stability.

Family benefits, as a result of leisure engagements, also were perceived by the informants. They agreed that sharing leisure time together with other family members deepened relationships and offered opportunities for escape from stress and cares in the external environment. Malaysian families are no exceptions, as they are equally susceptible to the pressures of modern life which are often thought to weaken family bonds. The Malaysian family and its leisure behaviors offer a fertile ground for further studies on benefits of family leisure.

The second variable of interest is experience use history (EUH). Coupled with past or present place of residence, this variable is useful in explaining differences in present leisure preferences among the informants. Earlier studies by Burch and Wenger (1967), Yoesting and Burkhead (1973), and Spreitzer and Snyder (1983), although not operationalizing the EUH variable, referred to past activity participation during childhood or youth as an important predictor of adult level activities. Yoesting and Burkhead (1973) concluded that childhood outdoor recreation activities were an effective predictor of adult recreation activities, but that childhood residence did not matter in predicting adult activity level or the composition of adult activities which included childhood activities. Likewise, Spreitzer and Synder (1983) showed racquetball players, who were more involved in organized sports during their youth, to be currently more active in the world of sports, in terms of reading and use of sports topics during informal conversations.

Similar findings were evident in this study. The present leisure preferences of rural-urban migrants reflected those activities (eg. fishing) begun during childhood when they lived in rural areas. Malaysians who started certain recreation activities during childhood were more likely to continue those activities into adulthood.
Specifically, the EUH variable has been used by several studies (Schreyer et al., 1984; Hammitt et al., 1989; Williams et al., 1990, etc.) to explain diversity of users of one recreation area. Schreyer et al. (1984) proposed the EUH variable as useful in explaining differences in recreation participation because it represents the frame of reference through which people evaluate participation. In addition, varying amounts and patterns of participation suggest differing motives for participation in the same activity. In their study (Schreyer et al., 1984), river floaters with varying EUH differed significantly in their behaviors, the relative importance of various motives for participation, their evaluation of the environment and satisfaction with the trip, perceptions of conflict, and attitudes toward the managerial setting. They concluded that EUH as an indicator of internal cognitive processes held much potential in explaining the meaning and practice of recreation behavior.

In a more recent study by Williams et al. (1990), the extent to which EUH affected the factor structure of motives to participate in leisure activities was determined. They found considerable similarity and overlap among factor structures, in particular, those involving novices and visitors on river floating trips. On the other hand, veterans structured motivation differently than the other groups. Their results indicated that the motivational structure by which participants assessed the meaning of participation changed with increasing amounts of participation.

The few studies discussed above helped clarify the patterns of preferences for either the forest or beach as a recreational setting. Based on the EUH variable, it is posited that the lack of EUH among certain informants in the use of the forest environment for recreation leads to the development of misperceived ideas, lack of knowledge on kinds of forest-based recreation activities, and fear for personal safety. This study suggests there should be continued investigation into the EUH variable because of its usefulness in indicating perceptions, motives, feelings and preferences of recreation users.

A third variable, the perceived benefits of leisure as revealed in the experiences of the informants, offers an exciting research possibility. According to Driver et al. (1991), our
understanding of the nature, scope and magnitude of benefits of leisure has been largely intuitive and decisions have been made based on informed judgment. A dilemma in policy-making and management has arisen due to a lack of objective information on benefits. Thus, the introduction of the benefits-based approach (BBA) to supplement the experience-based approach in recreation management. In their review of scientifically documented evidence about the benefits of leisure, Driver et al. (1991) reported that the body of knowledge in this field had grown rapidly since 1985.

Personal and socio-cultural benefits were revealed by informants in the research reported here. In Driver et al.'s summary of 90 types of benefits, socio-cultural benefits were identified to be the least well-specified and scientifically documented. What has been found in this study about the socio-cultural benefits from participation in community activities and in the celebration of cultural festivals offers exciting evidence for this lesser investigated category of benefits.

This study reveals the salience of community activities and the social roles demanded of residents in these activities. Additional research into the role of these community activities and satisfaction in the lives of rural residents might provide insights to the issues concerning community leisure benefits.

Other potential research areas include development of appropriate motive scales, testing the relevance of existing motive scales within a Malaysian context (since some of the experiences described by the informants match the motive items in Driver's Recreation Experience Preference (REP) scales), and the segmentation of heterogeneous recreation users according to motives and constraints. Based on the reported experiences of informants, this study only generated a small range of etic-defined and generic categories of recreation motives and constraints. There may be a need to refine and develop items belonging to each category of motives and constraints as faced by sub-groups of users/non-users through more specific research.

Some research on recreation constraints has shown that more constraints do not necessarily mean reduced participation (Shaw et al., 1991; Kay and Jackson, 1991). The findings here suggest that informants altered their mode or type of participation when faced with constraints.
This is consistent with findings of Kay and Jackson (1991). Alteration in types of recreation activities participated in and choice of recreation sites by informants to stay within their time and financial budgets seemed to reflect efforts to maintain desired levels of participation. This is another area for future study. The findings from previous recreation studies of recreation constraints such as the association between social structural variables (age, gender, lifestyle, occupation and income) and participation level (Shaw et al.), the affect of attitude and preference on participation (Wright and Goodale, 1991), and the proposition that there is a link between certain types of constraints and certain types of activities (Kay and Jackson, 1991), need to be considered within the Malaysian context. The existence of constraints on leisure among the informants indicated a need to unravel more details and variations through specific studies.

The experiences shared by the informants in this study have raised more questions than answers regarding the meaning of leisure and opened many avenues for future leisure research. There likewise are implications for policy and planning inherent in this study.

**Implications for Policy and Planning**

The findings of this study suggest that leisure and recreation are more than mere dimensions of time, activity and setting. Therefore, planners and managers need to consider broad definitions of these two concepts to ensure effective and efficient planning and management. Researchers, planners and policy-makers might consider the motives, constraints, affective responses and benefits associated with leisure preferences and recreation behaviors of the public. Based on the findings, it is suggested that socio-psychological variables be included in future planning exercises in addition to the socio-demographic, economic and physical variables often used to define and determine leisure preferences at present.

Recreation motives are very useful in the market segmentation of users of recreational facilities and services. Market segmentation recognizes that different visitor groups have different needs. As Backman (1994) has noted, acknowledging these variations in preferences and needs
will justify and guide development of different service or marketing mixes to ensure visitor satisfaction. This study provides insight into the motives which drive recreation behaviors of the informants. Motives such as escape from stress, seeking novelty or change of environment, and seeking learning were among the primary reasons informants gave for participating in recreation activities. Seeking novelty was a commonly quoted reason for travelling and sight-seeing within or outside the country. This is consistent with Mergen’s (1986) discussion of the close link between creativity, discovery and play in travel. He described all travelers as seekers of new experiences, whether in the actual discovery of new places or in the creation of new thoughts and feelings about them. For many, the experience of travelling leaves behind pleasant memories to recall and record. It is these pleasant memories of travel that were sought and experienced by the informants in this Malaysian study. Besides the novelty of a place, the travelers in this study were always seeking opportunities for sociable or informal learning, whether visiting an urban, rural, natural or foreign setting. In addition, parents used leisure engagements as opportunities to educate their children.

In order to aggressively promote domestic tourism and curb a large outflow of foreign exchange (as reported by the Sixth Malaysian Plan), policy-makers and planners need to recognize the kinds of recreation motives operating in the perceptions of Malaysians. Domestic tourism planning is not merely a matter of developing more popular tourists attractions, physical facilities and infrastructure, it also must focus on experiences and benefits desired by Malaysians. Recreation and tourism sites must provide opportunities for users to interact with family and friends, learn and perceive new stimuli within a novel and attractive environment. Recognizing these and other motives of different sub-groups of users in the planning of recreation areas and sites will help differentiate these places from other places and possibly, lead to greater domestic tourism. It is not as simple as managing for user-desired experience opportunities, however, as planners and administrators need to communicate to users the existence of such opportunities as well.

In addition to considering motives in leisure and recreation planning, understanding the benefits of leisure is important for market segmentation and policy decisions. Even though many
leisure benefits have yet to be documented through science, one can identify several reasons moving toward a benefit-based approach (BBA) to leisure policy analysis and service delivery. According to Driver et al. (1991), a BBA can be applied in the clarification of public recreation demands and needs, improve resource allocation decisions, promote optimal management, and facilitating marketing of services. Furthermore, benefits accrue to all units of society, the individual, community and nation.

Based on the findings in this study, there are three general areas where it would be beneficial to formulate management objectives and allocate resources for providing explicitly defined benefit opportunities. The first is the work environment. Informants mentioned the stimulating and relaxing experiences they had when on study/field trips or attending conferences which provided them the opportunity for a change of environment and routine. If such experiences are truly refreshing and rejuvenating, they might be used to decrease absenteeism and turnover, increase productivity and competitiveness, establish a better work atmosphere and work morale, increase job satisfaction, and decrease health care costs and sick leave.

Second, this study identified potential benefits from participation in community activities and cultural festivals. These are socio-cultural benefits, affecting the individual, the family, the community and the nation. Cultural festivals (and in this study, rural community activities as well) are situations where ethnicity and valued cultural characteristics (eg. food, music, religion, customs) are supported and reinforced (Allison, 1988). Policy acknowledgement of such benefits may lead to improved community cohesion and the maintenance of the country's unique ethnic/cultural identities. In addition, resource allocation for the encouragement and enhancement of community/cultural activities could be a worthwhile investment, particularly when the perceived benefits are supported by scientific backing.

Third, adopting the BBA could contribute to and aid the government in achieving some of the national goals of integration and harmony and the building of a healthier nation. Since ethnic boundaries are emergent, many institutions such as sport, recreation and education are frequently
assumed to be areas where boundaries may be crossed and made permeable for interethnic exchange and fostering of interethnic understanding (Allison, 1988). In Malaysia today, the crossing of boundaries and the achievement of interethnic cooperation are found in the sport and education arenas. Likewise, such benefits are likely to be achieved through recreation as well; in particular organized recreation activities at school, work and/or community/neighborhood levels where the coming together of various ethnic groups for recreation might break down ethnic stereotyping and improve relationships.

One final issue for planning consideration is the types of structural constraints described by informants, specifically those which pertain to the use of natural recreation sites. Lack of knowledge about recreation sites, lack of interesting programs, poor accessibility, and safety hazards are types of constraints easily resolved through effective management strategies. If the results of this study are adequate indications, to make forest recreation sites and forest-based recreation activities more popular with a larger portion of the general public, several planning and management strategies should be taken to alleviate these constraints. Some suggestions for promoting the forest as an attractive and interesting recreation place are the following:

(i) Education and promotion programs (e.g. television commercials or print advertisements) that portray the forest as an interesting place for nature-based recreation.

(ii) Interactive interpretive programs on-site which build on motives focused on seeking novelty and learning.

(iii) Education and proper physical design to help project the forest as a safe environment for recreation and dispel some perceived fears and risks.

(iv) Design of some facilities to enable large group gatherings.

(v) Establishment of nature camps for youths, grooming the young to enjoy forest recreation.

(vi) Improve site accessibility for all to remove physical barriers to participation.
Concluding Remarks

It was the original intent of this study to determine how Malaysians defined leisure and recreation as part of their lived experiences and whether their perceptions of leisure differed due to differences in ethnic backgrounds and/or place of residence. The findings demonstrate that the participants' definitions of leisure and recreation are influenced by an array of variables and that both ethnicity and place of residence are interwoven with many of these variables. This study is a preliminary, but proactive step toward defining the social construction of leisure as part of the multiple realities of Malaysian life. The qualitative methods used in this study were successful in eliciting rich and diverse experiences and their embedded meanings from participants in the study. The experiences and themes presented here reconstruct a slice of life from a small sample of Malaysians. There likely are more facets and issues regarding the nature of leisure and recreation in Malaysia than were studied here. Therefore, it is hoped that the variables and working hypotheses derived from the informants' leisure experiences will provide not only insights but also an impetus for future, detailed and large-scale leisure and recreation studies within the Malaysian context.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES
**APPENDIX A: SAMPLING FRAME**

### 4 x 4 Matrix: Urban/Rural vs Malay/Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants/Businessmen</td>
<td>Merchants/Businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eg. JKKK members</td>
<td>- middle income, of comparable status with rural cohort group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age adults</td>
<td>Middle age adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adults</td>
<td>Young adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lesser education</td>
<td>- educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lower/middle income</td>
<td>- middle/upper middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHINESE</strong></td>
<td>* urban born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>* rural-urban migrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officers</td>
<td>Government officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector officers</td>
<td>Private sector officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village council members</td>
<td>Older generation,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lower/middle income</td>
<td>- middle income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officers</td>
<td>Government officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>Housewives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MALAYS</strong></td>
<td>* urban born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adults</td>
<td>* rural-urban migrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- less education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lower/middle income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector officers</td>
<td>Private sector officers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Perceptions of Leisure and Recreation among Malaysians

A. Personal Activities

On Leisure.

Objective: To draw from the informants their definition of "leisure" and the kind of activities they associate with "leisure." (to look for a folk-term for "leisure")

On a typical day, when you have completed your work and/or other things you need to have done; what do you do with the time during which you can do as you please? Are there any particular activities which you engage in during this time? What are they?

[Instructions: Ask informant to structure his/her day. List 10 - 15 activities separately on 3" x 5" index cards. Then, sort these activities according to his/her own "categories" (any of these fall under leisure, obligatory, non-obligatory etc.). If he/she had a choice to do what he/she pleases, which of these would he/she like to do most? When informant is done, ask him/her if there are anymore additions to the list?]

[Probe if there is a folk term for "this time" of his/her day. Replace "leisure" term in parenthesis with this folk term if it exists. Remember to ask for use of term instead of meaning.]

How many hours per day, per week do you have this kind of "leisure" time? What did you do during your "leisure" time yesterday or last weekend? How long did you spend on that activity (those activities)? With whom did you do this activity? (Did you engage in this activity alone?) Do you normally spend your "leisure" time with them? If not, who else do you normally spend your "leisure" time with? Where did you carry out this activity? Do you always go there for your "leisure" activity?

Do you consider some of your "leisure" activities as "non-obligatory" while others as "obligatory"? (Using some of the examples given, is there such a distinction made by the informants?) (If yes...) What are these obligatory "leisure" activities? What are the activities which you consider as non-obligatory? Why do you consider these activities as obligatory (or non-obligatory)?
In the recent week or month, which of these "obligatory" activities have you performed? (or how often informants engage in "obligatory" leisure activities?)
What are the repercussions if you did not perform these "obligatory" "leisure" activities?

(For the questions directly above: To determine if informants consider some of their "leisure" activities as religious duties [or the reverse] or "socially acceptable ways of behaving.")

On Recreation.

**Objectives:** To elicit a folk definition of "recreation" from the informants.
To find out if there is a distinction between the terms "leisure" and "recreation" among the informants.

(Taking an example of a passive leisure activity and an example of an active indoor or outdoor recreation activity ...) --- can you make a distinction between these two types of activities? What "specific" term (folk-term) would you use to categorize each of them?

[If a folk term for "recreation" exists, replace all "recreation" with this folk term.]

(If no distinction is made between "leisure" and "recreation" terms, proceed to next section. If such a distinction is made between the two ..., then follow up with following questions:)

Can you think of any other "recreation" activities you have not mentioned to me during our earlier discussion?

Could you tell me the kind(s) of "recreation" activities you had participated in recently, like yesterday, last weekend or in the last month?
How often do you participate in such activities (name activities)?
When do you pursue them? Usually, for how long (hours/days)?
Who else participates in these activities with you?

On Natural Areas.

**Objective:** To determine what kinds of recreation activities (if any) are actually carried out in natural areas.

Are any of your "recreation" activities undertaken in such areas as in or near a forest; on a beach, by the river/stream/ lake/waterfalls, public park or other open spaces?
(If yes,..) what are these activities?
How do you categorize such places? (Again, looking if specific folk terms exist.)

When was the last time you went to such a "natural area"?
Did you go there alone? Who did you go there with?
Could you describe your activities while you were there?

How often do you go to these areas for your "recreation"?
How do you feel while you are there?
How does your "recreation" in these "natural areas" compare to those which you engage in "human-built" surroundings?

B. Cultural Questions

Objective: To determine the differences/similarities in leisure and recreation based upon culturally defined characteristics of urban/rural residence and/or ethnicity.

Could you describe to me the kinds of "leisure" and/or "recreation" activities your family/peers usually engage in during their "leisure time"?
When are these activities usually pursued? How often? Where?

Could you describe to me the kinds of "leisure" and/or "recreation" activities participated in by people who are of the same (ethnic, educational, occupational and income level) background as you?
Are these activities which you and your family/peers engage in typical activities for people from your (ethnic: education: occupational) background?
Do these activities involve people of dissimilar backgrounds as well?

When was the last time you went to a cultural festival/event/celebration? What was this event about?
Why did you go? Who did you go with?
Do you know the cultural meanings behind the event? Beliefs and motives associated with the event? What purposes do they serve?
To what extent is such an event important (...to yourself/family; community; society;)? In what ways is such an event important (or unimportant)? Why do you think so?

C. Values and Ethics on Natural Resources

Give me an example of a natural area, could you tell me what it means to you? How would you "value" it?
Name three (3) different natural areas/places that you have visited or would like to visit. Why would you go there (or want to)?
Do these places have any special meanings for you? (... such as religious, personal, other cultural meanings etc.)

What does this natural area mean to you (if not the same as example given by respondent)? Would you want to go there for some of your "recreation" activities? Why? Who would you go with?
Do you think this resource serve to enhance some of your recreation experiences?

In particular, do you hold any religious values toward it?
In general, do you know what religious values are held towards it by people of the same religious affiliation as you?
In general, do you know what societal values are held towards the area by people of your ethnic background?

Do you know of any myths/folktales associated with this area?
Could you briefly tell me those that come to your mind now?

How do your values and beliefs (religious/mythical) influence your utilization of this area for your recreation benefits?

D. Personal Motives and Experiences

NOTE: The following set of questions under part (D) will not be asked directly of informants. Information on these are naturally revealed in sections (A, B and C) as a part of "process" in grounded theory and should become evident during analysis. Their usefulness will come in during axial coding and relational and variational sampling.

(i) For use, specifically, in constant comparison to seek for differences between rural/urban and/or ethnic attributes of informants while engaged in recreation. Determining properties, dimensions, context, actions and consequences of the phenomenon.

(ii) To guide in establishing recurrent patterns in data as well as variations.

(iii) Finally, to determine if there are missing details in data collected and if there are any other details required for analysis.

Objectives:
To determine the motivating factors involved in informants' choices of recreation/leisure activities.
To determine the constraints that restrict participation in certain activities.
To determine the kinds of experiences felt while engaged in recreation.
Using one activity which you frequently participate in (could you tell me what this activity is ?) or refer to an activity you mentioned to me earlier, could you describe to me the decision process or steps you went through in selecting that activity ? Such as what are the factors which made/ or with whom did you decide upon participating in that activity ?

(Exploring group - family/peers; economic; religious; accessibility/availability factors as influences. Looking for motivating factors and constraints)

Try recalling one of these events, could you describe to me what happened ? [Or could you describe to me what happens during a typical (name of activity/game) with your (family/peers) ?]. Do you think you can recall the behaviours of everyone involved in the activity ? How did you feel ? Did you have a sense how everyone else felt?

Now, could you tell me the kinds of personal experiences you have attained by engaging in these activities ? What other personal experiences you hope to attain by further engaging in such activities ? What do achieving these experiences mean to you personally ?

How do these experiences relate to your daily life/routines ? Do you find them beneficial ? How are they beneficial ?

By having those experiences, do you think it also benefits those people around you (like family ? peers ? colleagues ? )? Would your personal experiences have meaning for society/community at large ?

Besides these activities which you are now taking part in, are there any other activities which you would have liked to participate in but could not ? Why ? What are the constraints? Would these activities have given you the kind of experiences (satisfactions) you would like to attain (which you feel you are missing out now because of your non-participation) ? Why ? What are the constraints ?
**APPENDIX C: INFORMANT INFORMATION SHEET**

**Project Title:** Defining Leisure and Recreation in Malaysia.

**Research Sponsors:** Oregon State University and Forest Research Institute, Malaysia (FRIM).

We would appreciate your providing us with a little information about yourself to facilitate the coding and analysis of our interview with you. All information given below will remain confidential. Your participation in this research project is greatly appreciated.

Informant Code Number (official use only): ____________
Language/ Dialect used for interview: ____________

Please check or fill in all relevant information.

1. **Ethnic Group:**
   - MALAY _____
   - CHINESE _____

2. **Gender:**
   - MALE _____
   - FEMALE _____

3. **Age Group (Years):**
   - 15 - 19 _____
   - 20 - 24 _____
   - 25 - 29 _____
   - 30 - 34 _____
   - 35 - 39 _____
   - 40 - 44 _____
   - Above 70 _____

4. **Marital Status:**
   - Single _____
   - Married _____
   - Divorced _____
   - Widowed _____

5. **Present Place of Residence:**
   - URBAN _____
   - RURAL _____

   Number of years at urban residence: _______

   (If place of origin is other than Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, or Shah Alam, please state original hometown in Malaysia): _______________________

6. **Religious Affiliation:**
   - ISLAM _____
   - BUDDHISM _____
   - CHRISTIANITY _____
   - OTHER (Please specify) _____
   - NOT APPLICABLE _____

7. **Education Level:**
   - No formal education _____
   - Primary _____
   - Secondary _____
   - Vocational/Technical _____
   - College/University _____

8. **Occupation:** ______________________


9. Are you a member of any recreation/leisure/nature/social group(s)?
   Yes ___ (please list below)
   No ___
   Name of group(s): 
   
   
   
10. DATE: _____  TIME: _____
    PLACE: _____

"THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION"

NOTES:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANT</th>
<th>PREFERENCE</th>
<th>MOTIVES/FEELINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. AM</td>
<td>&quot;Oh, I prefer the forest...if at the river, we feel refreshed and cool bathing in the river...I prefer the recreation forest. It's more enjoyable and comfortable to relax there.&quot;</td>
<td>Escape: &quot;...in the park...it's more fun...we can relax our minds, to read...we find it more peaceful.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>Appreciate Nature:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Malay</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adventure: &quot;I'm the type who would enjoy camping; ...enjoy observing the scenery. If I have time I like to bring my family out to such places on a picnic.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34 Yrs. Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Saiyed</td>
<td>Prefer forest environment.</td>
<td>Adventure: &quot;...quite a number of times that we had to sleep in a thunderstorm where water seeping into our tent...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>&quot;...Used to go back to the kampung for fishing...that's the kind of things I like to do...&quot;</td>
<td>Teaching: &quot;...bring my children to new environments and let them learn what it is all about...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Malay</td>
<td>Has brought his children camping in &quot;the remotest part of Cameron Highlands and Kenyir Dam area.&quot;</td>
<td>Escape: &quot;...I feel free; nothing disturbs me. There is no stress. You don't have to worry. ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39 Yrs. Married</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social: &quot;...that's the only time for me to be with them.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr YC</td>
<td>&quot;I love the beach. Even my children, they enjoy the beach very much. ...&quot;</td>
<td>Novelty: &quot;...We need a change sometime, to see something different further away...the beach, it is a novel environment. Because our lifestyle here is very routine...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>Appreciate Nature: &quot;...saw many strange creatures in the mud ...a lot of crabs...really attracted to these new sights around me.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social: &quot;...Besides, when we see our children playing happily on the beach, we feel happy ourselves...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39 Yrs. Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMANT</td>
<td>PREFERENCE</td>
<td>MOTIVES/FEELINGS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Tay</td>
<td>&quot;Personal preference ...I prefer the sea ...I'd go places like Langkawi or Pulau Perhentian or those holiday resorts...twice or three times a year ...go with friends.&quot;</td>
<td>Appreciate Nature:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Urban Chinese 30 - 34 Yrs. Single University</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social: &quot;...by the beach, there'll be a lot of activities...have a barbecue ...stroll by the beach...listen to the waves...go down to the pub...sit down and drink there.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Novelty: Adventure: &quot;...going to the sea and snorkelling...an entire different thing...don't do it everyday...it's kind of fun...quite adventurous...have more impact...in terms of memories.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Escape: &quot;I just relax by the beach...have a peace of mind.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr AM</td>
<td>Family: &quot;Camping...we have to sleep outdoors and with a child...it's difficult. And with my wife too. No way!&quot;</td>
<td>EUH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Rural Malay 30 - 34 Yrs. Married Secondary Education</td>
<td>Time: &quot;Being in business...the time for going on holiday is very limited...&quot;</td>
<td>Been camping during schooldays...but no opportunity since he had a family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Often went into the forest to collect &quot;petal&quot; (an edible legume) for sale in the wholesale market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Saiyed</td>
<td>Time: &quot;But now, I don't have time...because of the demands of my job. ...&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;...there's no new experiences. Those things are part of me because I came from that kind of places...my children, they're born ...in the urban areas...I want them to keep themselves with nature. ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Urban Malay 35 - 39 Yrs. Married University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr YC</td>
<td>Work/Time: He has been very busy with his business; as a result the family has not many opportunities to visit the beach. The family often choose to visit places nearby and easily accessible.</td>
<td>&quot;I feel the forest is not something unusual ...I don't have any special feelings towards it. ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Rural Chinese 35 - 39 Yrs. Married Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>Been hunting with his friends but did not find it to be an enjoyable experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMANT</td>
<td>CONSTRAINTS</td>
<td>EUH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Tay</td>
<td>Unfamiliarity/ Safety: &quot;...in the forest, in the evening...it's a bit of dark to really walk out...might slip on the wet leaves... leeches crawling up...the wildlife comes alive...and where can you walk to ?...&quot;</td>
<td>No recreation experience in forest environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Grew up in Malacca and by the sea...&quot;Because I live in Malacca...is near the sea...so I do have a chance...sometimes to go up to the beach...&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34 Yrs. Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Reading across the rows gives a thumbnail sketch of each informant while reading down the columns provides comparisons between the different preferences and experiences of different informants as well as between ethnic groups.
First of all, I would like to know what are the **antecedent conditions** which lead you to think about participating in a leisure or recreation activity. Although the number of antecedent conditions may be numerous and may vary from person to person; for this study, I have grouped these conditions into two main categories based on data I collected earlier. They are your **psychological states** and the **opportunities you have for a break** (i.e., the time frame for you to take a break from work or routine). I will show you a card from each of these two groups. In addition to the experience described on the card, psychological states also include: **skills/knowledge** you may or may not have for participating in a recreation activity, **interest** and **religiosity**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychological states</th>
<th>Opportunity for a break</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weekday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weekend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vacation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. During our discussion, you have told me some leisure/recreation activities which you participate in during your leisure time.

a) Are there any other types of leisure activities which you engage in?

b) Where (i.e. the environmental setting) do you undertake these activities? and

c) Who are your companions when participating in these activities?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of activities</th>
<th>Settings</th>
<th>Companions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>URB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPSYM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSSFRE-PLY</td>
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<td>EXTSYM</td>
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3. Let's move on to discuss the reasons you participate in a chosen leisure/recreation activity. I'm passing to you a stack of cards containing quotes from people I spoke to earlier. Please read through them. Then, please tell me (and select the relevant cards) if any of the meanings highlighted on the cards are similar to those experiences which you may have had while participating in recreation activities. (Fill in keywords mentioned by respondent under the relevant keyword cells corresponding to the motive discussed.)

**LEISURE MOTIVES:**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIVES</th>
<th>KEYWORDS</th>
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<tr>
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<td>RELATIONS</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
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</table>
4. In addition to the leisure/recreation activities you have just described and the reasons you participate in them, my earlier informants had also told me that a cultural festival can be considered as part of their leisure experience. Besides getting a public holiday during the cultural festival (in question), what other reasons lead you to think of this occasion as part of your leisure experience? In other words, is your experience similar to those mentioned on the cards? Or do you consider the occasion as a social obligation? (Check the relevant responses)

* Cultural Festival:

* Part of Leisure Experience: ........................................
  * Relational Motives: ...........................................
  * Enjoy the Public Holiday: .................................
  * Consider as a social obligation: .........................
  * Consider as a religious obligation: ....................... 

5. Now, I would like you to tell me about the kinds of constraints you face when you participate in a leisure/recreation activity. Also include constraints which prevent or limit your participation in an activity. (Check the relevant constraints)

**STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS**

* Financial ______

* Time/Work ______

* Accessibility ______

* Unfamiliarity ______

* Safety ______

* No opportunity ______
  (physical setting/facilities)

* Crowding ______
  * Displacement ______
  * Product Shift ______

**INTERPERSONAL CONSTRAINTS**

* No friends ______

* No Family members ______

* Conflict ______
6. Probably your present choices of leisure and recreation activities were also influenced by certain changes over time in your life. A few of them are expressed in the cards. Are there any other changes you have gone through which affected your choice or participation in a leisure/recreation activity over time? (Check the relevant processes.)

* Changes in marital status: ______________________
  (Single to married)

* Changes in family life cycle: ______________________

* Advancing age: ______________________

* Changes in companionship: ______________________

* Changes in financial positions: ______________________

* Changes in responsibilities: ______________________
  (e.g. job)

* Changes in values: ______________________
  (over generation)

* Other PROCESSES over time:

    ______________________________________

7. Let us focus our discussion on recreation activities in natural settings.

a) What is your preference; the beach environment or the forest?

b) What are the features in this environment which make you prefer this environment more?

c) I would like to know if your previous experiences (experience use history) or non-experiences have any influence on your preference or non-preference for this environment?

* Positive reinforcement from EUH: ______________

* Negative reinforcement from EUH: ______________

* No experience: ______________
  (of both environments)
8. Finally, I would like to know how you feel during and after having engaged in the leisure/recreation activity of your choice. Is the outcome of your experience similar to any of the quotes on the index cards?