LEISURE POLICY IN NEW ZEALAND AND MALAYSIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SPORT AND PHYSICAL RECREATION

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By

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This comparative study assessed the usefulness of the convergence thesis as a tool for understanding developments in leisure, recreation and sport in New Zealand and Malaysia. The study examined the interrelationship between ‘global’ and ‘local’ or ‘contingent’ factors and their impact upon leisure behaviour, leisure policy and leisure structures. ‘Local’ factors included institutional arrangements (notably political ones) and national cultural practices. A social history of New Zealand and Malaysia with particular reference to leisure, sport and recreation and national cultural practices was provided as a context for discussion of these issues.

The study utilised a mixture of archival and library research and semi-structured interview, and was guided by an explicit comparative framework, concentrating on the development of leisure, sport and recreation in the two countries between 1970 and 2002. Interviews with ‘key players’ in both countries captured valuable data in the form of ‘insiders’ views’ on leisure behaviour, policy and structure. These data were analysed with the relevance of the convergence thesis in mind.

This study shows that contemporary leisure behaviour in New Zealand and Malaysia is shaped by the media and is highly commercialised, placing a high value on entertainment, and involves increasingly passive forms of participation. Informal sport and individualised recreational activities are replacing organised team-based sports in popularity. Leisure behaviour trends have led governments in both countries to encourage greater participation in sport and physical activity and to encourage private sector
ventures into leisure-related products, services and infra-structures in the form of private-public partnerships.

In terms of leisure policy, developments in leisure, recreation and, noticeably, sport, in Malaysia and New Zealand have been shaped by the wider agendas of the governing political parties. This is particularly noticeable at central government level. Individual political leaders in both countries have been influential in setting leisure-related policy. They had the vision to see that sport in particular might serve wider, national interests and that investments in sport could help raise the profiles of their countries in international markets and among trading organisations and the regulatory bodies that oversee trading practices.

Malaysian and New Zealand governments seek to make leisure, sport and recreation policy supportive of other priorities. In Malaysia, the government legitimises its control over the policies which affect people’s lives by appeals to Islamic principles and the need to put collective needs of nation building ahead of individual concerns for freedom. In terms of institutional, political, arrangements, this impacts at both central and local government levels in Malaysia. New Zealand, following a pluralist, Westminster, tradition of political representation, experiences regular changes in political management at central government level and a system of local government whereby local autonomy is jealously protected. Malaysia has resisted ‘the global’, by virtue of the nation-building policies of the Barisan Nasional, which has been in power since 1957. New Zealand’s ‘resistance’ stems in part at least from the autonomy which local government enjoys. These experiences demonstrate that resistance to ‘global’ change can take varied forms at the ‘local’, contingent, level (Thorns, 1992).

Differences in leisure structures reflect, once again, different agendas stemming from different political arrangements. The Malaysian government’s approach is multi-Ministry, and micro-managed. In New Zealand, a ‘hands off’ approach via a quasi-autonomous non-government organisation (‘Quango’), became the favoured means of
structuring central government leisure provision in the 1980s and 1990s. This was with a view to encouraging stability and consistency in leisure policy and provision in a pluralistic political system.

Overall, and ‘cautiously’, this study provided support for the convergence thesis as a way to explain development in leisure, recreation and sport in New Zealand and Malaysia over the past 32 years. Although institutional arrangements and national cultural practices have provided some resistance to convergence processes, changing consumer sentiments may weaken such resistance in future.

**Key Words:** Convergence, convergence thesis, leisure policy, Malaysian leisure policy, New Zealand leisure policy, comparative analysis, contingency, globalisation, leisure consumption, resistance, Elite Sport, Sport-for-All, leisure behaviour, leisure structures, sport and recreation.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

In this study I assess the usefulness of the convergence thesis to an understanding of trends in leisure, sport and recreation in New Zealand and Malaysia. The study will incorporate a consideration of the interrelationship between globalisation and local, contingent factors, in keeping with Thorns' (1992:274) observation of the relationship between 'core' and 'peripheral' nations, that:

...change can flow in both directions, rather than simply downwards from the 'core' nations. It is also necessary to appreciate that changes are mediated through the social structures which have emerged within nation states over time, leading to modifications to global processes and the emergence of varied forms of local resistance to change.¹

Figure 1.1: Modelling the factors influencing leisure behaviour, policy and structure in New Zealand and Malaysia

¹Thorns was responding to one Marxist school of development studies known as the New International Division of Labour (NEDL). His critique was based on a lack of empirical grounding and an assumption that global capitalism remodelled the world in predictable, and largely uniform, ways.
The model proposed in Figure 1.1, and which provides the framework for the analysis offered in this thesis, requires a discussion of various interrelated factors, including global and local processes at work in both countries. I will argue that leisure policy, structure and behaviours in New Zealand and Malaysia are influenced by macro-economic processes, (some of them external and some internal to these countries), by institutional arrangements, notably political ones, and by national cultural practices which mediate, to some extent, the power of convergence processes. Each of these contributing processes will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, but introductory remarks are offered here.

According to Tomlinson (1999: 1-2), globalisation “...lies at the heart of modern culture...and refers to the rapidly developing and ever-widening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterise modern social life”. An apparent globalising tendency in both New Zealand and Malaysia is the shift from ‘traditional’ to commercial forms of leisure. Convergence in leisure, recreation and sport can be viewed as an inexorable result of the increasing global integration of leisure production and consumption, including marketing.

The term ‘institutional arrangements’ refers to the organisation of the economy and the polity. What will be of significance for this thesis is the structure of government and public administration, notably the relationship between central and local government. ‘National cultural practice’, admittedly an awkward term, refers to dominant cultural practices in society which, in the case of Malaysia, for example, are deeply informed by Islam and a developing sense of nationhood following independence. I will argue that leisure development in New Zealand and Malaysia, with particular reference to sport, is the outcome of converging and differentiating processes: the ‘convergence’ impact of the global economy and the differentiation of institutional arrangements and cultural processes allied to nationhood and nation-building.

2 Muslim ulama declares that Islam is concerned with building up an integrated personality – spiritually by worship, mentally by knowledge, morally by virtue, socially by culture and physically by sport activities (Abderahman, 1992).
The relationship between the institutional arrangements of a country and cultural practice is a complex one. For example, national cultural practices themselves are not as fixed as Figure 1.1 might suggest. In a moderate Islamic state such as Malaysia, where citizens are exposed to Western-style media and the culture of consumption associated with the West, cultural practices themselves change. Further, leisure, in a broad sense, including tourism, recreation and sport as well as more passive pursuits, has become a major focus of consumption and hence increasingly of economic development in both New Zealand and Malaysia. Governments use leisure to boost national income (via tourism in particular, in the case both of New Zealand and Malaysia) and to further promote nationhood (via expenditures that will enhance sporting excellence). Such economic development, if it is not to have a fully domestic focus, must inevitably adapt to global processes to some degree, to meet international standards and agreements governing such things as trade and product quality and safety. Figure 1.1 attempts to demonstrate the complex linkages at work here in accounting for developments in leisure behaviour, policies and structures in New Zealand and Malaysia.

Before considering the major and specific objectives of this thesis, a brief comment on my interpretation of leisure policy is in order. Leisure policy is associated with policies for free time, for passive or active recreations (in sport, the arts, popular culture or informal recreation), with policies aimed at compensating for the alienation of work (or of unemployment), or at fostering personal fulfilment through non-work activities (Henry, 1993). According to Henry, leisure policy views non-sport and sport forms of leisure activities as being of equal importance to individual and community development, i.e., leisure policy does not limit itself to sport as a vehicle to deliver leisure opportunities and services. In practice, however, the literature shows that sport and active leisure are central concerns of leisure policy in Malaysia and New Zealand, and so my research will pay particular attention to these. Henry’s observation will not be lost sight of completely: later chapters will endeavour to put sport and active leisure in this wider context at several points, and will explore why it is the case that particular interpretations of leisure have dominated policy formation in the two countries.
1.1 Thesis objectives

The major objective of this study is to examine the utility of the 'convergence thesis' as a tool for exploring and explaining developments in leisure, sport and recreation in New Zealand and Malaysia. The 'subsidiary' objectives are:

1. To explore the cultural histories and the cultural significance of leisure, sport and recreation with a view to understanding the development of sport and recreation behaviour, policy and structures in New Zealand and Malaysia.
2. To compare and contrast leisure, sport and recreation behaviour, policy and structures in New Zealand and Malaysia.
3. To explain the similarities and differences identified in (2) above, recognising the configurations of global and local processes at work in these two societies.

I will now discuss key elements of my thesis - the convergence thesis, globalisation-internationalisation, institutional arrangements and national cultural practice - in more detail before commenting further on the organisation of the thesis.

1.2 The convergence thesis

1.2.1 The nature of convergence

The 'convergence thesis' is associated, in particular, with the names of Clark Kerr, J. K. Galbraith, and G. Lenski. Kerr et al's study of Industrialism and Industrial Man (1960), exercised a special appeal in the climate of the Cold War, representing a liberal interpretation of the political and economic differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. They asserted that the idiosyncrasies of different systems of industrialism were gradually diminishing under a set of common internally generated influences necessary to support industrial expansion. Their main purpose was to show that pursuit of the values of technical efficiency and economic growth was bound to modify the distribution of power and privilege in society (Lee & Newby, 1987) in a direction which, as it happens, developed Western nations were already proceeding.
At that time (the 1960s), the most widespread view of social change in technologically advanced societies was that these societies were converging towards a common pattern. Whatever the political impetus that sends societies down various paths to industrialism, the assumption was that they could all expect to emerge eventually within a common world culture which Kerr and his co-authors labelled 'pluralistic'. Kerr et al. (1973) refer to the (inevitable) development of ‘pluralist’ (cf. ‘despotic’) political regimes. ‘Pluralism’ here refers to a democratic political system in which interest groups (e.g. employers; unions; farming interests) compete for power and in which no one group is able to monopolise power over time (hence, a ‘plurality’ of political leadership).

Other converging features of industrialising societies include more ‘open’ educational systems, more meritocratic systems of organisational recruitment (Noble, 2000), and greater social mobility combined with the spread of ‘achievement’ values and a decline in the salience of ‘ascriptive’ ones. The result, according to Kerr et al. (1973: 35), is that:

The industrial society is an open community encouraging occupational and geographic mobility and social mobility. In this sense industrialism must be flexible and competitive, it is against tradition and status based on family, class, religion, race or caste.

Kerr et al (1960; 1973), also sought to identify the “inherent tendencies and implications of industrialisation for the work place”, hoping to construct from this a portrait of the “principal features of the new society” (1960: 33). Kerr and his co-authors saw these developments as transecting existing political ideologies and systems. They also theorised about a fundamental link between industrial development and welfare provision. This is briefly described by O’Connor (1988: 278) as follows:

The essence of convergence theory is that industrialisation is associated with economic growth and the emergence of new needs, such as a dependent population over the age of sixty-five. Welfare policy and expenditure are a response to these needs and are facilitated by additional resources associated with economic growth.

These theoretical links between industrial development and welfare policy can be applied to the analysis of the legislative programmes that have unfolded in New Zealand and
Malaysia from the 1970s to the present. It could be argued, for example, according to Kerr et al’s theory, that the *New Zealand Sport and Recreation Act 1973* exemplified the process by which industrialisation and the consequential urbanisation of New Zealanders demanded welfare provision to encourage sport and recreation participation. A similar law had previously been passed in the United Kingdom where the population is highly urbanised peoples, and this lends support to the theory of convergence.

According to Coughlin (2001), Kerr et al indicated that increased industrialisation drives increased welfare provision. From the 1970s, welfare policy in Malaysia and New Zealand has been extended to include the provision of leisure, sport and recreation services. There are similarities and differences between these two countries’ approaches, of course, and both are explored further in this thesis. It is worth noting, at this early point, that for Coughlin (2001: 2), these differences can be accounted for by reference to factors such as “...the persistence of existing national institutions and the enduring of cultural differences”.

Convergence theory allows for similar policy development in different countries but not necessarily for the same reasons. While New Zealand is sensitive to the global economy, Malaysia is sensitive to nationalistic concerns. A further example is provided by China, which is preparing for the next Olympic Games and is fully committed to demonstrating to the rest of the world both its growing economic power and more particularly the ability of this one-party state to ‘get things done’ on time and on budget. The expected medal tally for the host country will be portrayed as further evidence of its uniquely successful combination of political centralisation and economic liberalism.

### 1.2.2 Convergence thesis: the strengths and weaknesses

Goldthorpe (1966), one of the earliest and most influential critics, developed two principal critiques of the ‘convergence thesis’. First, he argued that it could not be assumed that communist and western societies were, in fact becoming more alike. This critique is based on a rejection of Kerr’s structural determinism “...in favour of a greater
influence of purposive action, values and ideology” (Goldthorpe, 1966: 191). Goldthorpe (1966) tried to show that the United States and European societies had not become more egalitarian, nor more open since the post-war period, despite a rise in average living standards.

Second, Goldthorpe argued that the industrial process is not the primary determining factor in shaping social structures, particularly in ‘command’ economies. A commitment to industrialism and industrial technology need not constrain the actions of a political elite if it is determined to retain its power and privileges. The case of the Soviet Union shows that, “... industrialisation and technical expertise can be manipulated so as to bolster up the regime, especially when used to develop military strength” (Lee & Newby, 1987: 107). Goldthorpe argued, in effect, that the political totalitarianism of state socialist societies need not ‘surrender’ to the pluralistic industrialism described by Kerr and his colleagues.

Since Goldthorpe made his (1966) critique, the collapse of the Soviet system, the rejection of communism in Eastern Europe and the exposure of the People’s Republic of China to the open market economy, have all been attributed to the incompatibility of centralised and comprehensive state planning and economic growth (Noble, 2000; Goldman, 1992). In other words, history appears to have offered its own verdict on the accuracy of Goldthorpe’s critique.

In support of the ‘convergence thesis’, Fukuyama argues in End of History (1991) that after the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the movement towards multiparty democracy in other regions, the ideological battles [including class-based interests] of earlier eras are over. Fukuyama’s views are based on modernity’s worldwide triumph, in the shape of capitalism and liberal democracy. The End of History is the end of alternatives. Capitalism has won over socialism, contrary to Marx’s prediction, and liberal democracy now stands unchallenged (Giddens, 1997).
The ‘convergence thesis’ continues to provide an important stimulus to comparative work on industrialising societies, particularly after ‘glasnost’ and the resulting fracturing of the Iron Curtain. The notion that the industrialisation of economic production imposes some kind of ‘logic’ upon society as a whole is recurrent in social thought.

According to Kerr et al. (1973: 46), “… the place the society starts from and the route it follows are likely to affect its industrial features for many years… Not one, however, but several roads lead into this new and ultimate empire”. Probably this is what Kerr and his colleagues mean by ‘pluralism’ – several different starting points but a common end point – although the reference is confusing in that the end point is itself marked by ‘pluralism’ – a pluralist, democratic, political system allied to, and furthering an industrial economy.

1.2.3 Convergence via globalisation

Many of the themes raised by the ‘convergence thesis’ have reappeared in ‘post-industrial’ writings. Noble (2000: 198), in a succinct overview, emphasised:

...time has moved on and events have overtaken many generalisations, and sociologists are now writing about globalisation and post modernity, but, looking back, it seems Kerr’s position may be more consistent with the situation in both the 1960s and the 1990s than that of his critics.

‘Globalisation theory’, in some respects, is an updated version of the ‘convergence thesis’. The argument here is that as more countries get drawn into the ‘capitalist nexus’ and compete with one another economically in a deregulated global market place, and as the world ‘shrinks’ following advances in transport and communication, so countries become more like one another politically, socially and even culturally as they subject themselves to common economic standards.

Globalisation represents “…the crystallisation of the entire world as a single place, and the emergence of a ‘global human condition’” (Arnason, 1990: 220). Noble’s (2000) discussion addresses the impact of computers and information technology on world trading through, for example, stock markets, and the growth of supranational
governmental organisations like the World Bank. Noble (2000: 200) also notes the common ‘cultural’ element in convergence:

The growing integration and speed of transport and communications have a particularly marked impact on international cultural homogenisation via the mass media, world sporting events and the mass marketing of products like Coca Cola, leisure clothing, Walkmans and McDonald’s or KFC fast food.

It hardly needs to be stated that both New Zealand and Malaysia are participants in the global economy. New Zealand made radical economic reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, transforming itself from a protected economy to one of the world’s most ‘open’ economies in the space of 15 years. In Malaysia’s case, GNP was growing at around 8 per cent during the 1990s, and its light industrial base had expanded rapidly to provide real export income. At that time Malaysia was recording impressive rates of economic growth, clearly superior to that of other countries in Asia (Economic Planning Unit, 1994).

Globalisation theorists argue that national boundaries are of decreasing importance as ‘markers’ of economic ‘territories’. The dollar value of major trans-national corporations exceeds that of most world nations, for example. Most globalised commodities have their roots in America, as America was the first real mass consumer society. Symbols, services and commodities, such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Nike, McDonald, etc., are all related to large multi-national corporations. These global corporations compete to expand their markets and to sell their goods and services to the widest range of consumers. Companies operate “... as if the entire world (or major regions of it) was a single, largely identical entity” and subsequently attempt to sell the “... same things in the same way everywhere” (Silk & Andrews, 2001: 187).

The global spread of the market place runs parallel with the increase of ‘consumer culture’ and increasing commodification. Commodification is the process of turning use-values into exchange values (e.g., bottled mineral water replacing tap water), and consumerism refers to the way people are increasingly expected to act as ‘paying customers’ in more and more aspects of their lives. Consumption therefore has become a large part of most people’s lives and is no longer simply related to the utility or use-value
of objects. 'Post-modern' writers argue that the symbolic significance of goods has become central. It is not only the range of goods and services that is increasing and changing, but also the meaning of consumption. The cultural meaning of an object, its sign value, is often considered more important than its use value. (This is not specific to commodities only, but also includes the provision of professional and public services (Abercrombie, 1994).)

There are several kinds of resistance to the supposed omnipotence of globalisation, of which one in particular is relevant to the New Zealand - Malaysia comparison.

First, countries can attempt to isolate themselves from the world economy. Cuba, and more recently, North Korea, provide examples of totalitarian, one-party, States whose leaders, on ideological grounds, seek to 'protect' their citizens from what they see as the negative features of Western societies.

Second, countries such as China seek to operate dualist economic and political regimes, whereby they hope to gain the economic advantages of riding an increasingly free-market economy 'tiger' while preserving one-party rule and a socialist ideology.

Third, globalisation can be resisted in an economic sense. Within countries, for example, protective 'walls' such as tariff barriers and import quotas may be erected, and customers may be exhorted to support 'local' producers. Between countries, trading blocs may be formed. The difficulties facing GATT rounds, and the political machinations associated with the WTO, suggest that globalisation pressures may not be all-powerful.

Fourth, globalisation is resisted in a spiritual and cultural sense. Radical Islam and the clerical domination of some Muslim countries (Mullahs in Iran; Taliban in Afghanistan) are examples of the former. In the case of Malaysia, it would seem that this country has a largely secularised economy/polity, but seeks to plot a 'Malaysian way' by extolling the virtues and values of the Islamic faith. The Malaysian government tries to pursue Western style economic progress, and global economic participation, while honouring
Islamic principles. Although Malaysia is making a conscious effort to maintain a culture enriched by Islamic values, the influence of globalisation is fast spreading into this country, to the extent that it affects leisure, recreation and sport policy formulation.

Resistance in a cultural sense is shown by New Zealand's continuing commitment to the inherited 'colonial' sport of rugby union, which it has made its own and by its veneration of the personal qualities of 'quiet achievers', epitomised by Sir Edmund Hillary, the quintessential 'Kiwi bloke'. Another example is its support for bi-cultural development, enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi, which has no direct equivalent in any other developed country.

1.2.4 Globalisation in leisure and sport

As part of global economic production and consumption processes, the internationalisation of leisure activities forces a greater diversity of products and services and movement towards trans-national franchise relationships in retail provision (Tomlinson, 1999). Internationalisation of the All Blacks' brand, for example, involves the process of designing a product that meets the needs of rugby's international body and supporters. In a different form, Malaysia too, puts effort into internationalising its various sporting events (e.g. Commonwealth Games, 1998; Formula One, 2002; Le Tour de Langkawi, 2003) via advertising-media.

Developments in leisure and particularly in sport would appear, at an initial glance, to support the convergence thesis. Converging trends include the development of international sporting competitions (e.g., World Championships in various sporting codes), the emergence of international organisations such as the International Rugby Board and a worldwide acceptance of common sporting rules. Examples which embrace both New Zealand and Malaysia are the Soccer World Cup, the Olympics (the largest and
most famous event worldwide), and the Commonwealth Games (Maguire, 1993). Other examples, apart from sport, are the development of international awards in science, literature, film and music, which recognise merit achieved in the global community.

A major reason for the development of commonalities between nations is that sport and its major event, the Olympics, are now major economic forces. They are identified as strong marketing vehicles and proven at meeting and shaping the needs of de-regulated global markets (Silk & Andrews, 2001). Harvey & Houle (1994: 346) describe the Olympics and a range of World Cup events as "... ideal vehicles for multi national firms in their world market penetration strategies". The Olympics provide a key to unlock local markets and promote universal sentiments of national pride in competition. By requiring that host nations to provide world standard sporting venues, they directly change the urban landscape (e.g., Sydney, Barcelona, Seoul).

The globalisation of sport and the Olympics has brought about the formation of a new standardised global 'space'. The Olympic participants compete in standardised 'fields' in the Olympic arena in different locations all around the world. Athletic tracks, swimming pools, and gymasia are standardised under the Olympic flag. Rules and the rewards of competition are similarly globally understood. The Olympic village, for example, is complete with religious centres, hair salons, night-clubs, movie theatres, daily newspapers and even a Mayor (Iyer, 2000). It seems that when the same features are available globally, they have little to locate them culturally. Outside the Olympic village, wherever it may be located, the shopping malls, cinemas, Starbucks and McDonalds branches in the immediate inner city environment have the effect of keeping the global visitor in a known environment, but to some extent separate from the local experience. (Hence, John Urry's concern with the 'tourist gaze' could easily be extended to encapsulate the 'sporting gaze'. In this context, use of the word 'village' to describe the space occupied by Olympic competitors and officials, is quite ironic. The Olympic

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3 Norbert Elias' work on the 'civilising process', interpreted by followers such as Rojek (1992) to give it a more explicit concern with sport, is quite in keeping with the 'convergence' thesis, albeit with an inter- rather than intra-national focus and with greater emphasis placed on an economic, rather than cultural, 'driver'.
‘village’ is no *gemeinschaft* (community), in the sense that Toennies (1887) would have understood it. It is in fact a prime example of *gesellschaft* (association), based as it is on transitory, superficial, single-stranded, relationships.)

These global spaces may anticipate the development of a new global citizen (Appadurai, 1990). The global citizen, at ease in the new global space, can be seen to have a range of guises and a range of professions. Harvey & Houle (1994: 346) refer to this as “… regrouping individuals independent from the national level” and they argue that high performance athletes have identities linked more to their networks of training and competition “… than to any element of their national belonging, such as language or religion”. Donnelly (1996) refers to this type of global sport ‘monoculture’ as ‘prolympism’, which is the product of the merger of professional sport and corporatised Olympic sport. Professional sport has led to standardised patterns of play and training and brought a need for a more migratory athlete. Corporate Olympism has expanded the migratory theme for athletes by adding commitments to sponsors and advertisers to the competitive demands of sport per se.

The speed with which the development of sport and leisure in the global world has taken place runs parallel to the global flow of people, technology, finance, images and ideologies. Multi million-dollar businesses have been created in relation to sporting equipment, goods and landscapes, such as golf courses and artificial turf. ‘Clearwater Resort’, for example, a development on the northern outskirts of Christchurch, New Zealand, involves the construction of high-cost housing built around a natural water feature and a golf course designed by renowned New Zealand golfer, Bob Charles. The development is designed to be an exclusive one, catering for wealthy overseas (particularly Asian) visitors with a passion for golf, but largely insulating them from over-exposure to New Zealanders and their way of life.

Sporting images have been projected throughout the world by the ‘media-sport production complex’ including trans-global news. The media disseminates the ‘brands’ (e.g. Coca-Cola, Mastercard, Adidas, etc.). This is essentially the way in which sport has
been globalised via the media, in particular television and satellite communications (Maguire, 1993). ‘Homogeneity’ is present in the globalisation process in the sense that Western products and the increasing act of consumerism have spread worldwide.

Global events like the Olympics are in the difficult position of offering globally standardised fare. ‘Difficult’ in this sense means that the standardised global sport for the global athlete, in endeavouring to appeal to everybody, is in danger of representing no-one. As Smith (1990: 177) states, “...eclectic, universal, timeless and technical, a global culture is seen as pre-eminently a ‘constructed’ culture, the final and most imposing of a whole series of human constructs in the era of human liberation and mastery over nature”. (Olympic marketing strategists cater to this fear that consumers will reject growing uniformity, by constantly adding ‘new’ sports and ‘one off’ demonstration sports to the Olympic programme.)

While the Olympics may be used as a pawn in sport marketing campaigns, they also provide a reason for the world sporting communities’ attraction to global events. It seems incongruous and therefore ironic that the Olympic movement makes much of national fervour to fuel competition. The Olympic Games draw on the traditions of host nations to promote national events and symbols (such as the trolls of Lillehammer and the aboriginal motifs of the Sydney Olympics 2000), and athletes are nationally segregated at the opening ceremony. However, the actual events, games and associated commercial opportunities are all very standardised. Competition is highlighted by appealing to nationalist sentiments, but does so by advocating globally standardised games. To illustrate the inconsistency of this approach, Donnelly (1996) uses an example from a Scandinavian soccer competition “… national identity is expressed in these countries by playing ‘English’ games against other countries, whereas indigenous sports, which may be strong evocations of national culture, are somewhat marginalised” (Donnelly, 1996: 252).

Sport, however, reflects both globalisation processes and national cultural attachments. Smith (1990: 177) concludes that “…today’s emerging global culture is tied to no place
and period. It is context less...". Yet Harvey et al. (1996: 260), observe that "...globalisation processes have been accompanied by an explosion of nationalism". Perhaps this is why local attachments remain strong; people desire a context in which they may place their lives. People want to cheer a 'local' hero or heroine. Yet increasingly, what counts as a 'local' sporting 'star' or a 'local' sports team, is negotiable in most sports, particularly those that have experienced professionalisation. Top soccer teams, for example, are composed of players from diverse regions and countries, and their only commonality is their skills and the team jersey they (currently) wear.

1.3 Government involvement in leisure, sport and recreation

Government intervention in the leisure, recreation and sport sector in New Zealand and Malaysia is increasingly important. The development of such intervention presupposes that there are problems that need to be solved collectively, such as the 'negative externalities' that may result from some types of individuals’ leisure decisions. (An example is the over-use of common recreational sites.) Elements of leisure may also be considered to be 'merit goods' or to be instrumental in reaching other policy goals (Bramham et al., 1993).

1.3.1 Government support of economic development

The State's economic development and practice play a significant role in leisure, recreation and sport sectors. The impact of national and regional economic growth and the nature of work and leisure are among the issues that are becoming dominant in leisure research (Gan, 1998). Forms of commercial leisure activity such as tourism and commodification of leisure have increased significantly over recent years. Leisure and tourism settings are being developed to accommodate consumption experiences including consumption sites, the commodification of leisure at "... waterfronts, shopping malls and festivals" (Pawson & Swaffield, 1998:260). Leisure, especially commodified leisure and sport, is a strong economic factor in New Zealand daily life (Gan, 1998) and was firmly emphasised by the Malaysian government in the Eighth Malaysian Plan, 2001. In both
societies, tourism promotion is seen as a key to regional economic development and, arguably, minority cultural practices, such as music, arts and crafts, stand to be rejuvenated by this promotion.

1.3.2 Institutional arrangements

In the context of sport, while a government focus on sports is relatively new, local, national and international concern with sports has an established history (cf. Dunning et al., 1993). The various structures initially developed to provide and administer sports at each level were non-governmental in nature. As governments came to be involved with those systems, they had to accommodate them and, sometimes, transform them. Governments may ground their policies in very different legitimations, which may generate subtle yet telling differences in policy implementation. Several European governments, Germany for example, have sought to promote health through the physical activity that sports generate. They have therefore applied substantial resources to the promotion of Sport for All programmes rather than to the development of programmes to select and train a few elite competitors. In Malaysia, nation building and economic development have been promoted since Independence, and central and regional/local government are equally subordinated to meeting these objectives.

1.4 Culture

I take ‘culture’ to include language, values and belief systems, including those which underpin family and communal life and the social institutions of a given people, such as economic, educational, legal, political and employment institutions. New Zealand and Malaysia emphasise their different historical ‘routes’ to their present situations as part of maintaining their distinct identities. The tendency to assume that culture consists of uniform, harmonised practices and that ‘society’ corresponds to a single culture needs to be resisted. New Zealand, in particular, has a legal responsibility under the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 to recognise, defend and promote Maori culture, and this extends to recognising both English and Maori as official languages of New Zealand. Malaysian
sports policy tries to ensure that the sporting strengths of the various ethnic cultures which comprise that society receive support and recognition.

As part of culture, there are differences in the way time and space are perceived (Gidden’s ‘time-space compression’) and the way time is appreciated. Are peoples’ identities now less ‘bedded’ in spatially specific settings, less informed by cultural history (e.g. the Dayak people of Borneo) and open to penetration by a more global consciousness? Or is the salience of these processes still mediated by contingent experience which values local consciousness, that of family, home community and neighbourhood, for example or, as in the case of Maori, consciousness of iwi, hapu and whanau?

1.4.1 National cultural practice

My study recognises and in some places provides discussion of intra-national cultural differences, for example, between the Chinese and Malay in Malaysia, but these differences are not the central concern of this thesis.

The awkward term ‘national cultural practice’ is chosen deliberately, to illustrate that in societies composed of a plurality of ethnic cultures, governments may seek to promote some common cultural practices as part of nation building. In particular, recognising the potential of ethnically distinct leisure, recreation and sporting activities to divide and exaggerate differences between peoples, governments may favour nation-building sport policies as a way of unifying their peoples. Malaysian governments have set about this more deliberately than have New Zealand governments. It is noticeable, however, that even in New Zealand, when national sporting teams achieve world success, political leaders are quick to take credit and to use the opportunity to promote New Zealanders’ common identity, whether these ‘New Zealanders’ be Maori, Pacific Island Polynesian, Pakeha, Chinese, Somali, etc.
The national cultural practices of nations, then, have a strong relationship to leisure, recreation and sport policy development. There are political, economic and cultural benefits to governments from supporting and tailoring these practices. Political benefits include unification around themes of nationhood, while regional economic development can stem from promoting local cultural pursuits - the promotion of ‘local’ music, indigenous arts and crafts, recreational and sporting pastimes, for example - to tourists. Support for ‘minority’ languages and the cultural practices that support them, demonstrate a commitment to respecting the multi-ethnic constitution of a country even while pursuing nationhood.

1.5 Global consciousness versus contingent experience

A final comment needs to be made, by way of introduction, about the relationship between convergent and divergent forces, about the relationship between globalisation and ‘local resistance’ (to cite Thorns’ term on Page 1) or contingent experience.

Globalisation of markets means that cultural products may be less attached to a specific place of production and instead become part of a ‘globalised culture’. This would indicate that the cultural realms of States are particularly susceptible to external influence. On the other hand, Featherstone (in Cantelon & Murray, 1993), argues that there can never be a globalised culture as such because culture is far too diverse for it all to be associated in one global cultural ‘product’. This interpretation would suggest that the diversity of the cultural realm in any State is the best guarantee of its continued autonomy.

Reality is far more complex than this debate, couched in ‘binary’ terms, would suggest. If producers wish to provide for a global population, they must in some way diversify what they have to offer, and students of global processes are particularly aware of the ability of capital to adapt to local circumstances, to ‘colonise the contingent’. It became evident in the 1980s, for example, that while they were able to make gains on the back of American popularity, average ‘US’ products in foreign markets would suffer if global enthusiasm for the USA waned. Recognition soon came that financial success on the global market
was more likely when producers and marketers located their products and services within the local culture. "Think globally, act locally" (Silk & Andrews, 2001:187), a rallying cry among conservationists and anti-free traders, was adopted as a successful marketing strategy by many multi-nationals in the late 1980s and 1990s to reach consumers in local cultural settings. For example, McDonalds has a huge range of menus that are culturally and ethnically specific to different countries around the world, for example, the Kiwi Burger in New Zealand (Munch, 1999) and bubur nasi ayam (chicken rice porridge) in Malaysia. Globalisation in this sense can be characterised as 'harmony in diversity', meaning that localised national culture still exists, but at the same time transnational culture operates alongside it and uses it as a vehicle to gain acceptance (Cantelon & Murray, 1993).

Cantelon & Murray (1993) refer to the fear that globalisation of the market place will result in the disintegration of local economic, political and cultural ideological aspects of life. These fears that globalisation will lead to increased conformity and loss of freedom, are emphasised by reactions to the global organisation and production pioneered by McDonalds, making that organisation a prime target for those who wish to demonstrate the negative aspects of modernity and globalisation (Kellner, 1999), which they see as carriers of 'cultural' imperialism. The USA is seen to dominate other nations, not necessarily by physical conquest, but by the dissemination of its cultural values. The term 'McDonaldisation' implies more than the application of an advanced technology to a 'service' industry; it refers to the pre-eminence of the 'American way'.

There is no simple answer to the degree to which individual societies are able to 'resist' or even 'co-opt' global pressures. By introducing radical economic reforms in the early-1980s for example, New Zealand, as a trading nation, would appear to have embraced globalisation, yet its government has resisted adopting GM technology and processes in a wholehearted way and is reluctant to fully privatise economic infrastructures. Malaysia, under Prime Minister Mahathir, has explicitly distanced itself from the United States (most recently over the Second Iraq War), and has proclaimed its commitment to Islamist
principles, yet it is increasingly a trading nation with a growing consumer consciousness and culture among its citizens.

1.6 The concepts of leisure, sport and recreation

This section will review the conceptualisation of leisure, sport and recreation and evaluate their relationships. These terms need to be made clear, otherwise they may convey different meanings to the reader. I use ‘leisure’ as a generic term and I interpret ‘sport’ and ‘recreation’ as subsets of leisure (along with ‘tourism’, ‘leisure-consumption’, ‘entertainments’ and ‘games’).

1.6.1 Leisure

Leisure has been defined in several different ways. Murphy (1974) identified six types: classical leisure; leisure as discretionary time; leisure as a function of social class; leisure as a form of activity; anti-utilitarian leisure; and leisure as a holistic concept. Neulinger (1974) concluded that leisure is a state of mind characterised primarily by freedom of choice and motivation. According to Webster’s New Dictionary and Thesaurus (1995: 225), the word leisure is derived from the Latin licere, meaning “to be free” or “to be permitted”. From licere came the French loisir, meaning “free time”, and such English words as licence and liberty. These words are all related: they suggest freedom of choice and the absence of compulsion.

Other contributions to the evolution of definitions of leisure come from Brightbill (1964) and Goodale & Godbey (1988): leisure as time; Dumazedier (1967) and Kraus (1998): leisure as activity; and Torkildsen (1994): leisure as a state of being. Some writers have attempted to combine these interpretations into a ‘compound’ definition, so that leisure is seen as a construct embodying a number of characteristics. Indeed, many of the prominent writers, such as Kaplan, use different definitions at different times, depending on the point which is being made. Kaplan (1975: 19) states:
Leisure consists of relatively self-determined activity/experience that falls into one’s free-time roles, that is seen as leisure by participants, that is psychologically pleasant in anticipation and recollection, that potentially covers the whole range of commitment and intensity, that contains characteristic norms and constraints and that provides opportunities for recreation, personal growth and service to others.

This thesis follows the ‘compound’ definition of leisure given in the Sao Paulo Declaration, 1998, according to which “Leisure (including play) is that time wherein there is choice limited by certain constraints in which people pursue enjoyable and fulfilling experiences in harmony with society’s norms and values that enhance individual and social development”.

1.6.2 Sport

Sport involves participants ‘choosing’ to be bound by the sets of rules which distinguish sports and games as subsets of leisure. Sport is one manifestation of leisure that may become so completely self-contained in its meaning that the rest of the world seems to disappear (Kelly, 1996). The union of mind and body in co-ordinated movement, the rhythm and grace of developed skill, and the drama of structure and uncertainty make sport a very special kind of leisure experience. Sport is also recognised as one out of five major ‘leisure sectors’ (tourism, recreation, sport, culture, and media) in leisure policies in most of the countries in Europe (Branham et al., 1993).

In the typology of leisure activities offered by Haywood et al. (1991), sport is identified as ‘recreation’ and involves the active production of leisure experience with participants having some control over the process. This applies to participation in sport by a player or performer. However, as leisure activity, sports extend beyond this active involvement of ‘producers’ to include consumption by non-participants. Hence sports might, in some manifestations, more accurately be described as a form of ‘entertainment’, in the case of spectators of sports events or for television viewers. Sports are also the object of an extensive gambling industry through football pools and betting on horses or greyhounds (Haywood et al., 1991), and an integral focus of much contemporary tourism (e.g., the
impending 2005 'Lions' Tour of New Zealand.). Many localities or regions market themselves as tourist attractions through the sporting opportunities provided. For example, Auckland promoted itself as the 'City of Sails' in the lead-up to the Americas Cup defences. As a leisure activity, sports involve the consumption of goods, services, or products provided commercially. Additionally, sports can be an element of education, and some sports can be considered art forms (e.g., ice-dance) or as an aspect of countryside recreation (e.g., outdoor pursuits). Thus, sport does not sit under the leisure 'umbrella' in some specific and isolated manner.

One must also recognise that, for some participants, sport is surely not leisure. Sport participation may represent full-time or part-time employment for professionals who demonstrate or teach skills in some contractual arrangement for financial reward (Kelly, 1990). It is hardly 'leisure' for New Zealand NPC rugby players, for example, to play night after night, often 'on the road' and at times when their 'work' represents a leisure occasion for spectators. A sport is hardly 'leisure' when the athlete has engaged a lawyer to represent his or her interests, and when their employment is contingent on playing. Similarly, certain role expectations may reduce the freedom of choice in some sport participation. When peer and parental expectations are overpowering, a student may join a team primarily as a duty. Institutional constraints may make real choice and the question of personal satisfactions irrelevant. In other cases, requirements for gaining or maintaining a necessary level of health or fitness may lead to participation in a sport that is not enjoyed for any reasons of intrinsic satisfaction. Depending on the context, therefore, sport may not be free enough to be constitutive of leisure.

1.6.3 Recreation

In the conceptualisation of leisure, recreation fits as leisure-time activity. For providers of recreation services, recreation is simply those activities in which people participate during their leisure time. Cordes & Ibrahim (1996) define recreation as voluntary participation in leisure-time activities that are meaningful and enjoyable to the person involved. The terms 'sport' and 'recreation' are often used interchangeably. Elvin (1993:
5) differentiates the two areas: “Sport includes: elements of competition, physical activity, aspects of organisation, and the influence of outcome on quality of experience. Recreation differs in certain ways; the focus is on activity per se, and satisfaction is gained primarily from the quality of the experience”. In recreational activities, the same physical skills may be present as in sport, but the focus is on enjoyment and fun or play.

‘Recreation’ embraces both indoor and outdoor activities and sports and exercise as well as less physically active pursuits, e.g., sunbathing. It is because of this broad coverage that authors and administrators sometimes employ a prefix to indicate certain groupings of recreational activities, e.g., ‘active’ and ‘passive’ recreation.

Aristotle probed the link between leisure and recreation, suggesting that leisure can be classified into three overlapping categories: contemplation, recreation, and amusement (Cordes & Ibrahim, 1996). Contemplation is the act of considering something with attention. Recreation is the active, participatory aspect of leisure. Amusement is passive reception on the part of an audience or spectators. Contemplation is the core of philosophical thinking, so Aristotle, understandably, viewed contemplation as the highest form of leisure and encouraged its practice. Aristotle accepted the recreational use of leisure time but derided amusement. Today the term recreation is used to describe activities in a variety of structured settings; public recreation, commercial recreation, corporate recreation, and therapeutic recreation (Cordes & Ibrahim, 1996). There is little doubt that Aristotle would have been deeply dismayed at the way the concept of ‘leisure’ has been interpreted in the late-Twentieth and early-Twenty First Centuries, with its emphasis on amusement, instrumentality and distraction (Hemingway, 1988).

This thesis sometimes refers to ‘leisure’, ‘sport and ‘recreation’ in a collective sense (when the term ‘leisure’ will be employed for its generic quality), and sometimes discusses them separately. While the emphasis in the thesis is predominantly on sport and physically-active recreation, the concept of ‘leisure’ is retained for the purpose of the title of the thesis because the typological work in later chapters is certainly inclusive of leisure more broadly.
1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The research methodology adopted for this thesis is discussed in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three I discuss the human history of New Zealand and Malaysia, with particular reference to the cultural history of recreation and of the national cultural practices that lie behind the development of leisure structures and leisure policy development in these countries. Chapter Four is concerned with leisure behaviour, while Chapters Five and Six discuss leisure policy at the central government (Chapter Five) and local government (Chapter Six) levels. Chapter Seven provides a view from ‘the inside’, on the basis of interviews with ‘key players’ involved with the changes in leisure policy in New Zealand and Malaysia, 1970 - 2002. Chapter Eight examines leisure, recreation and sport structures in the two countries, while Chapter Nine provides a summary of the main points of the thesis and a retrospective review of the usefulness of the convergence thesis as a tool to explain the comparative changes noted in this thesis.

1.8 Summary

Global competitions provide and enforce a common currency of sporting standards, bringing the global community closer together, at the same time. Yet intense international rivalry aroused through sport can also serve to separate nationalities and to extol distinct, ‘superior’ national cultural values. Such were Hitler’s aims in the Berlin Olympics of 1936. The global and the contingent, then, can both receive support from the development of leisure, recreation and sport.
Chapter 2

Research framework and methodology

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I explain the research methods used and the comparative framework employed to structure my research process and questions. Particular attention is paid to my attempt to get 'behind' the formal information commonly available to social researchers.

2.1 Research time frame

My research concentrated on the development of leisure structures and policy in New Zealand and Malaysia from 1970 to 2002. This time frame encapsulates a time of significant change in relation to leisure, sport and recreation in both societies. In the early 1970s, the New Zealand government renewed its interest in recreation legislation. This occurred at the time when other Western governments, such as Canada and Australia, were again taking an interest in this field. It also coincided with a public debate in New Zealand, particularly among sports people, about the need for a Ministry of Sport (Stothart, 1980). Consequently, the Labour Government created a new Cabinet position in the area of sport and recreation and this led directly to a legislative programme culminating in the Recreation and Sport Act 1973.

In Malaysia, 1970 was the year when the New Economic Policy began. This was Malaysia’s blueprint, not only for economic purposes but also for social development, including leisure and sport. In the same year, the five principles of Malaysian Nationhood were introduced (Malaysia Official Yearbook, 1997) the aim of which was to promote harmonious relations between Malaysia’s ethnic communities (see Chapter Three for further discussion). These were followed by the passing of the very first Act of the leisure sector, the National Sport Council of Malaysia Act, 1971. These historical events
provided a context for the development of leisure-related policy in both countries up to the year 2002.

2.2 Information sources regarding leisure, sport and recreation in New Zealand and Malaysia

Four New Zealand National Surveys: the New Zealand Recreation Survey (1975); Social Indicator Survey (1981); Life in New Zealand Survey (1991) and Sport and Physical Activity Survey (1998) gave a national picture of leisure patterns in New Zealand. According to Perkins and Gidlow (1991), "... leisure research with an applied or public policy orientation has increased markedly since 1965 with the growing involvement of central and local government in leisure management and provision".

Certainly in New Zealand from the New Zealand Survey 1975 onwards, policy has been informed by data collection from national surveys and agency and local government reports. However, in Malaysia most of the material on sports, recreation and other aspects of leisure is only available in the form of brochures and annual reports, consisting of non-scientific materials. Studies on leisure, sport and recreation concepts and policy in this country are scarce (Cousineau, 1995). It is particularly difficult to obtain information on leisure, sport and recreation behaviour. Lee Kuan Meng⁴ (Personal E-mail, 2002) comments:

I doubt if I could find any data on Malaysian leisure behaviour because I don’t believe anyone, nor any agency here has conducted such research or a survey. As you know, leisure studies hardly exist in Malaysia... I have consulted the Statistics Department about statistics on recreation but they said they do not have any. If any information is available, it would have to come from the Ministry of Youth and Sports. But as you know the data from this Ministry, even on sports and youth are rather unreliable.

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⁴ Lee Kuan Meng is a Council Member of MARFIMA (Majlis Leisure dan rekreasi Malaysia), the Malaysian Leisure and Recreation Council. This body advises all Recreation Associations in Malaysia and the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Lee Kuan Meng works with the Ministry of Youth and Sports as a recreation facilitator, trainer, volunteer and leader and was a member of the organising committee of the 7th World Leisure Congress 2002.
A small number of scholarly papers on recreation can be found in conference proceedings related to physical education and sports, or recreation forestry, but according to Cousineau (1995), these papers are mostly descriptive and rarely based on empirical evidence. Collectively, they do not contribute significantly to the advancement of scientific knowledge regarding sport and leisure in Malaysia.

Leisure policies in Malaysia are not informed by research data in the way that New Zealand initiatives seem to be. Why is this the case? In Malaysia, sport is only a sub-sector of youth policies, and leisure generally has been given a secondary or tertiary focus by various Ministries and agencies. As a developing country, Malaysia concentrates more on 'fundamental' socio-economic developments and this may help explain why only limited data on leisure are available in that country. Also, given that policy development in Malaysia has been heavily centralised since Independence, requests for information that might be available in a more robust, decentralised, democracy have not been responded to. (I will comment further on this matter in later chapters.) Whatever the explanation, the lack of Malaysian data particularly weakens attempts to compare contemporary leisure behaviour in Malaysia and New Zealand (Chapter Four).

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Library and archival research

My research involved library and archival research using information publicly available. It included official documents, Ministry reports and reports by the key leisure, recreation and sport sectors. The existing data bases such as the Hillary Commission's Life in New Zealand Study were used, as well as the contributions of academic researchers. I also collected material on historical aspects of leisure-related concepts, structure and policy that included published and unpublished documents, reports, memos, letters, email messages, faxes and newspaper articles. Using all this information, I reviewed the literature on leisure concepts and culture, leisure policy, structures and behaviour in New
Zealand and Malaysia. This review confirmed the significance of the issues at the heart of this thesis and generated a basic framework of analysis for the research.

2.3.2 Interviewing ‘key players’ in the development of leisure policy

At an early stage of the research I decided I needed to obtain the ‘inside’ view of ‘key players’ in leisure policy formation in New Zealand and Malaysia, particularly given the absence of Malaysian leisure behaviour data. Even where material was available, e.g., written materials such as reports, legislation, Hillary Commission Policy, National Sport Policy of Malaysia, etc., I was aware that these are ‘finished products’ and do not tell the story of the ‘politics’ involved in their production. On their own, in other words, they are not sufficient to document the tensions among decision-makers, the compromises, the discounted alternatives, which line the pathway to the final outcome. I surmised that interviews with ‘key players’ would enable me to capture something of these ‘hidden’ histories. Significant themes emerged through these interviews. For instance, as I will show in later chapters, most of my Malaysian informants made less than flattering comments about the policy implementation aspects of their government’s leisure policy.

Twenty-one interviews were completed in each country with people who have made significant contributions to leisure, sport and recreation practice and/or policy in the last 30 years. My supervisors have had personal contact with most of these people and were able to make informal, advance connections for me. In the case of the Malaysian part of the fieldwork, my Malaysian fieldwork supervisor, Associate Professor Dr. Mohamed Nor Che’ Noh5 assisted me through his contacts with most of the key Malaysian decision-makers in the field of leisure, sport and recreation. Fifteen New Zealand interviews were conducted between August and October 2000, five in July and August 2001 and one through e-mail because the respondent, Wai Taumaunu, a New Zealand representative

5 Recently deceased. The special coach award was given to the late Mohamed Nor Che’ Noh for his contribution to national sport, on 5th March 2003. He was active in publishing sport and social science articles besides holding various posts in the National Sports Council, Malaysian School Sports Council and Asean Sports School Council. Mohamed Nor’s last held post was as the director of the University of Malaya’s Sports Centre before his death on November 11, 2002. He was 77. He was also the deputy Chef de Mission of the national contingent to the 1972 Munich Olympics and was better known as the ‘father of Malaysian sports development’ among university students.
netball player and (now) coach, lived in England at that time. All the Malaysian interviews were conducted between January and April 2001.

In order to get a reasonably complete ‘list’ of key players, in the New Zealand case, I consulted my supervisors and Peter Dale, Hillary Commission Executive Officer. In Malaysia, I consulted my Malaysian fieldwork supervisor and Dato’ Zabri Min, General Secretary, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Malaysia. Appendix III provides detailed information about New Zealand and Malaysian participants.

Between them, the ‘key players’ encapsulated a vast accumulation of knowledge and experience. Among them were Bob Stothart, Colin Dale, John Parker, Peter Dale, Sir Ron Scott (New Zealand) and Ungku Aziz, M. Jegathesan, Jabar Johari, Khoo Kay Kim, Dato’ Zabri Min (Malaysia). Although they were all busy people, and were spread widely throughout both countries, none of those interviewed objected to the interview or its recording. They all appeared to enjoy the time they spent with me and a number encouraged me to get back to them if I needed to ask follow-up questions.

All interviews were recorded on audio-cassette tape and later transcribed. Before each interview, informed consent was obtained from each informant, consistent with Lincoln University’s Human Ethics Committee procedures (see Appendix II). Interviews were conducted in English, except in the case of three Malaysian interviews, which were conducted in Malay and then translated into English during transcription. These audio data were transcribed and recorded as part of the field notes. The transcribed interviews formed the most complete expanded accounts of the field notes.

The other types of field notes, following Lofland & Lofland (1984), involved analysis and interpretation. The analysis and interpretation of the research began soon after the first few interviews and field-trip observations and continued through the writing of the thesis. Some minor modifications were made to later interview questions in keeping with the review of earlier interview material.
In the course of conducting the interviews, I found that the comments of the participants were often somewhat different from what I had expected based upon my reading and reviewing. If I had relied solely on published information I would have learned little about the early history of leisure and recreation in Malaysia. Similarly, the charismatic New Zealand athletics coach, Arthur Lydiard, played a vital but only recently appreciated role in the development of sports policy in New Zealand. Published references to his work and methods are meagre. The insiders’ views also provided stories of the past that explained and justified present leisure, recreation and sport behaviours and meanings. This helped me to confirm the concerns, passions, philosophies and experiences which lay behind initiatives in leisure policy developments and provisions.

In keeping with semi-structured interview techniques (Kelly, 1982), I prepared an interview guide before-hand which provided a framework for the interview and I started with general questions or themes (Appendix I). Relevant themes, for example, 'policymaking process', were initially identified and the possible relationship between these themes and the issues (such as, ‘Who initiated the policy review; policy constraints, etc?’), became the basis for specific questions. There were opportunities during interviews for new issues, or fresh perspectives on known issues, to surface.

The interview data were first coded. Subsequently I read through the transcripts, summarising them and itemising them according to the sub-themes, such as key players’ backgrounds, policy making processes, government roles, global forces, etc. I then assembled the data and determined which data extracts to include, paraphrase and quote in the thesis. I tried to maintain objectivity during this process, i.e., avoiding selectivity. The interview data from more than 75 percent of key players from New Zealand and Malaysia are utilised. In the case of the other 25 percent, I was responding to a situation described by Imms & Ereaut (2002: 84), where “…the interview is subject to social pressures and self-image [and] is dependent upon self-awareness and memory”. In these cases, in other words, I had some sense that respondents’ comments were not always consistent or that their answers were formulaic. Overall, semi-structured interviews proved to be effective in gaining informal knowledge about leisure, recreation and sport
key players in New Zealand and Malaysia and helped me to ‘round out’ my understanding of the evolution of leisure policy formation in New Zealand and Malaysia.

2.4 Comparative framework

2.4.1 Rationale

Comparative research in leisure studies is being recognised both for its contribution to the body of theory about the meaning of leisure and explanations about leisure behaviour, trends, policy and structure. The particularities with which one views leisure phenomena (e.g., meanings, policy, and social institutions) can best be brought into bold relief as one attempts to understand the same processes and policies in other countries. As international leisure, recreation and sport have expanded (Houlihan, 1997), countries have been required to confront increasingly similar problems and issues, such as the growth of free time (Nahrstedt, 1998: 6) and the exploitation of young athletes. Comparative cross-national studies, noting similarities and differences in the value and organisation of leisure, recreation and sport, assist researchers to distinguish between generic (e.g., a possible leisure consumption ethic) and contingent (e.g., religious) factors shaping these sectors. Such comparisons also offer insights into the roles of sport and leisure institutions, including legislatures, government policies and leisure quangos.

2.4.2 Cross-national research

Cross-national and cross-cultural researches are two particular forms of comparative analysis. Cross-national research is relatively unambiguous in that it focuses predominantly on the identification of cross-societal patterns within specific territorial borders. Cross-cultural research is less circumscribed in that it can include subcultures within a particular society (Inkeles & Sasaki, 1996). Such research, however, with its requirement of a detailed understanding of different cultural groups, is beyond the scope of a one-person PhD research programme.
Kohn (1989: 20-23) distinguishes four types of cross-national research:

- **Nations as the object of study** – the investigator’s interest is primarily in the particular countries studied (e.g. how Germany compares to the United States).
- **Nations as the context of study** – one is primarily interested in testing the generality of findings and interpretations about the way certain social institutions operate, or about how certain aspects of social structure impinge on personality.
- **Nations as the unit of analysis** – investigators seek to establish relationships among characteristics of nations qua nations.
- **Trans-national relationships as the unit of analysis** – treating nations as components of larger international systems.

All four types of cross-national inquiry are useful. Each addresses particular substantive problems. When I began my PhD, I used the nation as the object of study. Basic information about New Zealand and Malaysia in relation to sport and leisure was relevant. As I developed the research in terms of comparative data, I moved towards the nation as the context of study. Because all nations, including New Zealand and Malaysia, are no longer isolated entities, but are systematically interrelated as components of larger international systems - influenced by global forces such as globalisation processes – I considered also the transnational as a unit of analysis. My research, therefore, combined three of the above: the nation as the object of study, the nation as the context of study and transnational relationships as the unit of analysis.

Cross-national research can be both explicit and implicit (Valentine et al., 1999). Explicit cross-national research attempts to identify systems, institutions and behaviours in two or more countries simultaneously. For example, Pine (1984) focused on community development in Finland, England and Ireland. Implicit research efforts uncover patterns within one country and draw inferences to others. For example, Alexandris & Carrol (1997) analysed constraints on recreational sport participation in Greece and compared those patterns to related research findings in the United States. According to Kohn (1996: 28), however, many studies of single societies are implicitly cross-national, in that “…the investigators interpret their findings by contrasting what they learn about the country they actually study with what is known, or is believed to be true about some other country”. This approach is not strictly cross-national analysis, however, and following
Kohn (1996), I will restrict use of this term to explicitly comparative analysis, which is in keeping with the way I conducted this comparative study of New Zealand and Malaysia.

2.5 Research framework

The comparative framework proposed for this study (see Figure 2.1) follows the suggested frameworks of Wilson (1996), Hantrais (1987) and Cushman et al. (1996). Explanations of the similarities and differences in leisure policy and structure in the two countries recognise the configurations of globalisation influences and national cultural practices.

The framework incorporates study issues, comparative elements and selected points of comparison. Like all frameworks, it implies firm boundaries between units of analysis, when in reality these boundaries are often fluid. For example, it is not easy to decide whether or when a sports club should be analysed as a ‘formal’ rather than an ‘informal’ leisure organisation.

**Figure 2.1: Comparative Framework for Research**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Selected point of comparative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Leisure behaviour</td>
<td>Informal leisure</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Formally organised leisure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leisure Policy (Chapters Five, Six, Seven)</td>
<td>Central government</td>
<td>Similarities – national objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>Differences – research</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similarities – Privatisation</td>
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<td>Differences – governmental system</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leisure Structures (Chapter 8)</td>
<td>Background</td>
<td>History of public, private and voluntary contributions to leisure provision in New Zealand and Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Similarities/differences</td>
<td>Central administrative agencies in New Zealand and Malaysia</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2.6 Summary

My research involved a mixture of archival and library research and interview data, and was guided by an explicit comparative framework. In the following chapters I move to a consideration of substantive issues related to that framework. In Chapter Three I examine the cultural histories of New Zealand and Malaysia to seek an understanding of how leisure behaviour, structure and policy developed in the two societies and to seek the 'roots' of any convergent pathways in these structures and policies.
Chapter 3

Cultural histories of New Zealand and Malaysia

3.0 Introduction

To understand the value of the convergence thesis as a way of understanding societal changes in New Zealand and Malaysia, several forms of information related to the development of leisure, sport and recreation will be examined. In this chapter, I will provide an account of the evolution of the cultures and general information about both countries, including the place, the people, government and economy. Then I will review the history of leisure, sport and recreation. A comparative analysis of the aspects of different cultures, the cultural significance of leisure, sport and recreation in the two countries and the relevance of ‘convergence’, will be provided at the end of the chapter.

3.1 New Zealand: cultural history

3.1.1 The place

New Zealand (Aotearoa) is located in the southern hemisphere, lying between 34-S and 47-S. It spans 1600 km from north to south and covers approximately 270,000 sq km. It comprises two large islands – the North Island and the South Island – and numerous smaller islands, including Stewart Island to the south of the South Island. The capital of the country is Wellington. Auckland is the largest city.
New Zealand is a generally mountainous country with several large plains and numerous braided rivers. The Waikato River (425km long), the longest river of New Zealand, flows north out of Lake Taupo (606 sq km), the largest lake in New Zealand, and empties into the Tasman Sea in the west. The South Island (known as the ‘mainland’ by its inhabitants as a direct slight to its more populated, and commercially-productive, northern neighbour) is dominated by the Southern Alps, the 650-km mountain chain which rises abruptly along the west coast.

New Zealand lies within the Temperate Zone; the climate is generally mild and seasonal differences are not great. The north end of the Auckland Peninsula has the warmest climate; the coldest weather occurs on the southwestern slopes of the Southern Alps.
Rainfall is generally moderate and the heaviest rainfall (about 5600 mm) occurs in Fiordland in the south-west of the country. The average maximum temperatures in Wellington, for example, vary between 20° C in January and 11° C in July.

3.1.2 History

Pre-European Times: The Maori people are referred to as the Tangata Whenua which means the ‘people of the land’, the original inhabitants of New Zealand. It is not known exactly when the first Maori canoes came to New Zealand, but Maori have lived in New Zealand for over 1000 years (Sinclair, 1985). Maori legend tells of an ancestor, Kupe, a great long-distance explorer from a place called Hawaiki, who discovered this land, which he named Aotearoa, ‘the land of the long white cloud’. Experts differ on the exact place of origin of Maori, but it is believed that they came from the Pacific in a series of migrations from the eighth to about the fourteenth centuries (Connor, 1995). Maori society, in times before European settlement was made up of a number of independent tribes. Tribal identity was based on kinship and leaders were chosen not only through kinship to the reigning tribe leader, but also through leadership ability. The Maori were subsistence food growers and gatherers and European contact introduced new tools and weapons. Settlers needed food and the Maori provided much of this by increasing their cultivation (Watson, 1993).

European Contact: Following the voyages of Captain James Cook to New Zealand from 1769, British naval and trading ships began to visit. Contact grew more regular and by the 1830s activities based in New Zealand were focused on whaling, timber, flax, shipbuilding and general trading (Phillips, 1987). By 1840 there were approximately 2000 European settlers scattered around the coastline, mainly in the north. Among the settlers were adventurers, escaped convicts from colonies in Australia, church missionaries, whalers and traders. Cook took possession in the name of the British Crown and sealers; whalers and timber cutters arrived in his wake, introducing the Maori to the musket, liquor, and influenza (Watson, 1993). A council of Maori chiefs ceded
sovereignty (the government) to the British Crown in return for the rights of Maori to peaceful possession of their land and the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

The Treaty of Waitangi: There were a number of reasons why a Treaty with Britain was sought by both the settlers and the Maori. There was concern that New Zealand would be taken over by another country and France, in particular was seen as posing such a threat. Also, the pressure of Maori and the new arrivals living together with no common set of rules led to increasing lawlessness and Maori land was being acquired through unfair methods (Phillips, 1987). In 1840, Governor Hobson arrived in New Zealand and a meeting between the Governor and over 400 Maori took place at Waitangi in the North Island. The proposed Treaty was read in both Maori and English. The Treaty gave the governorship of New Zealand to Britain and allowed pakeha or foreign people to settle here (Jones & Foster, 1994). The Maori gained the rights of British citizens, but there was much debate among Maori as to whether they should sign the Treaty, although the Treaty contained an important clause that said they would be guaranteed possession of their lands, forests, fisheries and other prized possessions. In the end, the Chiefs agreed to sign. Over the next months, missionaries took the Treaty around the country for other Chiefs to sign and more than 500 signed it. Today, the day on which the Treaty was signed (6 February) is called Waitangi Day and is New Zealand’s national day (Jones & Foster, 1994).

Most British settlers arrived after 1840. Other European and non-European groups also settled in New Zealand, including the French, Irish, Scots, Danish, Germans, Chinese, Dutch and especially after World War II, the Pacific Islanders. Overwhelmingly, New Zealand drew its early population from Great Britain and with it, British culture. The movement towards independence from Great Britain was slow. Limited self-government was granted as early as 1852, but full self-government was not achieved until 1947, when the country acquired legal powers to amend its own constitution and to pass laws inconsistent with British legislation that applied to New Zealand (Jones & Foster, 1994).
3.1.3 The people

During the 20th Century, New Zealand witnessed periods of steady population growth – 1.6% a year. The first million was reached in 1908 and the second million 44 years later in 1952. The population reached 3 million in 1973, and latest published estimates put New Zealand’s population at just over 3.8 million (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000). The 1996 Census showed that about two-fifths of Maori and Pacific Islands people identified with more than one ethnicity. Overall, by the year 2000, 83% of New Zealand’s population were European, 15% were Maori, 6% were Pacific Island people and 5% were Asian.  

The Pakeha: ‘Pakeha’ is the Maori word to describe people in New Zealand whose family roots lie in the United Kingdom, or other parts of Europe. While Pakeha share many of the beliefs and customs of their European ancestors, they have also been shaped by their experiences as New Zealanders. Over the past twenty years, there has been a marked shift on the part of Pakeha New Zealanders from seeing their country as a colony of Britain to seeing it as an independent Pacific nation. The image of New Zealand as a nation of farmers no longer holds true for the majority of the population. Today more New Zealanders live in an urban environment than in a rural one. Wises New Zealand Guide (1987, p.xv) explains why this is the case:

Urban areas ... provide better social, cultural, educational, professional and economic opportunities, and these factors serve to attract people to these areas, particularly new immigrants both from Europe and the Pacific Islands, so that Auckland now has the greatest concentration of Polynesians in New Zealand.

The Maori: The values of Maori society include a close relationship to the land, the sea and all natural things. Traditional Maori values provide for the gathering of food from natural resources, but place limits on the amount which can be taken, in order to protect the resources for the future. All tribes trace their ancestry back to one or more of the

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6 The overlap between these groups mean the percentages add to more than 100. It is important to note that the proportion of people of Asian origin in the New Zealand population has increased rapidly in the past ten years, consistent with the New Zealand central government’s use of migration from that region to fuel economic growth / development.
migrating canoes in which the Maori came to New Zealand. *Maoritanga* (Maori culture) is rich in legend and history. Oral traditions are especially important. The Maori had no written language, so all traditions were handed down by word of mouth (Phillips, 1987). Maori society places its elders in a position of high respect and emphasises the ideas of *mana* (prestige and identity), *tapu* (sacredness), *aroha* (love) and *wairua* (spirituality). *Patere* (the chant), *waiata* (song), *haka* (posture song), weaving and carving are art forms that are continued today. Dance forms a part of tradition as do ceremonies such as welcoming visitors. Today traditional dances are important in concerts and Maori gatherings.

The base for Maori society is the *marae* or family meeting place. Each tribe or family has its own *marae*. Traditionally, Maori lived on the *marae*, but today many live in the cities and visit the *marae* for particular events. The *marae* is a link to the past and to the tribe's ancestors. It is a place for meetings, speeches, discussions, funerals, weddings and any ceremony that involves the tribe (Jones & Foster, 1994). The importance which Maori place on their history and ancestors and their *whakapapa* or genealogy, is conveyed by the observation that, unlike Pakeha, Maori walk 'backwards' into the future (Bob Gidlow, Personal Communication., 2001).

### 3.1.4 Government

**Central Government:** New Zealand is an independent parliamentary democracy. The British monarch is also New Zealand’s head of state, of titular importance only. The Governor-General is the representative of Queen Elizabeth II in New Zealand. Constitutional convention controls much of what the Governor-General can do. The Governor-General formally agrees to Parliamentary bills so they can become law. One hundred and twenty⁷ Members of Parliament (MPs), make up the New Zealand Parliament which has the power to pass the laws or Acts of Parliament, to criticise the Government’s actions, and to vote supply of funds. When a new law is first introduced into Parliament, it is called a Bill. It is not law until it goes through a number of stages in

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⁷The number increased when proportional representation was introduced (Connor, 1995).
Parliament. The New Zealand Parliament is known as the House of Representatives. Unlike the British Parliamentary system, the New Zealand system now has no Upper House (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000).

The Prime Minister and the Ministers of the Crown together form the Cabinet. Each government department has a Minister to whom it reports. Ministers may be in charge of more than one department. After an election, the new Prime Minister advises the Governor-General which MPs should be Ministers of the Crown. The Prime Minister decides what area of government each Minister shall be responsible for. The Cabinet is the 'power house' of the Government and where decisions on all major policy issues, new laws and money allocations are made. Cabinet meetings are secret, so that Ministers can discuss policies freely. When Cabinet has made a decision about policy, all Ministers support that decision, even if they personally argued against it in Cabinet. Again, New Zealand is following the British Cabinet policy of 'collective responsibility' (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000).

Local Government: As well as having a central government, New Zealand has a system of local and regional government. The Local Government Act 1974 is the Statute constituting regional councils and territorial authorities (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000). There are two main types of local government organisations. Regional councils are responsible for such issues as flood control, pest and weed control, transport planning, civil defence planning, soil conservation and resource management. Regional councils cover a wider area than a territorial authority and deal with issues affecting the whole region. Territorial authorities (district and city councils) are responsible for land use, noise and litter control, roading, water supply, parks and recreation facilities, sewage, libraries, building consent, health inspection, pensioner housing, urban transport, parking and civil defence. The individual in charge of a territorial authority is the Mayor.

The structure of local government was thoroughly reorganised in 1989. There are now 12 regional councils, 74 territorial authorities, 147 community boards and 7 special authorities (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000). In 1989 a statement on the purposes
of local government was included in the *Local Government Act 1974* (This formally recognises the existence of different communities in New Zealand and their separate identities and values, and the effective participation of local persons in local government as central.) Local authorities have their own source of income independent of central government, and the basic sources of income (apart from the income of trading activities) are local taxes on landed property (rates). Local authorities set rates subject to *The Rating Powers Act 1988*. They are also permitted to corporatise or privatise their trading activities. Local authorities may consider putting out the delivery of services to competitive tender as an alternative to using in-house business units.

### 3.1.5 Economy

New Zealand’s traditional export products of sheep meat, beef, wool, butter, cheese, milk powder, hides and skins remain important export products. Horticulture has rapidly increased in importance and major horticulture exports include kiwifruit, apples, cut flowers and a range of exotic fruit. New Zealand wines are becoming well recognised in the international wine market and wine exports are increasing (Connor, 1995). New Zealand has one of the world’s largest Exclusive Economic Zones, which provides a large fishery resource. Seafood is a major export product, but already some species, such as *hoki*, are threatened and the fishery has to be carefully managed. There are also developments in the area of aquaculture, in particular of mussels, oysters and salmon.

New Zealand has a range of manufacturing industries, which have been experiencing strong export growth. A number of manufacturers cater for specialised markets. Products include wood furniture, sports-wear, specialist computer hardware, washing machines and products based on primary industry. The main market for exports of manufactured goods is Australia. Forty years ago, New Zealand relied economically on the United Kingdom but now has many more significant economic partners. According to Cook (2001: 33):

> As well as being one of our closest allies, Australia since 1990 has also been our most popular export destination and since 1967, Japan and the United States together have constantly received over 25% of our exports.
Approximately two-thirds of New Zealand’s GDP is drawn from the services sector, which includes transport, accommodation, trade, communication, finance, government services, software, educational and scientific services. The tourism industry is well developed with over a million tourists visiting New Zealand each year. Tourism is now a major foreign exchange earner. The global information technology (i.e., marketing via website) strongly supports this development.

New Zealand also has a strong information technology (IT) sector. Within New Zealand, hardware sales have grown to bring in a total of NZD$1.706 billion in 1998 (Cook, 2001). New Zealand is not a significant producer of IT, but may provide future leadership in applying information and communication technologies to business processes. Exports of customised computer software, computer consultancy services and computer royalties have grown steadily since 1997 (Cook, 2001). Overall, the New Zealand government’s economic policy has been to move away from an economy based upon the export of unprocessed agricultural products to a single market (UK), to becoming a diversified, ‘knowledge-based’ producer of value-added products to a wide range of overseas markets. In this quest, it has been partly effective.

There is evidence of growing disparities between rich and poor as a ‘cost’ of economic deregulation and encouragement of a liberalised economy. The existence of private schooling, inequality of wealth and income, and differentials in employment opportunities, are all examples which suggest that a sense of equality and of equal opportunity as important New Zealand values, are historic. For the early settlers there was a very real sense in which everybody was equal, each facing similar hardships and challenges in order to succeed in a new and difficult environment. As a result, New Zealand does not have a formal, rigid class system, but with growing inequality, opportunities for people to improve their situation through hard work alone are becoming less available.
3.2 The history of leisure, sport and recreation in New Zealand

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans (comprising mainly young men of British, French, American and Australian origin), from 1800 onwards, New Zealand was settled by Maori, a tribal Polynesian people (Perkins & Gidlow, 1991). The oral histories of the Maori contain detailed descriptions of their economic and social life before European contact - including accounts of games and play. Many Maori deeds are sketched in chant or song (Sinclair, 1985).

Frontier New Zealand was dominated by extractive industries such as whaling, flax cutting, gold-mining, timber milling and gum digging. Such industries, often set in remote locations, involved heavy manual labour and unpleasant and dangerous working conditions (Watson, 1993). The nature of their work, their reliance on each other for survival and the gender imbalance of the frontier all influenced the choice of sport and leisure activities of early European settlers. Rugby was quickly transposed from the sport of the elite in Britain to a game for the masses in New Zealand (de Jong, 1991). The important contributions which hunting, boxing, wrestling and foot races made to the pursuit of manhood have also been documented (Phillips, 1987). These activities were often accompanied by the heavy consumption of alcohol (Watson, 1993). Gambling and prostitution were part of frontier life for many, but other forms of recreation such as shearing, tug-o-war and log splitting, developed as extensions of work activities.

The Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 between the Maori and the British Crown gave legal equality to Maori and European settlers. Games and pastimes of Maori included dancing, singing, kite flying and playing musical instruments (cf. Perkins & Gidlow, 1991). However, the strong discretionary component associated with modern leisure practice was less apparent among a pre-industrial people - for example fishing was a mostly obligatory economic activity among the Maori. From 1840, however, European settlers

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8 According to the Social Report 2003, released in July 2003 by the Ministry of Social Development, the disposable income of top income earners is currently 2.7 times higher than that of lowest income earners cf. 2.4 times higher in 1988.
gradually gained ownership of most of Maori land and the Maori were subjugated. From 1840 to 1900 European society in New Zealand changed radically. In terms of sport and leisure, horse-related recreational activities were important. Most New Zealand settlers used horses not only for work and travel, but also for sport and recreation. Horse-based recreation occurred in the Anglican settlement of Canterbury, where attempts were made to use it to preserve class distinctions (Hindson, et al., 1994). Horse racing, as well as rowing, tennis, cricket and polo in European New Zealand, had much to do with the British elite (Watson, 1993), who comprised some of the wealthiest landowners in the new colony. In the same period of time, with growing understanding of leisure by the public, the role of hotel bars, brothels, sports, music halls, anniversary days, reading, gambling, opera and music recitals, women’s and youth organisations were becoming important and class differences in leisure patterns were growing (Perkins & Gidlow, 1991).

By the last decade of the 19th century, the white settler population was established in New Zealand (Hindson et al., 1994). Communal organisation and formation of sport increased, especially the establishment of sports and recreation clubs. Activities included yachting, croquet, cycling, curling, prize fighting, fishing, archery, hockey, quoits, skiing, greyhound racing, canoeing, water polo, draughts and badminton (Stothart, circa 1980). The development of sports clubs was mainly confined to urban centres. In rural communities, the organisation of most team games continued to be a more spontaneous affair. According to Watson (1993), team games commonly drew membership from local areas, workplaces or schools. Alongside team games, a number of outdoor individual pursuits became popular. Participation was usually club-based rather than informal. These clubs, including a number of tramping, skiing, hunting and fishing clubs, were developed after the First World War. The number of participants remained small in comparison with team sports and they were predominantly drawn from more affluent and educated social groups.

In New Zealand, sporting contacts were important avenues for developing a sense of loyalty and identity (Fougere, 1989). Rugby Union was particularly important in the
development of regional and national identity, because its popularity was all pervasive, drawing support from both town and country (Hindson et al., 1994). The domination of rugby over other sports was established early in the history of European settlement. Pupils of Christ’s College in Christchurch, an early private school modelled on English ‘public’ schools, played a form of rugby in 1853. Eight years later, inter-provincial matches began. By 1890 there were 700 clubs and 16 major unions, and a national controlling body was established in 1892. In New Zealand, rugby became a symbol of egalitarianism. It cut across social class and ethnic boundaries, and Maori were represented in early national teams, except those touring South Africa.

The physical and disciplined nature of rugby was used to promote the values essential for work, family and military service. Culturally, rugby also contributed to the sense of nationhood once the national team, the All Blacks, proved themselves capable of defeating the ‘Mother Country’, Britain, in 1905 (Hindson et al., 1994). By 1914, rugby was established as a compulsory part of the school curriculum, valued for its character-building qualities and for promoting values of teamwork, co-operation and discipline. As a result, rugby and other formal sports such as cricket and, in the case of girls, netball, sports which linked New Zealand with the ‘mother’ countries of the United Kingdom, occupied much school leisure time in New Zealand.

Prior to the Second World War, central and local government were slow to become involved in sport provision. The voluntary and commercial sectors met most of the organised sporting and recreational needs of New Zealanders (Hindson et al. 1994). Sport was also regarded as an individual responsibility. The Government limited its role to providing selected physical facilities such as national and local parks, sports facilities, playgrounds and community halls. Rather than promoting sport, central government’s major preoccupation was controlling and regulating undesirable ‘recreational’ activities such as prostitution, gambling and the abuse of alcohol (Hindson et al., 1994). As sports became more regular and organised, central and local governments took a greater role in leisure management and in the provision of playing fields and sporting facilities such as swimming pools, parks, tennis courts and gymnasiums.
In New Zealand, sport for everybody is valued as a primary human right and a contribution to fun in life (Palm, 1991). Fitting into the tradition of this country, outdoor sports such as swimming, hiking and cycling have increased in popularity. For example, in 1996, 78% of all New Zealand adults took part in sporting activities at least once a week and the most popular sporting activity is walking (Hillary Commission, 1996). In the context of Sport for All, participation has been promoted through various campaigns including ‘Come Alive’, ‘Moving the Nation’ and ‘Push Play’ (Hillary Commission, 1999). Increasingly, in the context of Elite Sport, New Zealand sports administration and sport policy at the national level aim to produce athletes who will be capable of winning ‘gold’ for their sport and their country (Hindson & Gidlow, 1994), particularly in the Commonwealth and Olympic Games. Both Sport for All and Elite Sport are taken into account in central government’s sport policy development.

The most recent developments in leisure, recreation and sport, particularly the policies and structures which support them, will be discussed in Chapters Five to Eight.
3.3 Malaysia: cultural history

3.3.1 The place

Figure 3.2: Map of Malaysia
(Source: www.theodora.com/maps)

Located between one and seven degrees north of the Equator in the heart of Southeast Asia, Malaysia covers 330,000 square kilometres and consists of two distinct parts. Peninsular Malaysia is the long finger of land extending down from Asia as if pointing towards Singapore and Indonesia. The other part of the country, comprising more than 50% of its area, is East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak) – the northern part of the island of Borneo. Blessed with an ample endowment of natural resources, much of Malaysia is covered by dense jungle with many large river systems, particularly in Sarawak. Mount Kinabalu in Sabah is the highest mountain in South East Asia, at 4,101 metres.

Malaysia has a typically tropical climate – it is hot and humid the year round and almost always sunny. The temperature rarely drops below 20° C even at night and usually climbs to 30° C or more during the day. Rainstorms tend to be short and sharp and are soon replaced by more sunshine. At certain times of the year it may rain all day. Malaysia is part of the region possessing the most ancient rainforests in the world; these have remained virtually unchanged for many millions of years. In just one country it is
possible to see the entire spectrum – from extensive lowland rainforest tracts to the summits of several mountainous areas.

3.3.2 History

The earliest Proto-Malay inhabitants occupied the Malay Peninsula between 2500 and 1500 BC. Then, around 300 BC., the Deutero-Malays, offspring of Proto-Malays who had inter-married with the people of Chinese, Indian, Arabic or Siamese origins, began to form the next wave of migration (Wong, 1994). 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. Muslim traders brought Islam to the country at the end of the 13th century and many of the residents, including the Sultan of Malacca (now, Melaka) in the 15th century, embraced the religion. In 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 monopolised 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 and from then on, the country came under British colonial power except for a brief invasion by the Japanese during World War II. After the war, the British returned to rule until the country’s independence in 1957.

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 on the part of her people, government and economic development.

3.3.3 The people

Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-religious society. Malays, Chinese and Indians make up the three main ethnic groups in this nation. Out of 22 million Malaysians, the Malays are the dominant group (60% of the population are Malays, Chinese 30%, Indian 8% and others 2% including indigenous Orang Asli). These groups, with different cultural
backgrounds, are free to practise their culture, religion and languages. While all Malays are nominally Muslims and Islam is the state religion, other ethnic groups are given religious freedom. Other religious affiliations include Buddhism, 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 Melayu) is the national and official language, but both Malay and English are used by the different ethnic groups. English is spoken more commonly among city dwellers, elites and educated people from the middle class.

The Malays: Malays, associated with Malaysia, and before that Malaya, are the most numerous ethnic group of the nation. According to the 16th century Sejarah Melayu (The Malay Annals), the term Melayu was derived from the name of the river which flowed from Palembang's sacred mountain, the birthplace of the rulers who went on to found Melaka (one of the states in Malaysia). The concept gradually broadened to include all those who spoke the Malay language, professed Islam and practised Malay customs. These days, the term is even more widespread and is used to describe the indigenous people of the entire archipelago.

Despite their imperialist attitudes, the British colonists liked the Malays. They admired their refined culture and their courtesy, and in their literature they stereotyped the Malay personality in a positive light. According to Cubitt & Moore (1995: 35):

The real Malay is courageous. He quotes proverbs, never drinks intoxicants and is rarely an opium smoker. He is by nature a sportsman, proud of his country and his people, venerates his ancient customs and traditions and has a proper respect for constituted authority.

Practising the faith of Islam is inseparable from being Malay, and it is so interwoven that Muslim converts are often said to 'become Malay' (masuk Melayu), when they adopt the

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9 According to Nordin Selat (1976: 23), Swettenham, F. A. (1948) refers to free time activities among the Malay Administrative middle class, which include hunting, sailing along the coastline, horse and elephant riding, cock fighting, sepak raga (takraw) – a traditional game – and kite flying.

10 Quoted from British Malaya 1948 – written by Frank Swettenham, former Governor, High Commissioner and historian.
Islamic faith. All Malaysian Malays are Muslims and it is forbidden by law to convert them to another faith. In theory, all Malay culture is governed by the code of Islam and the tenets of the faith are looked upon as the guidelines of Malay life. The day revolves around the five daily prayers, which to the average Malay are a natural part of their everyday routine. Yearly activities are determined by the fasting month of Ramadan, the Hari Raya celebrations at its close, and other important Islamic dates.

The Malays have always been good at accepting new ideas and incorporating them with the old. According to Cubitt & Moore (1995, p.36), for example:

These days a BMW-driving executive, who lives in an air-conditioned apartment, still finds time to return to his ancestral kampung (village) at festive times to fulfil his family obligations, and has no problems adjusting to the simple village lifestyle. Although he wears a suit and tie to the office, when he relaxes at home, returns to the kampung, and attends the mosque for Friday prayers, he dresses in the traditional chequered sarong and wears his characteristic brambles, a fez-like cap, known as a songkok. He may make the odd foray to McDonald’s to give the children a treat, but if given a choice he would definitely prefer the hot and tasty cuisine of his forefathers.

Except for a small minority of high-profile city businesswomen, most Malay women dress in the traditional baju kurung, a flattering, ankle-length suit, usually made of colourful silky fabrics, and cover their hair with a matching scarf or a short veil.

The Malays are most numerous on the Peninsula, especially in the rural areas and the East Coast. Nowadays the previously Chinese-dominated city areas boast sizeable Malay populations as young people educated in the villages, flock to the cities for better job opportunities. As many senior family members still live in their ancestral kampung, at the end of Ramadan there is a huge exodus of city dwellers making the pilgrimage back to the family home; nothing beats celebrating Hari Raya in the countryside. If home is where the heart is, Malay’s soul is in the kampung.

The Chinese and Indians: Malaysia straddles the dominant trade route to the Far East, and small communities of Chinese, Indians and other foreigners have existed in most trading centres since ancient times. If Malaysian demographics had not had been so radically altered during the British colonial era, these races would still be very small minorities.
The British Empire was interested in seeing Malaysia’s economy boom: in order to extract the vast amounts of tin, and tap the miles of rubber trees needed to keep the coffers full, thousands of workers were needed and obtained. It was not difficult to recruit Chinese, for they were only too pleased to escape the cycle of poverty into which they had been born. Nineteenth-century figures record the spectacular explosion of the Chinese population in Malaysia; community numbers in the 1830s rarely exceeded 500, but in 1870 there were 10,000 miners in Sungai Ujung alone. Kuching, which was a Malay village in 1840, was a Chinese town by the end of the 19th century.

Most of Malaysia’s Chinese are the descendants of 19th century immigrants, and although they have been in Malaysia for generations, they have preserved their languages and culture intact. Every city and town has its Chinatown, even the predominantly Malay states of Kelantan and Terengganu. The streets are lined with southern-Chinese-style shop houses adorned with calligraphy, where thriving family businesses sell sharks’ fins, birds’ nests and medicines.

In common with the early Chinese communities, the Indian groups were primarily based in port towns (e.g. Port Kelang). Their numbers were small compared to Malays, until the great migrations began under British rule. These saw the size of the Indian community explode from a few thousand to the present 8% of Peninsular Malaysia’s population. At first indentured Indian labourers from South India were brought in to build roads and railways, or to work on plantations. This proved unpopular and was replaced by the kangani system. Overseers in India recruited workers who came freely to work in Malaya, where they ensured the success of the rubber industry. However, compared to the urban Indian merchants and moneylenders, the estate workers rarely ventured far from plantations. Although many of their descendants have now successfully entered into all walks of Malaysian life, others remain a depressed minority unable to break away from life on the estates. Like Indians the world over, Malaysia’s Indian community proudly keeps up its traditional customs and religions, and its members speak their own dialects.
Since independence in 1957, and except for the race riots on 13th May 1969, the Malays, Chinese and Indian have lived in considerable harmony in Malaysia. Ethnic relations have played a prominent role in the political process and outcomes in this country. As Halligan & Turner (1995:65) explain:

The government has been an amalgam of ethnic-based political parties. From 1957-72 the Alliance government, a coalition of Malay, Chinese and Indian parties held power. After 1972 the Alliance broadened its appeal to include several smaller parties, and was renamed the National Front (Barisan Nasional), the dominant party within this diverse group being the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO).

Naturally the National Front Party looked to education and language as the cornerstones of national identity. But, according to Rowthorn et al.(1999:21), what it had not counted on “... was the fierce opposition of other ethnic groups to what many saw as the extension of Malay privileges into the education system”.

As time goes by, each ethnic group learns to understand, respect and tolerate others’ cultures and religions, or at least, that is the hope of the Malaysian government. One cultural assimilation phenomenon in Malaysia is intermarriage which is quite common among educated groups, in the cities, between Malay and Chinese, Malay and Indian and particularly between Chinese and Indian (Their children form a group called ‘Chindian’, which is a familiar term in Malaysia.) Intermarriage also happens where a Malay family adopts Chinese and/or Indian children. They grow up as ‘Malay’ and may finally marry Malay.

The Malaysian government is aware of the difference in cultural backgrounds among the people. After the 13th May 1969 incident, the five principles of Malaysian Nationhood (Rukunegara) were introduced, and the people pledge their united efforts to abide by them. These are:

1. Belief in God
2. Loyalty to King and Country
3. The Supremacy of the Constitution
4. The Rule of Law
5. Mutual respect and good social behaviour

(Malaysia Official Yearbook, 1997: 23)
Thus, continual efforts are made by the government to ensure that Malaysians live in harmony. Malaysia’s development plan, takes this matter into consideration and recently, the Eighth Malaysian Plan (2001: 18) considered sport to be an important and multi-faceted ‘tool’ in enhancing the quality of life in Malaysia:

Sport will continue to be promoted to develop world-class sportsmen and encourage a healthy lifestyle, as well as strengthen the spirit of solidarity, comradeship and *esprit de corps* among the various ethnic groups. To contribute towards the development of a disciplined and competitive Malaysian society, participation in sports will be encouraged through the implementation of appropriate programmes.

### 3.3.4 Government

Malaysia is a confederation of 13 states and the federal districts of Kuala Lumpur and Labuan Island. It is a Constitutional Monarchy, and the Head of State is the *Yang DiPertuan Agong* or ‘King’ of Malaysia, elected every five years by the Sultans who head nine of the Peninsula States. The country has two Houses of Parliament. The Lower House is *Dewan Rakyat* (People’s Council), consisting of 180 members elected every five years, and it is this house that forms the government and holds the real power. The Senate or *Dewan Negara* (State Council) consists of 70 members, 40 of whom are appointed by the *Yang DiPertuan Agong* on the basis of their experience or wisdom, or to represent interest groups or minorities. The remaining 30 are elected by the state legislatures.

**State administration:** With the exception of Melaka, Pulau Pinang Sabah and Sarawak, each State has a Ruler. The Ruler of Perlis is *Raja*, and of Negeri Sembilan the *Yang Dipertuan Besar*. The rest of the States are ruled by *Sultans*. The heads of the States of Melaka, Pulau Pinang, Sabah and Sarawak are designated as *Yang Dipertua Negeri*. Each state has its own written Constitution and Legislative Assembly and in Sarawak, the Legislative Assembly is known as the State Council. Every State Legislature has powers to legislate on matters not reserved for the Federal Parliament. Though subjects for legislation are set out in a Federal List, a Concurrent List (on which either the Federal or State Legislature may legislate) and a State List, residual power lies with the central
State. Wherever inconsistency arises, Federal Law prevails (Malaysia Official Yearbook, 1997.) Though the Federal Parliament has two Chambers, the *Dewan Rakyat* and *Dewan Negara*, all the States have only a single-chamber legislative body, presided over by a Speaker who is elected by the members from among their number (except *Sabah* and *Sarawak*). Each State Legislative Assembly has the right to order its own procedure.

**District and Local Administration:** In Peninsular Malaysia, each State is divided into districts, each under a District Officer, while each district is divided into *mukim* under *penghulu*. Each *kampung* (village) in the *mukim* has its headman, called *ketua kampung*. In *Sabah* the State is divided into Residencies, and *Sarawak* into Divisions. Elections to local Government authorities such as municipalities, rural districts, district and local councils, which were held under *The Local Government Elections Act 1960* were suspended in 1963 (Malaysia Official Yearbook, 1997.) Under *The Local Government Act 1976*, Local Authorities have been restructured by the State Governments under which they fall.

Malaysia is a democracy, as demonstrated by regular elections (the latest on 29th November 1999), but with little tolerance for opposition. After years of colonial rule and with just a few decades of experience as an independent country, difficult compromises had to be made in this multi-racial nation. The 1969 race riot prompted the Malaysian government to take more control and prevent discussions of sensitive issues (e.g. race relations) for fear that they might create more tension. Control of the media and of academics was deemed necessary. Most newspapers and television stations are owned and controlled by the party in power.

In general, interest groups are distrusted and participation in politics is not welcome. The government believes that at the present stage of development, authoritative institutions should be stronger than participative ones. Public consultation is not a common practice

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11 The Alliance Party/Government (*Parti Perikatan*, was renamed *The National Front* or *Barisan Nasional* in 1972), an interracial cooperation party among the Malaysian ethnic communities, has been in power since independence in 1957.
in Malaysia. Sport policy, like other social policies, is generally not established on the basis of the wishes of the communities but more according to the wishes of the government authorities. This ‘top-down’ approach became apparent in my Malaysian interviews. Until now, this ‘authoritative’ approach to democratic government has provided quite stable government and has contributed to the confidence of foreign investors and helped the economic recovery of the country.\textsuperscript{12} However, according to Wong (1994:32) “... a new generation of Malaysians started to criticise the older leaders of their ethnic communities when communal interests were slow in being met”.

3.3.5 Economy

Malaysia is a prosperous and progressive country. 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 in 1990 (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992: 7). In 1991, the economy grew at 8.6% (UN-ESCAP, 1993: 36). 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%, respectively, compared to the agriculture sector’s growth of 1.2% in 1992. In the same year, manufacturing and construction grew at 13% and 13.5%, respectively. There has also been tremendous foreign investment, totalling USD 6.5 billion in 1990 (Far Eastern Economic Review, 1992: 154), further fuelling the nation’s economic growth.

In 1994 the unemployment rate fell below 3% and inflation was kept under 4%. This created a development boom, especially in cities such as Kuala Lumpur. Consumerism is growing at a rate of almost 10%, and includes all sorts of leisure, recreation and sport products. The ultimate ‘economic’ goal, as expressed in the ‘Vision 2020’ statement of Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, is for Malaysia to become a ‘fully’ developed country by the year 2020. He stated, “... what we need to look at is our own

\textsuperscript{12} Parallels with Singapore under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew are striking.
achievements, whether we have a better quality of life, whether we have achieved higher standards in terms of education and in terms of well-being" (cf. Ahmad Sarji, 1993: 2). Related to this, Ahmad Sarji (1993, p.xiii), a former Secretary General of Malaysia stated:

Malaysia has now moved on to a new and more challenging phase in nation building. Today, Malaysia is guided by Vision 2020. Vision 2020 envisions Malaysia as a fully developed nation by the year 2020, developed not only economically, but also politically, socially and spiritually.

The Eighth Malaysian Plan (2001:3) recognises however that, while sustaining “... a united and equitable society”, Malaysia (especially the economy) “... will face greater challenges as a result of increasing globalisation and liberalisation as well as the rapid development of technology”.

3.4 The history of leisure, sport and recreation in Malaysia

Malaysians have always found time to relax, socialise, play and celebrate. Mubin (1972) provides detailed descriptions of selected play activities enjoyed in Malaysia. These include card games, kite flying, dance drama, self-defence and ‘sepak raga’ (a Malay traditional game). The Malay Annals reported that in the 15th century ‘sepak raga’, a game using a rattan ball kicked and maintained in the air as long as possible by a small group of players, was played during the Sultan’s stronghold on Malacca (now called Melaka), today the most ‘historical’ city of Malaysia (Abdul Rahim Ahmad, 1987). Play and other forms of leisure activities were and remain an expression of cultural distinctiveness. Picnicking, top-spinning, dancing, playing ‘dam’ (Malay chess) and Chinese chess were part of the cultural and recreational heritage of Malaysia.

Historically, opportunities for these games and recreational activities were geared to the requirements of rice-cultivation. Malay farmers worked in the padi fields all year round and in a twelve month period, their life activities were influenced and patterned by the padi planting seasons. Padi planting starts with the sowing of the seeds, ploughing using the buffalo, planting, weeding and fertilizing and finally harvesting. The completion of harvesting gave a resting time for the farmers, the land (soil) and the buffalo. The
community could look forward to their harvest festival – filled by various pastimes including kite flying on the spacious padi fields, top-spinning and sepak raga in the village and feasting - while waiting for the next planting season. This period of leisure time is known as masa senggang (a gap’ or ‘time in between’). From the original word senggang comes the word kesengggangan which means to have a past-time activity, to relax, or do nothing.

It was not until the British occupation, which lasted almost a century that competitive sports were introduced.

If you want to trace the history of [modern] sports in Malaysia…you should begin from around the end of 19th century. At first very few people were involved. Sport was mainly a European activity and gradually spread to the locals. By about the 1890s, for example, we already had football league matches in many towns. So, more and more locals became involved in sport. And then sport became a passion. (Khoo Kay Kim, Interview: 2001.)

Soccer was among the first of these competitive sports, being introduced in 1885. Polo, tennis, hockey, badminton and golf followed it. By 1980, more than 40 national sports associations had been formed, but they catered to a select few who had talent and who aspired to represent their association, or even their country at sporting competitions (Cousineau, 1995). For the mainly agricultural Malays, as well as for the earliest groups of Chinese and Indian people, time for leisure and opportunities for recreation were rare, still seasonally-determined, family-centred and spiritually-encapsulated.

In reality, Malaysia’s most popular sports are uneven in their apparent capacity to bring together the country’s different cultural communities. People of all ethnic backgrounds enjoy soccer and badminton, each in its own way the national sport. Most other leading sports, however, are identified in varying degrees with specific groups: Malays dominate takraw (a traditional game, sepak raga, whose name changed when it became a competition first in the South East Asian Games and then the Asian Games). Chinese are the most active in basketball and table tennis; and field hockey is primarily an Indian game, but one which has succeeded in attracting multi-ethnic support.
This pattern of preferences is partly a direct result of historical processes. The century which ended with the attainment of Malaysian independence in 1957 witnessed the introduction of non-indigenous sports along two paths. The first, the colonial path, involved sports pursued by British planters, businessmen and administrators. Sports in this category included lawn tennis, billiards, badminton, cricket, rugby and soccer. (In the case of soccer, however, nationalists’ sensibilities were preserved by means of the argument that soccer is a truly international, not a colonial, game). Field hockey and the ‘Chinese’ sports of basketball and table tennis were introduced by non-indigenous, and non-colonising, ethnic groups.

In 1986, the National Sport Council (NSC) and its affiliates successfully organised an interstate sports competition – the first Malaysian Games (SUKMA). Before that, national sports championships were contested separately by National Associations (Douglas, 1989). In 1986 some 4,000 male and female athletes competed for 600 medals in 16 sports, including tennis, field hockey, track and field, basketball, swimming, takraw, volleyball and netball. The Federal Territory won the gold medal tally; the states of Selangor and Sarawak finished second and third, respectively. Rural states such as Terengganu, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Kelantan and Perlis fared worst in the competition. (This event will be biennial and hosted by each state in turn.)

Given that the essence of the National Sport Policy is to foster national integration, it is important to government officials and sports administrators that sensitive racial harmonies are respected in the events which involve the whole nation. Inter-state competition is deliberately ‘engineered’ to ensure that ethnic group differences are minimised. Such events also provide opportunities for that particular state to develop sport provision and facilities to a high, preferably international, standard.

Prior to the 1998 Malaysian Commonwealth Games, the government emphasised elite sport in its promotion of sport facilities (e.g. National Sport Complex) and activities (e.g. identification of potential athletes, selection of athletes, a more vigorous training and testing programme). Priority was given to the development of competitive sports, especially those that have been identified as having a good chance of winning medals for
Malaysia, such as badminton, bowling and boxing. The National Sports Policy, 1988, undoubtedly helped raise the standard of sport in Malaysia in domestic and international competitions and also furthered the development of sport in the interests of nation building. Writing in 1995, however, and looking to the future, Cousineau (1995: 21) anticipated that "... from an emphasis on elite competitive sports, there will most likely be a shift towards an enhancement of prosperity, social equity, and quality of life for all, through leisure and recreation". My interviews with Malaysian policy makers, combined with an appreciation of globalisation processes, allowed me to investigate the accuracy of Cousineau’s prediction that “Malaysian Sport Policy may no longer meet the needs of the year 2000 and beyond” and should be “more towards a national policy on recreation, more centred on the needs and wants of people” (Cousineau, 1995:21)(See Chapter Five, particularly Sections 5.2 and 5.3, for comment.)

3.5 A comparison of different aspects of cultures in New Zealand and Malaysia

Cultures tend to organise the way members perceive, believe, think and evaluate the world, self and others. To highlight differences between New Zealand and Malaysia, I will discuss cultural variation with regard to: (a) the individual and the collective; (b) belief systems; (c) symbols and rituals; and (d) heroes. These attitudes, beliefs and values illustrate differences in thinking and acting between ‘Western’-oriented cultures and ‘Eastern’ ones 13. I draw attention to these variations because the following chapter on leisure behaviour will be largely concerned with common experiences and may leave an impression that ‘convergent’ forces are all-powerful and are eliminating cultural differences.

3.5.1 The individual and the collective

New Zealanders used to practise “equality before freedom” (Robinson & O’Rourke, 1973:3). Status was based on egalitarian norms and hierarchy was of less importance.

13 In their approaches to leisure, recreation and sport, New Zealand represents a ‘Western paradigm’ in the South Pacific region, and Malaysia represents an ‘Eastern paradigm’ in the South East Asia region.
The economic reforms which began in New Zealand in 1984 exemplify a Western focus on, and pre-occupation with, the individual: his or her ‘rights’ and potential to act in various ‘market-places’ as an autonomous, and thereby ‘free’, actor. Since 1984, the New Zealand – Western tradition has tended to focus on the individual rather than the group. The individual is expected to set his or her goals and determine through his or her own efforts, the fulfilment of these goals. As an autonomous individual, one is expected to be self-reliant, and attain fulfilment through one’s own personal achievements rather than expecting the State to ‘provide’.

The New Zealand – Western traditions also value action and regard time as important, with a distinction being drawn between time for work and time for play. As time can be measured, spent and saved, people move quickly to keep pace with it. Sinclair (1973), describing an earlier period in New Zealand history, elaborated the way New Zealanders appreciated the weekend as time for play and rest.

Sinclair (1973: 4) adapted M. K Joseph’s, “Secular Litany” poem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{That we may never lack two Sundays in a week} \\
\text{One to rest one to play} \\
\text{That we may worship in the liturgical drone} \\
\text{Of the race commentator and the radio raconteur} \\
\text{That we may avoid distinction and exception} \\
\text{Worship the mean, cultivate the mediocre} \\
\text{Live in a state house, raise forcibly educated children} \\
\text{Receive family benefits, and standard wages and a pension} \\
\text{And rest in peace in a state crematorium} \\
\text{Saint Allblack} \\
\text{Saint Monday Raceday} \\
\text{Saint Stabilisation} \\
\text{Pray for us}
\end{align*}
\]

Parallel to the development of a new ‘global citizen’ (Appadurai, 1990), discussed in Chapter One, New Zealand society has changed. The decline of religious observance means that fewer people go to Church on Sunday. The movement of married women into the paid workforce, some reduction in working hours and increases in shopping hours have made visiting malls more popular as recreation (Watson, 1998) in this country. Accordingly, the distinct separation of leisure time and work time is less prominent a
feature of New Zealanders' lives in the new millennium. New Zealand, once 'closed' at the weekend, is now fully a member of the '24/7' 'global' consumer culture, following the deregulation of shop trading hours.

On the other hand, Malaysian - Eastern traditions view a person as a member of a family, dependent on others and, as a result deriving his or her identity as a member of a close-knit group. Group or communal feelings supersede the incentive to excel over and above others. The basis of establishing contacts with other people is initially to cultivate good and friendly relationships. In terms of time, Malaysians are less hurried and as a result 'doing' is not emphasised as much as 'being' (M. Jegathesan, Interview: 2001). It is expected that one takes things as they are because of the importance placed on harmonious living. The Malaysian government sees this goal as essential.

In the New Economic Policy (1971 – 1990), for example, the government emphasised three objectives: the promotion of national unity and integration, the creation of employment opportunities and the promotion of overall economic growth (Wong, 1994). The first objective was considered the most salient and the movement towards it required restructuring the economy and society. Besides achieving racial economic equality, the government also strived to reduce communal tension (e.g. interracial relationships at work) and promote a deeper, common, national identity.

While the national cultures of New Zealand and Malaysia seem to be quite different, each society contains ethnic groups whose values are not always consistent with their national cultures. Thus, New Zealand Maori and New Zealand-resident Pacific Island Polynesians value collective identities in a way more akin to Malaysians than to pakeha New Zealanders.

3.5.2 Belief systems

Historically, in New Zealand the Christian Church had an important role as a 'moral conscience' seeking to temper the worst excesses of colonisation. In the past 50 years,
However, the role of religion in this country has declined. Increasingly religion is seen as a matter of personal choice. Moreover, the option of having no religion and openly rejecting religious beliefs has become accepted and protected. In New Zealand, as in most Western countries, the disengagement of the state from religion has given this position considerable authority (Lineham & Collins, 2000). It is possible to traverse major rites of passage – birth, coming of age, marriage, even death – without recourse to any spiritually-sanctioned guide or witness.

Most Western cultures, including New Zealand, believe that there has to be a separation of state from religion and they therefore promote a secular approach\textsuperscript{14} to development. Compartmentalisation means that religion, if it is practised at all, belongs to a person’s private life rather than public life. Truth and knowledge are derived from facts and empirical measurements, and are valued more highly than spiritual teachings. Policy making about leisure and sport in New Zealand, for example, relies on information about leisure behaviour and preferences gleaned from scientifically-conducted research.

Islam influences sport in Malaysia in ways unfamiliar to New Zealanders and their ‘secularised’ sporting provisions. Islamic communities have their own religious rules, beliefs and traditions which impact upon sport:

There are three factors which determine whether sport participation should be encouraged or not by both Muslim men and women. First, the concept of ‘aurah’\textsuperscript{15} must be observed. Second, the ethics of socialisation must be followed. Third, the responsibility as a Muslim must be adhered to (e.g. prayer time). If all these factors could be taken care of, there would not be any problem for Muslims being actively involved in sports. (Shaikh, M.S., Interview: 2001.)

Although Islam is an official national religion, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism are widely practised by various groups in Malaysia. As in the West, many religious activities take the form of celebrations or festivals and as such, they provide not only spiritual benefits but also the enjoyment found in many leisure activities. Several

\textsuperscript{14} In practice, however, this policy is inconsistent in its implementation. ‘Secular’ state schools, for example, sometimes invite Christians to come into the school to teach Bible lessons.

\textsuperscript{15} Muslim dress-code.
Religious events are occasions for socialising with friends and relatives, indulging in good food, dressing-up, viewing parades and playing games. Malaysia is known for its many celebrations that are sponsored by its various religious and ethnic groups (Cousineau, 1995).

The introduction of Western sports by the British colonists in Malaysia meant that they brought with them their own set of cultural influences too. Since sport is generally based on Western interpretations, many regulations, such as dress codes, do not acknowledge Islamic principles, and this may make it difficult for people, especially for Muslim women, to participate (Salman, 1998). Certain contact sports such as boxing and rugby were associated with aggression; swimming and gymnastics with 'indecent' sporting attire; golf and cricket as time consuming games which could affect Muslim athletes' ability to perform their daily prayer at set hours. There is, then, a 'tension' for Muslims regarding involvement in sport activity in Malaysia.

Nevertheless, sports continue to develop in Malaysia and become infused with Islamic as well as Eastern values.

In Islam, we [Malaysians] should not specify that you cannot wear this [referring to the dress code]. We cannot stop people from doing that. What we should do is to provide an alternative, an example, or a practical way and indirectly they will be followed. We should educate people and I mean this to include non-Muslims. They will then realise the rationale behind it and will start thinking about change. We don’t want to and cannot enforce ways of dressing, as people have a right to wear what they like and in the way they like. By providing an alternative they can change. Banning, for example is an approach which is not good all the time. (Shaikh, M.S., Interview: 2001.)

Islam has a 'liberal' attitude in Malaysia, but it influences leisure, recreation and sport behaviour, roles and policy in this country. At the level of government and policy, Islam is given respect: prayer calls (azan) are broadcast five times a day on the National TV channel; Muslim events are the basis of holidays e.g. Ramadan; prayer rooms are

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Religious or festival events in Malaysia include Hari Raya, a 2-3 day celebration after a one month Muslim fasting; the Chinese New Year and the five major Hindu festivals (e.g. Deepavali, Thaipusam). The festivals are often occasions for praying, feasting, singing, dancing, drama and parades, which take different forms from one ethnic group to the other. The ethnic groups participate in one another's festivals, normally gathering around food in the form of 'open house'.

provided in every public venue including sporting complexes, shopping malls, hotels, etc. At the individual level, however, the practice is not rigid. The individual is free to choose his or her own way of life, with due respect to the public right. There are individual Muslims (e.g. Nor Saiful Zaini, Malaysian National Hockey Team captain, 1990-2000) who have obeyed Muslim dress code while participating in tournaments. There are also Muslims, especially women, who participate in sport in isolation, with the family, for fun and not for competition. And, one must not deny that there are many Malaysian Muslims who ignore sport because they interpret Islamic values and sports as antithetical. This position is contested.

*Malayu duduk tepi sungai* (Malay lives on the river bank). So, at one time all Malaysians could swim. Now they can’t swim because of ‘Islamic concerns’. [The dress-code — *aurat* — restricts swimming] This is wrong. Swimming is good and one of the best exercises. So, although, we don’t ban swimming we don’t encourage Malays to do it. I think there is a loss of water sport from Malay society and it is now dominated by the Chinese. I don’t think Islam helps here. I am not a sort of mad secularist but there are things I draw the line at. I think it is a backward step, when you move from being a society that could swim to a society where the majority cannot swim. (Ungku Aziz, Interview: 2001.)

Approaches to the teaching of Islam influence the way people understand and perceive leisure, recreation and sport. Although in principle Islam encourages sport, in practice people see the ‘rules and ethics’ that determine participation as constraints on their opportunities to participate.

In both countries like elsewhere, there are a portion of population who engage in non-conforming, not socially acceptable, and sometime destructive (if not illegal) leisure activities such as drinking, drugs, gambling, loitering, prostitution, vandalism and others. The study of leisure includes both “good” and “bad” leisure. In fact, in both countries the two most popular activities are TV and shopping and that those activities are also considered as “a waste of time” and rated as least satisfactory.
3.5.3 Symbols and rituals

Symbols - words, objects, hand gestures, forms of dress, ways of addressing people - are used to enhance identity, commitment and compliance among ‘insiders’. In New Zealand, for example, according to Cameron (1993: 175), “... toughness is symbolic of working class ‘manhood’, or sexual identity, and sport focusing on toughness (such as rugby), is a primary means of inducting boys into manhood”. Rugby games become rituals, which are systematic and programmed, taking place in parks, clubs and stadiums. As explained by Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000):

Soccer was described by the term ‘sissy’ because players wouldn’t crash into people. So, rugby became dominant in this country... the All Black team has been about 75% successful over 100 years. They win more often than they lose. Young boys are mostly talking about rugby because the kids are exposed to it on TV. They aspire to be All Blacks.

Playing rugby, or watching people play rugby, became traditions over time. Rugby competition can be seen on TV almost every weekend in New Zealand, with club games on local TV and ‘Super 12’ and international fixtures on national TV channels and on Sky Sports. As rugby becomes commodified, however, “…[it] become[s] subject to the internationalising tendencies of capital, with the result that traditional links between a sport or sporting team and supporters, based on the common geographic origins of players and supporters, dissolve” (Cameron & Gidlow, 1998:137).

Being proud of their scenery and of being an outdoor people, New Zealanders like to associate themselves with an active lifestyle. Sport, fitness and active leisure “... have played a key part in creating and shaping New Zealand’s national image” (Muirhead, 2001: 185). In Malaysia, especially in city areas like Kuala Lumpur, people are happy to associate themselves with sport and active lifestyles – ‘I’m sweating’, ‘I love jogging’, ‘I work in the gym’ and ‘this is my new racket’. The University of Malaya, for example, has gazetted that every Saturday morning is a ‘walking day’ for the university’s staff. Similarly, after 5pm in the weekdays, I observed many individuals and families involved in physical activities, occupying open spaces around Kuala Lumpur such as at Perdana and Titiwangsa Lake Gardens. A Sunday morning in this city sees most people ‘jogging
with a stick’ because they are scared of dogs, whereas in New Zealand, ‘walking the dog’ or ‘jogging with the dog’ happens everywhere. When I spent time in New Zealand, I observed that ‘Kiwis’ gain a sense of satisfaction if their energies lead them to ‘work up a sweat’ in the middle of a cold day.

Symbols and rituals express the values of New Zealanders and Malaysians and indicate the strengths of their adherence to certain behavioural norms related to good health and well-being. The cultural ‘markers’ differ between the societies. While New Zealanders value manliness, ruggedness and being outdoors (New Zealand women too are often praised for these qualities), Malaysians seek to associate themselves with communal activity, often centring on food and eating, and they value religion.

3.5.4 Heroes

New Zealanders are intensely nationalistic when it comes to identifying with the success of their national teams, particularly the All Black rugby team. “Losing a rugby match can cast a gloom over the entire nation. It is about more than just losing a game” (Roberts & McIntosh, 1999: 295). Winning becomes a matter of national pride. These values, unconsciously, influence attitudes and behaviour – the way people think, feel and act towards sport and sporting persons. More often, heroes serve as models for behaviour and exemplify the ideal members within society. Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000) described the situation this way:

You go to the stadium to see Jonah Lomu or Tana Umanga because they are so powerful and so skilful. When Umanga gets the ball the crowds just shout ‘UUU’ ‘AAA’ ‘UMANGA’. They make a chant out of his name. Kids say, ‘I love it, I love it, it’s great, it’s great’. They paint their faces to be associated with it. I think there is a sort of ‘role model’ ‘hero-worship’ influence and I think it’s always been there.

Stothart indicated that New Zealanders have always valued sporting excellence and sporting ‘stars’; it is just that the development of the electronic media has exponentially increased the manifestation of this tendency.
New Zealand is not only the birthplace of rugby heroes like Jonah Lomu, but also other sports personalities like Peter Snell (Athletics), Susan Devoy (Squash) and Arthur Lydiard (Athletics). These personalities are significant in New Zealand’s sports development and they make a strong international contribution as well. Joseph Romanos (Interview: 2001) recalled, for example:

Arthur Lydiard started the jogging movement in 1962/63, and one of the people he coached was an American named Bowerman. Bowerman took the idea of jogging back to America and companies like Nike and Reebok became involved. They thought it was great because they could make shoes for the joggers. So the Americans embraced the jogging movement and within a few years it swept around the world. So you can’t go to any country in the world now without seeing joggers everywhere. That really started with Arthur Lydiard in New Zealand in the early 1960s.

Stothart (Interview: 2000) commented on another aspect of Arthur Lydiard’s contribution:

Peter Snell and Murray Halberg were very successful in 1960 in Rome, and in 1964 in Tokyo at the Olympic Games. They were coached by Arthur Lydiard, a very forceful personality who didn’t get paid for his coaching. He was an amateur, who was a boot maker by trade and did this [coaching] in his spare time. Now, they were very successful and Arthur Lydiard started lobbying the government to do more to help sport. He was one of many…and it led to [the establishment of] the Council for Recreation and Sport 1972.

In New Zealand, sports ‘heroes’ have a central place in society and as advocates for sporting reforms. Ron Scott, for example (one of my New Zealand interviewees), was knighted for his role as Commonwealth Games Chairman, Christchurch, 1974.

In Malaysia, by contrast, politicians are more popular role models than sports stars and it is common for politicians to lead reviews of sport (Rahim, 1994). The Minister of Youth and Sport, Dato’ Najib Tun Razak led the taskforce committee as a chairperson in the formulation of Malaysian Sport Policy 1988. According to Khoo (Interview: 2001), “…in Malaysia we believe that the politicians and civil servants are the best decision makers in every field, in education, in sport… they are top people. That is not true. So, it is bureaucracy that controls sport”. These examples emphasise the fact that politicians and civil service leaders are powerful members of Malaysian society. The New Zealand
government still gives a mandate to former national athletes (e.g. Graham [2001], John Parker [1992]) to lead policy review taskforces relating to sport and recreation in a way that is not found in Malaysia.

Over time, Malaysian sports heroes such as M. Jegathesan (Olympic runner), Sidek family: Misbun, Razif, Jailani and Rashid (Badminton), Nor Saiful Zaini (Field Hockey) and Shalin Zulkifli (Bowling) have influenced only Malaysian sports enthusiasts, not society as a whole, even at the peak of their involvement. Many Malaysian former national athletes are forgotten; they are not really accepted as ‘successful persons’ and role models for society. (The exception is possibly M. Jegathesan, who was successful in both sport and as a medical doctor).

In Malaysia, then, sports figures are not dominant in society. Malaysians appreciate politicians and the royal family more and honour them by making them patrons and leaders of sport and recreation associations. Rarely are former national players expected to be leaders in these associations. The most influence that they can expect to gain will be as a coach, e.g., Misbun Sidek in badminton.

At the same time, certain sports, such as badminton, whose players achieve at a higher level, change people’s attitudes to sports. (Badminton is the most popular game in Malaysia, and has allowed Malaysia to be quite successful internationally.)

According to Khoo Kay Kim (Interview: 2001), if a particular sport achieves high ranking, it will change society’s sports attitudes and behaviour.

The national team will draw the entire nation to watch and every time the team performs well, everyone becomes jubilant. And if it keeps on winning, then they become fully involved emotionally. This situation can be seen in the Latin American countries, where they are so involved in football, which is so much a part of their culture. In 1949 when we became a world champion in badminton by winning the Thomas Cup, all the school children, even adults…. started playing badminton. And that was the time when they started to build badminton halls. Previously they never did. They just used school halls, or whatever – halls which were not specifically built for badminton. So, you can see that sport can be used to mobilise the entire nation into being actively involved in sport.
3.6 Summary

This chapter provided cultural and historical information about New Zealand and Malaysian societies generally and the history and the cultural significance of leisure, sport and recreation specifically. Because of the different historical ‘routes’, both countries have their own national cultural practices that influence leisure sectors. A simplistic reading of the history of these societies would suggest that leisure, sport and recreation activities have converged, fuelled by British colonisation. For a number of reasons, this would not be an accurate conclusion.

First, the context and clearly the time at which colonial development took place differed between Malaysia and New Zealand. New Zealand in the 1840 and 1850s was remote from the ‘Mother Country’, the economic infrastructure was non-existent, the country scarcely inhabited, and Britain was a very reluctant partner. Malaysia was already a populous archipelago, composed of a number of ethnic groups, and the British came to exploit, rather than to settle.

Second, while favoured activities and institutions in the Mother Country were transposed to the colonies, their lasting effects were far greater in the case of New Zealand, which saw itself as a Little England in the South Pacific until well into the 1930s. Cultural ties and associations, for example, remained strong long after this country gained political independence. The popularity (and success!) of badminton in Malaysia has no close parallel with developments in Britain, where badminton is a minority code, except for its origins. Badminton was popularised by Malaysian students who learnt the game while attending Cambridge University, England, in the 1930s (Khoo, 1996). (Malaysia went on to become one of elite badminton nations in the world, winning the Thomas Cup five times in the past five decades.)

Third, colonial societies have ways of taking features of the colonising societies, including leisure activities and sports, and bestowing contingent meanings on them.
Rugby football, for example, has a cultural significance in New Zealand, allied to its frontier history, which has no equivalent in Great Britain.

Despite their common experience as British colonies, therefore, my conclusion must be that Malaysia and New Zealand have experienced very different cultural 'pathways' from Britain, and from each other. In the following chapter, and with this historical context established, I will move to a consideration of contemporary patterns of leisure behaviour in New Zealand and Malaysia.
Chapter 4
Leisure behaviour in New Zealand and Malaysia

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will examine leisure behaviour in New Zealand and Malaysia. Although the data are not as robust as one would like in the case of Malaysia, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that leisure behaviour and leisure preferences in these two countries are becoming increasingly similar, even though not overlapping. The media play an important part in promoting activities and the commercial leisure sector increasingly accounts for leisure preferences. Much of the material in this chapter, therefore, will provide support for the 'convergence' thesis applied to leisure, recreation and sport in these two countries. Caveats will be noted, however, and the reader is invited to suspend judgment until other, later, findings in this thesis have been canvassed.

4.1 Contemporary leisure patterns

The Life in New Zealand survey noted that New Zealanders' leisure involvement was most frequently undertaken in the home environment. The most popular forms of recreation among New Zealanders included reading (48%), watching TV and videos (42%), visiting friends (35%) listening to music (32%), and gardening (28%) (Cushman et al., 1991). The foremost sporting interests, according to LINZ, were walking, swimming, snooker and pool, tennis and aerobics. A more recent survey, the 'Cultural Experiences Survey' (Statistics New Zealand, October 2003: 9), was conducted on a national basis in early 2002. Despite some poor question construction, this survey confirmed the centrality of television to New Zealanders' consumption of cultural activities such as movies, drama and popular music.

Popular notions of leisure focus on pleasure, fun and enjoyment by oneself, or with friends and family in a variety of settings (Gidlow et al., 1994). The conception of New
Zealanders at leisure includes health, physical fitness and high levels of involvement in organised sport. In fact, however, LINZ demonstrated that active participation in sport is less popular than sedentary forms of leisure and recreation. On the basis of these data, Cushman et al. (1991) claim that leisure of a physically undemanding nature is the most popular leisure activity in New Zealand.

In terms of elite sports, rugby union football is the most pervasive sport in New Zealand. Rugby league, netball and cricket also continue to be popular. Independent and more individualistic sports such as rowing, canoeing, yachting, equestrian, mountaineering, triathlon and squash, however, have seen world champions emerge from this country (Graham Report, 2001). These examples show that New Zealanders emphasise not only team-based sports but also individual performance.

More New Zealanders, however, watch sport than participate in it (Graham Report, 2001). According to the Sport and Physical Activity Survey (1998), one in three New Zealanders is physically inactive, with males being more active than females. In terms of participation rates, fewer New Zealanders are playing sport and that is more evident in the 40 plus age group. New Zealanders most likely to be actively engaged in sport are those aged 15-29 years. New Zealand's image of providing an active outdoor environment has remained popular at the same time as urban community recreation and sports have increased.

For the past 20 years or so, New Zealand society has been marked by a greater diversity of leisure activities, increasing the range of individual choices. Activities such as aerobics, gymnasium workouts, jogging and cycling have grown in popularity as part of a growing emphasis on 'individualised' leisure activity (Watson, 1993). According to Watson (1993: 25):

Thousands now compete as individuals in road running, and many more jog alone. Squash, a game between individuals, has become popular since the 1960s.

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17 A recent Bledisloe Cup rugby match between the New Zealand 'All Blacks' and the Australian 'Wallabies', played in the middle of winter (July 2002) on a bitterly cold and rainy night, attracted 35,000 spectators, a capacity crowd, to Jade Stadium, Christchurch.
It is well suited to an urban environment where space is at a premium, as is skateboarding, an individual display of skill of recurrent popularity among the young.

Many types of sports have been modified and are practised now as leisure-time activities. While the "... over emphasis on rugby has largely gone" (Peter Dale, Interview: 2000) there has been a highly significant growth of interest in basketball and netball (Thomson, 2000).

Not all sports are practised in their highly organised and regulated form. While elite sports have been expanding structurally and professionally, and are supported by sponsorship and media coverage, informally, sports provide a framework for recreational activity with an emphasis on participation and fun. Touch rugby, for example, has grown rapidly in the past decade, and this form of national game has been characterised by less organisation and bureaucracy, informality, greater participant control, and the active participation of both males and females. This 'Sport for All' approach encourages community participation in sport, and contributes to fun, fitness and health, as well as capturing the interest of wider groups of citizens than ‘traditional’ sports were able to do. Children, women, and senior citizens can equally enjoy sport (e.g. community group brisk walking), as a leisure time activity. More women are involved in active recreation (Joseph Romanos, Interview: 2001). Indeed it is "... suspected that the increase of 95% in participation [sport and recreation] in New Zealand over the past 20 years is as a result of young women playing sports" (Peter Dale, Interview: 2000).

As yet there is no equivalent study in Malaysia to the Life in New Zealand Survey, the Sport and Physical Activity Survey or the more recent Cultural Experiences Survey, and no interest yet in collecting data in this area. However, Cousineau (1995) suggested that, "...television, visiting friends and family, shopping in larger cities, and spending time socialising around food are probably the most time consuming leisure activities in Malaysia" (1995:10). The dominance of passive leisure, such as watching TV and VCD,
listening to the radio, jalan-jalan (sight-seeing), makan-makan (dining-out), shopping\textsuperscript{18} and attending social events is now apparent. Almost every Malaysian family can afford to own a TV set (Cousineau, 1995) and is exposed to the international events through Astro channel (the equivalent to Sky TV in New Zealand).

Other recreational activities stated by Cousineau are sports, fitness (gymnasium) and outdoor recreation – vacations to green areas and coastal beaches and travelling around Kuala Lumpur. Jabar Johari (Interview: 2001) observed:

Most people are more interested in making extra cash, having a second job, etc. Some will participate in unhealthy leisure activities like too much TV, video games, pubs, gambling and loitering. We do have some [active] leisure participation, sport, 4WD... Malaysians also go fishing...

The emergence of various new technologies applied to sport and leisure has influenced people’s leisure lifestyle in New Zealand and Malaysia (Bob Stothart, Interview: 2000; M. Jegathesan, Interview: 2001). Interactive technology allows children to play games on their TVs using sophisticated accessories, allows adults to shop or carry out banking from home, etc. These activities are less physically demanding and can be conducted on a twenty-four hours, seven days per week (24/7), basis.

The electronic recreational activities allow those who can access information technology to become part of the global community.

Large numbers of New Zealanders now have access to the ‘world wide web’ via personal computers and modems, and ‘surfing the net’ is rapidly growing in popularity as a form of recreation. It provides the individual with an enormous and constantly proliferating range of choice in information and entertainment, which those in authority are finding difficult, perhaps impossible, to control and censor. (Watson, 1998: 29-30.)

VCR and cable networks have revolutionised TV use. With the availability of TV-type cable and satellite networks, such as SKY Sport (New Zealand) and Astro Sport

\textsuperscript{18} Malaysia has been promoted as an international shopping destination. To enhance this, three Mega Sales Carnivals were simultaneously carried out in all states in March, August and December 2000. To make shopping more attractive, leather goods were added to the list of duty free items such as cameras, watches, pens, cosmetics and computers (Eighth Malaysian Plan, 2001).
Malaysia), soccer followers in both countries (and the whole world) were able to watch the 2002 Korea/Japan World Cup Football (June 2002) at the same time.

Thomson (2000) charts the changes in New Zealand leisure patterns following the increase in commercialised leisure and the effect of globalisation on sports, but he could equally well be describing changes in Malaysia. There has been considerable growth in the popularity of active but less organised and regulated physical activities, activities which have much less emphasis on traditional sporting rules and regulations. Informal sport and active physical leisure activities such as surfing, beach volleyball, snowboarding, roller-blading and skateboarding, which tend to emphasise values such as excitement, spontaneity, sociability and creativity, are prominent. Many of these activities are commercially supported and sponsored, encouraging marketing-fuelled crossovers to fashions in clothing, footwear and music.

The history of the professionalisation of rugby union in New Zealand illustrates the global nature of commercial imperatives. During the 1980s, New Zealand's best players were leaving New Zealand to take up well-paid jobs elsewhere in the 'global' rugby market place, e.g., Japan. The New Zealand Code had little choice but to follow suit.

I think it's not just the locals. New Zealanders change because the world environment has changed. We have professional rugby players but that's because Australia, South Africa, Great Britain and France, have professional players as well. Macro industries have grown out of that. Top rugby players, as you know are under contract to the New Zealand Rugby Union or clubs. But at the end of their New Zealand career, they can go to play in Japan, England or France as professionals and they can earn more money. I think the same thing happens around the world. (Sir Ron Scott, Interview: 2000.)

There has been a significant growth in professional sport in New Zealand since the professionalisation of rugby, previously a strictly amateur code, in 1995 (Thomson, 2000). This has had a galvanising impact on other codes, whether professional or amateur, as the 'entertainment' factor became important. Professional sport is entertainment and very much relies on advertising-linked product sponsoring and endorsement via televisual media. An increasing amount of media focus is now on selling products by association with leisure, but particularly sporting, lifestyles.
I think TV had huge amount to do with the process of change (professionalism) because TV became a much more powerful media for millions of viewers. Then it's important for the sport that they show the best that they can acquire as they want the game to be presented in a professional manner. By doing that they can get more sponsorship support. So it's a combination of things, which I think has been responsible for the change. My emphasis is that the changes were really global rather than exclusive to this country. (Sir Ron Scott, Interview: 2000.)

The development of professional sport in New Zealand has taken elite sport further and further away from the 'leisure circle'. Professional sport has its focus on performance, and emphasises such things as selection, training, thresholds, work loads, etc. (Ingham & Chase, 1999), but it places less emphasis on participation, inclusion, equality and cooperation.

If you look at something like the Americas Cup, which is sport, you could argue, but you could also argue that is long way from sport. In other words it is a multi-million dollar business. I guess I look at something like Rugby and I have to say the same. Professional sport in some respects maybe, is part of the continuum and that continuum seems to be moving away from leisure. The leisure side may well be the spectators. On the other side, sports are so focused on commercial activity or employment. (Trevor Garrett, Interview: 2000.)

Most positions in New Zealand's national sport associations now are paid and there are more people in sport (even if they are not professional) who can earn prize money from their activities (Sir Ron Scott, Interview: 2000).

Professional sport in Malaysia is still in its infancy, compared to New Zealand with its professional rugby and cricket. Soccer, via the Football Association of Malaysia has made an initial step in this direction. It started as a semi-professional league in 1989, converting to a professional league in mid-1990:

In general the Malaysian government supports the development of sport in the country through the relevant set-up that is in place i.e. Ministry of Youth and Sport, National Sport Council, Olympic Council of Malaysia, etc. But the government is not directly involved in the development of professional sport. It is the role of the various associations and agencies to develop and raise the standard of the sport so that it reaches professional level. In my opinion, the government is

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19 Trevor Garrett (Interview: 2000) used this term in an interview session. Referring to the Americas Cup and rugby, Garrett stressed the increasing importance of extrinsic values (dollar/business) relative to intrinsic values (fun / enjoyment).
aware that a good sport association at the end of the day will strive to achieve the highest status in sport achievement, that is professionalism.
(Rosli Hussein\textsuperscript{20}, Personal Communication., 2001)

Over the past twenty years, however, the Malaysian government, via its ministries and policies, has been more interested in developing Olympic sports and hosting major sporting events than in encouraging professionalism in sport. With the exception of soccer, which is still struggling to achieve full professional status, no other sport in Malaysia is being managed on a professional basis.

4.2 The economic contribution of leisure behaviour

In both New Zealand and Malaysia, leisure sport and recreation make significant contributions to the economy. New Zealand has more written information about the economics of leisure and sport provision than Malaysia. The *Business of Sport and Leisure* (Hillary Commission, 1993) examined the economic impact of sport and leisure and determined it to be $4.5 million per day. The tax payments of $300 million per year from sport and leisure and the supporting of almost 23,000 jobs are direct outcomes from these sectors for New Zealand. In Malaysia, according to the *Household Expenditure Survey 1998/1999* (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2000), 5.9% of total household expenditure went on recreation, entertainment, education and cultural services. In detail, under this category, only about 4% was spent on sports but more than 60% on TV sets; video and cassette recorders (18%), radio, hi-fi sets, computers, etc. (22%) and lotteries, and other gambling (22%). These data further confirm the picture of leisure lifestyles as urban based, household centred, entertainment focussed and electronically mediated.

Leisure activity has become the primary economic base for many large cities and their citizens, including Auckland and Kuala Lumpur. The quality of urban life now has much to do with leisure (e.g., parks, the arts, sport, entertainment, opportunities for tranquillity, and the qualities of the natural environment). Leisure, recreation and sports have changed

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urban lifestyles. Colin Dale (Interview: 2000) gives an example of this change in Manukau and Auckland Cities:

Clubs like football, cricket, rugby league ... while a social sports club used to be a place for socialising, now it no longer gets income from the bar, as people are more aware of alcohol consumption while driving. So lots of sports clubs are affected and they’re putting in poker machines which is a big change. As a result most clubs face dropping membership because they can’t provide other facilities required. So people choose to stay at home – enjoy family life, have a drink at home, watch TV, etc.

In Kuala Lumpur, according to Ungku Aziz (Interview: 2001), most people “... fill [their] leisure time with ‘creative’ activities, which are not as physical, like writing or reading or listening to music.....watching TV or using the play station”.

The merger of sport and entertainment offers major opportunities for further commercial expansion - videos, clothing, souvenirs, music, etc. - as well as providing links to the hospitality and tourism industries. The Americas Cup, held twice in Auckland, New Zealand, and the entertainment provided before and after professional rugby games in New Zealand, illustrate how ‘sport’ merges with ‘entertainment’. In Malaysia, sport and recreation as well as cultural activities such as folk-dancing, have been manipulated to provide a source of entertainment for visitors and a major form of economic revenue to State and central governments.

Commercialised leisure and sport are becoming important tourism ‘products’ in Malaysia and New Zealand. For example, nature-based sports activities, such as ski-ing in New Zealand and scuba diving in Malaysia, are being encouraged because of their links with tourism marketing.

We [in Malaysia] have a unique environment – rivers, mountains, lakes, islands and the sea. All these have the potential for nature-based recreational activities like kayaking, caving, mountaineering, scuba diving, etc. In terms of events and activities, I think we [Malaysian tourism] almost 100% depend on sport and recreation events. In the year 2001, there were 696 events – water festivals, regattas, kite festivals – in the form of competition, but of course related to the place and culture. (M. Salleh Othman, Interview: 2001.)
Hosting international events such as the Commonwealth Games 1998, involves a vast financial outlay. Sieh Kok Chi (Interview: 2001) informed me that the Malaysian government spent billions of dollars in hosting this event as they considered this to be an investment in economic development and nation building. The 1998 ‘Malaysia’ Games (The 16th Commonwealth Games) attracted 6,670 athletes and officials and there was a substantial number of media and visitors from abroad, as reflected by the 4.4% increase in tourist arrivals in September 1998 compared with the corresponding period in 1997 (Eighth Malaysia Plan, 2001). Other annual world-class events held in Malaysia include the Formula One Grand Prix, World Motorcycle Grand Prix and Mount Kinabalu International Climbathon.

One thing I would say, today, is that sport is being run as a business. It has become commercialised. For example, running international sport events like the Formula One in Sepang is good economically for Malaysia as it brings in foreign exchange. Most of these sports events bring in tourists and participants from overseas. Bringing in a lot of revenue in terms of foreign currency is good for the country, in a way. (Shaikh M.S., Interview: 2001.)

Certainly, the enormous involvement of the Malaysian government in hosting such events, in cooperation with sports associations and private companies, has contributed to economic and tourism industry development in that country.

4.3 The emphasis on sport and physical activity in leisure policy

Sedentary lifestyles associated with contemporary work and leisure patterns mean that in both New Zealand and Malaysia, people are becoming less active.

The Life in New Zealand survey (Cushman et al., 1991) indicated that the most popular leisure activities are those which take place in the home and are of a physically undemanding nature. Even the most popular out-of-home activities are generally “[of]

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21 The number of tourist arrivals to Malaysia declined 13% in 1997 and 10.6% in 1998. This decline was mainly due to occurrences of haze, localised outbreaks of Nipah and Coxsackie viruses, as well as the Asian financial crisis. After the Commonwealth Games 1998, the tourism industry recovered quickly as reflected by the rapid increase in the number of tourists to 7.9 million in 1999, which represented an increase of 43.6% over 1998. In 2000, the number of tourists increased to 10.2 million (Eighth Malaysia Plan, 2001).
a social nature, involving visiting friends and relatives, going to pubs and restaurants and car-based trips to coast and countryside" (Perkins et al., 1998). Findings such as these led the Graham Report to make a recommendation to increase the physical activity of all New Zealanders in order to realise its vision (Graham Report, 2001).

The Malaysian National Health and Morbidity Survey indicated that nearly 70% of Malaysians did not exercise. The group consisted of people from the rural stratum, older people, the socio-economically disadvantaged, women, private employees and those in the agriculture and production sector, and those who are obese and underweight (Ministry of Health, Malaysia, 1997:26).

In both societies, people’s leisure lifestyle generates problems of obesity and lack of fitness, even in children. The ‘Couch Potato Index’ in New Zealand is currently 34% (900,000) (Hillary Commission Today, 2000). Even this percentage is considerably low compared to Malaysia, but a ‘couch potato’ still runs a greater risk of obesity, heart disease, diabetes, depression and colon cancer, as well as many other chronic medical conditions.

In Malaysia, according to the National Health and Morbidity Survey (Ministry of Health, Malaysia, 1997: Vol. 3), the prevalence of obesity has increased over the past decade, and now some 8 – 12% of children and 5 – 8% of adults are obese. The President of the Malaysian Association for the Study on Obesity, Prof. Dr. Mohd Ismail Noor said that “…the major contributing factor to weight gain is the increasing proportion of fat intake throughout the diet, together with a reduction in the level of physical activity” (Sunday Star, 2000: 8). Mohd Ismail (Sunday Star, 2000:8) explained more about the Malaysian lifestyle-related passive leisure:

We eat out more, sit by the computer most of the day, and become couch potatoes, watching satellite TV and are less active in physical activities. In the office, we sit at our desks and when we come home, we sit in front of the TV. Moreover, with a rise in car ownership, many people opt to drive to nearby destinations, rather than walk or cycle. Mechanisation, robotics, computerisation and control systems have also reduced the need for moderate activity and movement… Many children spend less time outdoors, as they prefer to watch TV
or play computer games. They not only sit 7 to 8 hours in school but also do the same thing at home.

In both societies, a concern with the link between sport and physical activity/exercise and health has become prominent in leisure, recreation and sport policy. In New Zealand, Diana O’Neill (Interview: 2000) emphasised that physical activity having a preventive role in many diseases (cancers, diabetes, cardiovascular, etc.) means that each day that New Zealanders are inactive increases the potential costs to the community. In Malaysia too, as M. Jegathesan (Interview: 2001) claimed:

Various [leisure, recreation and sport] activities can be considered to be exercise, which in turn is linked to the concept of getting physically fit for health. So, it is a question of incorporating such activity into one’s lifestyles. This is in the way of a healthy lifestyle, which is linked to a paradigm of wellness.

The preventive role of active leisure has been given attention by the governments of both countries in their respective public health policies too. According to the Graham Report (2001: 103), “... the Ministry of Health will be one of the most critical partners with Active New Zealand in developing a nation of healthy self-achieving New Zealanders”. Joint policies between the two agencies will be developed to achieve the public health outcome of increased physical activity. In Malaysia, the Ministry of Health has promoted nationwide programmes encouraging exercise and better nutrition and diet through media, seminars and pamphlets (M. Jegathesan, Interview: 2001).

The dynamics of many passive leisure symbols and rituals in New Zealand and Malaysia (e.g., the take-away hamburger purchased on the way to, or from a leisure event), demonstrate that these are global phenomena. New Zealand is possibly just ‘ahead’ of Malaysia in encouraging participation in recreation and sport as a way to combat the negative health implications of such symbols and rituals.
4.4 Summary

Where leisure behaviour is concerned, there are strong signs of convergence between Malaysia and New Zealand.

While, as we will see in later chapters, the governments of both countries encourage the development of elite sport and 'active' involvement in leisure and recreation, people pursue informal sport and more individualised recreational activities as these opportunities are made available by commercial providers and, particularly in New Zealand, by local government. Overwhelmingly, though, peoples' leisure behaviours are shaped by the media and have a strong consumption, entertainment, and therefore, passive, focus. Leisure, recreational and sporting provisions are highly commercialised. Leisure goods and services are purchased for entertainment, they are electronically-mediated or take electronic form, and the site of most leisure 'consumption' is the home. These trends in leisure behaviour have led governments in Malaysia and New Zealand to encourage sport and physical activity for their health benefits.

We now move to consider leisure policy and leisure structures in New Zealand and Malaysia. To what extent are governments able and willing to shape the leisure priorities of their citizens in the face of increasingly commercially-driven preferences? In considering an answer to this question, we should also be mindful of the point established at the end of Chapter Three, that similarities in leisure preferences may be consistent with variations in the cultural significance of the activities which make up those preferences.

22 'Watching television' is the favourite free time activity of New Zealanders and Malaysians (Life in New Zealand, 1991; Cousineau, 1995).
Chapter 5

The evolution of central government involvement in leisure, sport and recreation policy in New Zealand and Malaysia

5.0 Introduction

The next two chapters are concerned with leisure policy and with whether central government (the present chapter) and local government (Chapter Six) initiatives replicate the ‘convergence’ with respect to leisure behaviour identified in the previous chapter. In each chapter I will first present the New Zealand experience, then the Malaysian experience, before offering a comparison of similarities and differences in light of the convergence thesis.

5.1 New Zealand: the evolution of leisure policy

5.1.1 From unstructured pastimes to structured recreational activities

The structural arrangements of the current public leisure provisions in New Zealand are clearly built upon and react to previous practices. The earliest European settlers lived in temporary coastal settlements close to local Maori on whom they were often dependent for food and shelter. Apart from participating in such economic activities as whaling and sealing, they were involved in leisure activities which always reflected their own European, male dominated culture applied to the primitive conditions in which they lived (Owens, 1984). Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000) provides further background:

It was a British colony, so people came to New Zealand from England and brought their games and pastimes – table games, card games and house games. That’s one aspect, the other is that because the country was rugged, they had to clear the forest to make the farm and a whole lot of competitive activities came out of work-related things like wood chopping. Chopping is a sport in New Zealand (and also in Australia) and it goes right back to the days of clearing the farm. We have competitions involving ploughing in straight lines, erecting fences and packing apple boxes as fast as you can. There are a whole lot of work-related things.
The Maori however, were more susceptible to new cultural influences. Smoking and drinking spread rapidly amongst those Maori who were most in contact with these early European settlers (Perkins & Gidlow, 1991).

The late-nineteenth century saw many changes in leisure, recreation and sport activities in New Zealand. More structured recreational activities and organised clubs emerged, such as sports clubs, Federated Mountain Clubs and Tramping Clubs (Devlin, 1993). While sports clubs were mainly confined to the urban centres, team games continued to be more spontaneous affairs in the rural communities. Nevertheless, it was not until almost the fourth decade of the 20th century that the New Zealand government became involved directly in the structural arrangements of leisure, recreation and sport in the country via the provisions of the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937.

5.1.2 The Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937

This was the first leisure statute in New Zealand and was introduced by the first Labour Government which came to power in 1935 with a strong commitment to justice as well as social and economic development. The Act aimed to encourage active recreational participation, raise the standard of health and fitness of the nation, train leaders for organisations and encourage the formation of youth clubs (Church, 1990). Central government policy, under the terms of the statute, was to be made by a National Council of Physical Welfare and Recreation.

The Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937 made provision for a Physical Welfare and Recreation Branch (Buchanan, 1978), which was set up within the Department of Internal Affairs. The Branch was given authority to make grants out of money allocated by Parliament. The available funds could be disbursed to any local authority or voluntary organisation. The focus was very much on youth. According to Trevor Garrett (Interview: 2000):

Their [Physical Welfare Officers] role up until the mid 1970s was really just to provide activities for young people. In the late 1970s, their roles were changed from running activities and they were called the 'Advisory Officers for Recreation
and Youth’. That change was to take them away from running activities to providing advisory services on recreation and youth

The coming of war in 1939 effectively killed the policies and programmes introduced by the Act, but left a legacy of growing tension between the voluntary sector and government providers over service provision versus community development. The YMCA, for example, began to move away from its previous involvement in recreational activities and camps, into a community work emphasis, at the same time as advisory officers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs were also moving away from their earlier focus on activity provision (Peter Darracott, Interview: 2001).

5.1.3 The Recreation and Sport Act 1973

In the early 1970s, at the end of a period of considerable prosperity and before the oil shocks of the mid-1970s, central government renewed its interest in recreation administration. This occurred at a time when other Western governments including Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom were again taking an interest in this field. It also coincided with a public debate in New Zealand, particularly among sports people, about the need for a Ministry of Sport (Stothart, 1980). They argued that not enough was being done to promote elite sport.

Arthur Lydiard was advocating that the government should be doing more to help sport. As the election came around in 1972, he, along with others, was saying the government should be doing more. So, it was necessary to put community pressures on government to put some money into recreation and sport. (Bob Stothart, Interview: 2000.)

Sensing the political popularity of this development, the Labour Party made provision for it in its 1972 election manifesto. On gaining the Treasury benches for the first time since 1960, Labour created a new Cabinet position in the area of Recreation and Sport and this led directly to a legislative programme culminating in the Recreation and Sport Act 1973.

This statute had much wider aims than just the promotion of sport. It was designed to promote the physical and mental health of New Zealanders and the meaningful use of leisure, as was evident in the Parliamentary debates in 1972 leading up to the passing of
the legislation. It was also intended to support the work of the voluntary sector and local authorities by the provision of subsidy schemes. Parliamentary speakers in support of the Bill used a variety of rhetorical approaches. Some of these were reminiscent of the 1937 Parliamentary debates, including appeals to 'democratic participation', 'moral protection', 'the good life', and the virtues of individual physical fitness and economic efficiency. Other rhetorical approaches, signifying popular themes of the late 1960s and early 1970s, were also used, including appeals to 'community welfare' and 'personal growth'.

When introducing the legislation, the Minister of Recreation and Sport, the Hon. Joe Walding, argued that some people lacked opportunities to pursue leisure interests, and that legislation was needed to increase opportunities, with assistance being needed for the young, the aged and infirm, and women. The Act recognised and encouraged the values of leisure, recreation and sport. It also acknowledged the social costs arising from neglect of recreation and sport, and noted that cost savings were anticipated from increased recreational participation. Walding claimed that it was better to spend money building fences at the top of the cliff than to spend much more rushing ambulances to the bottom (Gidlow et al., 1995). Whereas in 1937 the 'fences' were needed to maintain levels of fitness, in 1973 they were needed to limit problems of crime, growing drug abuse and the anti-social behaviour of some young people.

'Recreation', in this 1973 Act, was defined as any leisure activity or pastime, including those which provide relaxation and enjoyment, and those which promote the total well being of individuals. It was a broad definition, which included active and non-active recreation, and showed an appreciation of the personal benefits of leisure and recreation - enjoyment and satisfaction. The Act also made provision for the Ministry and Council for Recreation and Sport (Stothart, 1980). The Ministry's function was to encourage, promote and develop physical fitness, sport and recreation in New Zealand while the Council provided advice and leadership and through its advisory staff also promoted, encouraged and initiated programmes in the following five areas (Church, 1990):
• Advice and information: (about, for instance, leisure education and outdoor recreation)
• Education and training: (a Diploma of Recreation and Sport was offered on a part-time basis through regional educational organisations such as polytechnics)
• Promotion and publicity: (to encourage recreational participation)
• Research: (a national leisure participation survey was conducted in 1974-75)
• Co-ordination: (of agencies with interests in recreation and sport via workshops, seminars and conferences).

According to a recent comment by Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000), the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry and the Council were insufficiently distinguished. The Ministry consisted of public servants advising the Minister, and the Council for Recreation and Sport was composed of people who met every couple of months in Wellington. It was also the advisory group for leisure, recreation and sport.

The Council started to appoint professional staff too, who moved around New Zealand providing advice and leadership, running seminars and getting involved in education. There was tension between these two agencies and it was stupid to have two. (Stothart, Interview: 2000.)

The tension between these two agencies was one factor which led to the establishment of a policy review in 1985.

5.1.4 Recreation and Sport Act 1987

In 1985, the new Minister of Recreation and Sport in another Labour government, the Hon. Mike Moore, initiated two reviews: ‘Recreation and Government in New Zealand’, coordinated by Peter Darracott (the Community Services Institute Director), which looked closely at recreation and ‘Sport On The Move’, which looked at sport and was chaired by Sir Ron Scott. In the review period, national sporting bodies were able to mount a very strong case for a change in policy arrangements. Evidence was mounting that the split of responsibility between the Ministry and the Council was artificial and confusing. The emphasis on sport and physical activity was reinforced by the Minister’s strong belief that New Zealand’s image overseas, and therefore its trading opportunities, could be enhanced by linking elite sport performance and the promotion of New Zealand
overseas. The government eyed the Lottery Grants Board and the possibility of launching a new product – Lotto – which could fund sport and recreation without adding significant central government costs (O'Sullivan & Christoffel, 1992). The Recreation and Sport Act 1987 followed this review.

The Minister’s introduction to The Recreation and Sport Bill 1986 linked the value of sport and recreation to a list of economic and social objectives. He raised the problem of child crime, of potential savings in health, social welfare and police programmes; and the potential for sport and recreation to unite the country and to raise the self-esteem of young people. The debate also mentioned intrinsic values, including ‘fun’ and ‘joy’, ‘a sense of achievement’ and ‘self respect’. Introducing the Second Reading, another Minister, the Hon. Jonathan Hunt, claimed the Bill’s ethos reflected a concern with wellness rather than illness, and the Bill’s purpose was to develop and encourage sport and recreation and to facilitate equal opportunities for participation by all New Zealanders.

The new legislation made provision for the dis-establishment of the Ministry and Council for Recreation and Sport and their replacement by the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport. Consistent with the market-oriented ethos of the Labour Government, and in contradistinction to the role of the disestablished Ministry of Recreation and Sport, the Hillary Commission was designed to operate at arms-length from the government, as a ‘Quango’ (Quasi-autonomous non-government organisation) and to take only a facilitative role in service delivery. The rationale for moving away from the previous

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23 The Board was established in its current form by the Gaming and Lotteries Act 1977. It is a statutory body comprising bipartisan political representation. It comprises the Minister of Internal Affairs; the Prime Minister, or his representative; the Leader of the Opposition, or his representative and three members appointed by the Governor General for terms of three years (Farrington, 1992). The Board has been funded from revenue from lottery purchases. According to Scott (1992: 5) "...the breakdown is 55% for prizes and 14% for operating expenses, leaving 31% for net revenue, the last including taxes and grants distributed by the Lottery Grants Board". Scott (1992) explained that the Board cannot make grants, although it determines the annual allocation of lottery profits to the four statutory bodies specified as recipients in the Gaming and Lotteries Act – the Hillary Commission (20%); the QEII Art Council (15%); New Zealand Film Commission (6.5%); the New Zealand Film Archive (0.5%); to the seven others lottery distribution committees: Lottery Aged, Lottery Community Facilities, Lottery General, Lottery Health Research, Lottery Science Research, Lottery Welfare and Lottery Youth.
structure and favouring this ‘arm’s-length’ approach was to gain alternative funding for sport and recreation in a period of recession and lack of public monies. The recession in the mid 1980s made alternative funding for many projects necessary as traditional sources were forced to reduce support. Coinciding with this recession was a growth in Lottery funds, especially Lotto, and as a result the demand for funding from Lottery increased, not only from sport and recreation bodies, but also from others such as the QE II Arts Council, Film Commission and Film Archive.

In policy terms, two features of the Hillary Commission’s work in the years 1987 to 1991 stand out. First, the establishment of the Hillary Commission meant the abandonment, from 1987, of the regional representation of central government’s recreation and sport programme. The second policy change was the Commission’s significant and increasing emphasis on sport and physical activity development to the near exclusion of recreation activities, even ‘physically active’ outdoor recreation.

With regard to the ‘Quango’ status of the Hillary Commission, my informants indicated that the aim of the legislation was to ‘depoliticise’ sport and recreation. Specifically, the aim was to remove the duplication represented by the Ministry and Council, avoiding complex bureaucratic processes. The problem that emerged following the creation of the Hillary Commission, however, was that no provision was made for any independent assessment of the Hillary Commission’s activities. Hugh Lawrence (Interview: 2000) identified a major problem relating to the accountability of this agency:

> Obviously, to work well there has got to be a good relationship between the department and the crown entity. The problem with the Commission had been that they were not overseen [by the government]. Therefore there was no challenge. The only challenge that would come was from the sport organisations themselves. But they were not going to do any challenging because they were concerned that if they made a noise and criticised, their own funding would be arrested. That was the major problem.

Ironically, consistency of interpretation of the ‘leisure’ portfolio by Ministers of the Crown was ensured, despite changing political parties in office, by the appointment of Ministers who had very similar views, despite their ‘party’ differences. This conclusion is supported by the material which follows.
With regard to the 'exclusion' of recreation from the responsibilities of the Commission, in my opinion, the New Zealand government had ceased to listen seriously to advocates of 'recreation' after the 1985 Recreation and Sport Reviews. (This matter will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.)

5.1.5 The Sport, Fitness and Leisure Amendment Act 1992

The National Party came into power in 1990. The new Minister of Recreation and Sport, the Hon. John Banks (also Minister of Police) changed the recreation and sport programme, which resulted in the passing of The Sport, Fitness and Leisure Amendment Act 1992. This statute amended the 1987 legislation and changed the structure of the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport, narrowing its mandate from 'recreation and sport' to 'sport, fitness and (physical) leisure'. Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000) discusses how the Hon. John Banks was involved in this change:

His [Hon. John Banks] view of what the Hillary Commission should do was run physical activity programmes for everybody in the community. So, everyone would be more healthy as a result. Forget about personal choice or lifestyle or people interested in the arts. He was going to have a physical activity programme. So, he changed the title of the Hillary Commission from the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport, which is a good title because 'recreation and sport' covers everything, to the Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure. When he launched this new body - he invited the public press and made it an occasion - he said, 'Things like reading are all right but not in my Ministry'.

Banks wasn't talking about 'leisure' but about sport, fitness and physical leisure. Subsequently, the predominant focus of the 1992 Act was on gaining fitness and exercise via sporting involvement. The beneficiaries would be the individual participants and society. "Sport makes a significant contribution to the achievement of [the National Party's wider plans and] goals in health, education, welfare, enterprise, racial harmony and law and order" (Banks, 1992: p.6811). Under this Act, 'sport' was defined as sport, played formally and informally. 'Fitness' was physical well-being resulting from participation in sport and leisure activities. 'Leisure' was defined as physical activities or physical pastimes engaged in for the purpose of relaxation or enjoyment.
The 1992 legislation can be seen as a step further in making sport and active leisure the defining issues, a process begun with Labour's 1987 Act. The Parliamentary Select Committee overseeing the legislation noted that the definitions of sport, fitness and leisure in the Bill excluded consideration of the very many sources of leisure not associated with physical activity (for example, music, theatre, board games and cards). It showed that the Minister and the National Party policy were focussing on 'physical leisure'. Under the 1992 Act, recreation was left the poor relation of sport, fitness and (physical) leisure, as responsibilities for these activities were shifted to the QEII Arts Council (Gidlow et al., 1995). There was little the Labour opposition could do, because a Labour government had begun this trend when it set up the Hillary Commission and gave it its original brief.

5.1.6 Recreation and Sport Agency Bill, 2001

In June 2000 the Ministerial Taskforce commissioned by Trevor Mallard (New Zealand Minister for Sport and Recreation) was established. According to Alastair Snell (Interview: 2000), there were two cogent reasons for this review:

The first reason was to be able to produce something that clearly articulated why government should be involved with sport, fitness and leisure; and [to] give the rationale that [the] government could accept clearly that it has a major role to play. Secondly, we're able to support the [leisure, recreation and sport] industry to get access to more money – and, there will be vote money in the budget round or [tax from] gaming, lottery or corporate money.

The major concern of the Taskforce was to define the vision for sport, fitness and leisure in New Zealand for the next 25 years. It represented a commitment by a new Labour Government to review, after 15 years, the then current structure of sport and recreation, national objectives and priorities and delivery mechanisms.
In January 2001 the Taskforce published the Graham Report: *Getting Set: for an Active Nation*. The report contained a vision statement\(^{25}\) to encourage all New Zealanders to recognise the value of, and have access to, an active lifestyle that would lead to a healthier and more socially cohesive nation. A key recommendation was the creation of a new Crown Entity, Active New Zealand\(^{26}\).

The creation of Active New Zealand/SPARC clearly involved New Zealand central government Ministries and agencies\(^{27}\) in leisure, recreation and sport policy and practice. The Taskforce saw that public policy for sport and recreation had to come from and be endorsed by central government. That is why it argued that one organisation needed to bring together the work of a number of Ministries / Departments. While this Agency would be independent when making decisions on the allocation of its funds, it would be required to give effect to government policy. The Ministerial directions to the Crown Entity would be required in writing and tabled in the House (*Recreation and Sport Agency Bill, 2001*). The overriding objective of the Agency was to promote, encourage, and support physical recreation and sport as a means of achieving a healthier and more active nation. This objective involved a further refinement of the ‘leisure as active lifestyle’ equation, adopted in 1992, and was certainly not a return to a more holistic approach.

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\(^{25}\) "Vision for an active New Zealand: That all New Zealanders will have recognised and valued their fundamental right to an active lifestyle. The expression of being a New Zealander will include the positive experience of organised, or spontaneous, physical activity. This will lead to a healthier and more active nation, with social benefits for all, where individuals can realise their full potential" (Graham Report, 2001). This vision is not so much different from the ‘vision’ of the Hillary Commission.

\(^{26}\) A name later changed to Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC).

\(^{27}\) Twenty-one central government Ministries and Departments are listed by the Graham Report (2001) as having some involvement in leisure, sport and recreation policy and practice in New Zealand: Ministry of Recreation and Sport; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Maori Development; Ministry of Economic Development or Industry New Zealand; Tourism New Zealand; Ministry of Immigration; Department of Internal Affairs; New Zealand On Air; Ministry of Transport; Work and Income New Zealand; Department of Corrections; Minister of Local Government; Statistics New Zealand; Department of Child, Youth and Family Services; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Accident Compensation Corporation; Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs; Ministry of Youth Affairs; Department of Labour; Department of Conservation. For the great majority of these, however, the involvement is minimal or tangential to their mission.
The commissioning of the Taskforce Review by Hon. Trevor Mallard suggests that the Minister and the group appointed by the Minister unofficially determine leisure policy in New Zealand by means of the parameters set for the review and the key personnel appointed to oversee it. Once the public knew the name of the person chosen by the government to chair the Taskforce – John Graham – they had a very good idea as to the priorities which would be identified, if not the details of the structure required to enact those priorities. The same thing happened previously in 1991 when Hon. John Banks was advised by a small group led by John Parker, an ex-New Zealand cricketer and prominent sports advocate, on the introduction of the Sport, Fitness and Leisure Amendment Act, 1992. Similarly in 1985, the Hon. Mike Moore with the ‘recreation’ and ‘sport’ group appointed by him, published ‘Recreation and Government in New Zealand’ and ‘Sport on the Move’ which led to the Sport and Recreation Act 1987 and the establishment of the Hillary Commission.

Mallard, Banks and Moore were all forceful individuals with a strong interest in sport, and with particular views of what New Zealand’s leisure policy should be. They were in positions, via their roles in central government and/or by the group of advisers they appointed, to have a dominant ‘voice’ in policy reviews. Thus, while the agencies that have administered ‘leisure’ policy since the late 1980s in New Zealand may operate at a distance from government, the policies which they administer and the structures they embody were certainly the product of a ‘hands-on’ approach on the part of Ministers and top advisers.

5.1.7 New Zealand central government involvement in the development of leisure policy: A summary

This review suggests a number of conclusions about New Zealand central government’s leisure policy. First, it is not comprehensive. There is no formal, comprehensive, leisure policy. There have been policy initiatives with respect to aspects of leisure that are seen to be consistent with other government objectives and whose funding assists those other objectives and can be audited. Second, government does not distinguish between the
leisure policy it recommends and the policy that it is prepared to fund. It equates the former with the latter. This is not ‘vision’; rather it is an accountant’s view of what is possible. Third, as identified by Gidlow et al. (1995), the politicians (either from the Labour or the National Party) who develop leisure policy will inevitably prioritise issues with a view to ‘political survival’. This might include improving administrative efficiency by excluding support for leisure activities whose ‘benefits’ are intangible and in this and other respects demonstrating sound and responsible governance. Fourth, as the interviews with key players (Chapter Seven) make clear, the important role played by assertive individuals in powerful political positions in developing leisure policy cannot be overlooked. Fifth, the creation of the Hillary Commission as a ‘Quango’ suggests an attempt to ‘distance’ the administration of leisure and sport from political lobbying so as to ensure continuity, but the demise of the Commission, in part on the grounds of insufficient accountability, suggests that politicians find such ‘distancing’ difficult to live with.

How does the development of central government leisure policy in Malaysia compare?

5.2 Malaysia: the evolution of leisure policy

5.2.1 From unstructured traditional pastimes to structured sport and recreation

Leisure and sport are a part of Malaysia’s traditional heritage, and there are a variety of Malay and other indigenous pastime activities and traditional games. They are interwoven with the local culture. According to Ungku Aziz (Interview: 2001):

... as a community that developed in this country over so many years, the Malays lived at sungai (the river), and they are sea men, river men and women. They don’t live in the jungle. They can all swim...

The Malay Annals in the 15th Century reported sepak raga was played in Malacca (Abdul Rahim Ahmad, 1987). Top spinning, kite flying, buffalo races and traditional beauty contests are among other Malaysian indigenous pastime activities; these are included in Sabah and Sarawak, during ‘harvest festival’. Until the end of the 19th
century these activities, representing Malaysian culture, were largely unstructured and spontaneous in their expression.

As in New Zealand, by the end of the 19th Century, many sport and recreational activities had become more structured under the influence of British colonial rule in Malaya. In the 1880s, the British established leisure, recreational and especially sporting clubs in several states in Malaya. Cricket, tennis and football (soccer) were among the earliest sports introduced (Khoo Kay Kim, Interview: 2001). An athletic tournament was held in Penang in 1887. In 1906, the First Malaya Athletic was held in Ipoh, Perak, and badminton became popular in the 1930s. By the end of the 1940s, Malayan sports had become more organised. Not only were sports clubs now increasingly common, but their organisation into national bodies had begun. Malayan athletes began to participate in international events. Malaya became a world champion in badminton, taking the Thomas Cup in 1949 and also won its first gold medal, for weight-lifting, in the 1950 Commonwealth Games (Khoo, 1996).

(The remainder of this section, Section 5.2, should be read alongside Figure 5.2, which charts and summarises the historical evolution of the central government’s role in leisure, recreation and sport in Malaysia from 1953 – 2003).

5.2.2 Sports administration

During the 1950s, in Malaysia (as in New Zealand), many national sporting associations were formed in preparation for the 1956 Olympics. Most of the sports associations, for example, the Malaya Swimming Association (1956) and the Malaya Weight lifting Association (1956) became affiliated to the Federation of Malaya Olympic Council (FMOC).

28 The words ‘Malaya’ and ‘Malayan’ were used before 1963
The FMOC was registered in 1953. Its main function was to promote and encourage sporting activities and it became the coordinating body for the governing associations for the various sports in Malaysia. The FMOC received its recognition as the National Olympic Committee of the Federation of Malaya in 1954 and participated in the Second Asian Games in the same year in Manila, and in the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. At this time, however, government involvement in this sector was very rare and indirect.

Before 1957, the government played no part at all (in leisure and sport). *Satu sen pun tak bagil* (they never gave even a single cent). When the Thomas Cup teams (badminton) played in 1949, they had to go and play exhibition matches and before they went they had to collect funds. And the only thing the government did for them was to exempt the revenue from income tax. Sports associations, with very dedicated officials, did everything. (Khoo Kay Kim, Interview: 2001.)

After independence, the government supported the development of sport because it believed that sport could integrate people, and therefore fulfil national objectives of promoting national unity, the well-being of the people, their sense of nationhood, national identity and political stability (Aziz Deraman, 1984). Although Tun Abdul Razak stated that the formation of the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM) in 1963 was not designed to control and dominate any sports organisation in Malaysia (Sieh, 1998), the government

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29 The Hon. Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, associated himself with FMOC. He was a President of the Council, 1959 – 1976.
was in fact concerned to see that sports development was tied to political changes\textsuperscript{30} and national objectives.

\textbf{Figure 5.2: The summary of evolution / changes to the central government's sport agencies in Malaysia, 1953 – 2003}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Central Government’s Sport Agencies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953 – 1963</td>
<td>Federation of Malaya Olympic Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Sport Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 – 1970</td>
<td>Olympic Council of Malaysia</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Sport Organisations</td>
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<td>1971 - 1987</td>
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<td>Management Division NGOs e.g. MARFIMA</td>
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<td>Sport &amp; Recreation Organisations</td>
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\textsuperscript{30} On 16\textsuperscript{th} September 1963, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak joined the Federation of Malaya to form Malaysia.
5.2.3 The Olympic Council of Malaysia

The Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM) was formed on 5th May 1963, to replace the FMOC with the incorporation of the Olympic Council / Committee of the new states of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. Following its establishment, the jurisdiction of the OCM over the National Sports Associations (NSA) related only to matters concerning multi-sports games under the patronage of the International Olympic Committee. In all other matters pertaining to their specific sports, the NSAs were under the jurisdiction of their respective International Federations.

With the formation of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports in 1964, funds from the government for sports development, which had previously been channelled directly to OCM, were then channelled through the Ministry. Many of the NSAs have benefited from the establishment of this ministry by being able to obtain more funds for the development of their sports from central government. It is also clear, however, that the government wanted control of, and accountability from, national organisations for the funding it gave them (Salman, 1997). After 1964, the OCM’s role was reduced to that of a coordinating and selection body only. Constitutionally, the OCM has very little control over the affairs of its members except during the Games period.

After the formation of Malaysia in 1963, the government wanted to ensure that it had a voice in any decision in sports administration, a more ‘hands-on’ involvement (Zainal AZ., Interview: 2001). It was concerned that OCM regarded sport only from a competitive point of view and did not fully appreciate that sport had broader roles, in fitness, recreation and as a medium for integration. These were seen to make potentially important contributions to national development.

Two days after the general election in May, 1969, race riots took place in Kuala Lumpur. Police and military units successfully prevented the violence from spreading beyond the capital, and a state of emergency was declared. Coincidently, the Prime Minister Abdul Rahman resigned in September 1970. His successor, Tun Abdul Razak took charge of
government operations and the government moved vigorously on several fronts on which previously it had been indecisive (Vreeland et al., 1977). The economic development goals of the second Malaysia Plan (1971-1975) reflected the government’s awareness of the fragility of national unity, including the importance of promoting ethnic harmony and developing national culture. These matters were clarified in the National Ideology (Rukunegara) proclaimed by the supreme head on 13th August 1970.

It was against this background that the Malaysian Parliament established the National Sports Council of Malaysia 1971.

5.2.4 National Sports Council of Malaysia Act 1971

In 1971, the Malaysian government established the National Sports Council of Malaysia (NSC) under the Act of Parliament, The National Sports Council of Malaysia Act 1971. On 22nd February 1972, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak, officially launched the NSC. The following aims were taken into account for the development of sports in Malaysia:

- To uplift the physical, mental, moral and social well being of society (through sports and recreational activities)
- To provide opportunities for the integration of racial harmony and co-operation among the different communities through sports and recreation
- To establish and develop a dynamic society in line with the process of nation building (through full participation in sports and recreation)

(National Sport Council, Annual Report, 1983:1)

Until 1982, the NSC’s activities were limited to routine matters and most of the Council’s roles were carried out by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport under the Sport Division (National Sport Council, 1983).

The non-active period of the Council between 1971 and 1982 needs more clarification. Basically, I think at that time sport was not given priority in terms of national objectives. Sport was just a small field, even the staffing - when we started we had only five permanent staff. So...sport was not given emphasis in terms of national development. That was why the NSC was not active and then maybe the
government felt at that time that the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport could handle everything under the field of sport. (Zolkples Embong\textsuperscript{31}, Interview: 2001.)

The issues here are not only why 'sport was just a small field' but also why, structurally, NSC was placed under the Sport Division, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport. First, the roles of NSC and Sport Division are not clearly separated. Both have a concern with developing sport as part of national cultural development. This makes their role overlap. Second, the Ministry perceived sport and recreation as part of ‘cultural’ development. (This perception parallels that which drove the New Zealand Recreation and Sport Act, 1973 (and later abandoned)). “Malaysians (at that time) saw leisure, recreation, dancing, performing arts, traditional sports, as part of the culture. They never looked on them as sport or leisure or recreation. They had been looked on as culture” (Zainal AZ., Interview: 2001).

The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport was, by and large, responsible for promoting the national culture, which is based on Malay culture and is fundamentally Islamic (Deraman, 1984). Because national culture has always been a sensitive issue to the Chinese and Indians, the Ministry then put more focus on sustaining the unity and harmony of the nation via cultural programmes, including sport. Participation in sports activities by all ethnic groups was encouraged, but the intention was not to expand high performance sport, since this task belonged to the Olympic Council of Malaysia and various national sports organisations. The over-riding objective of achieving national unity as mentioned in the Rukunegara, had been given priority by the Ministry..

A belated recognition on the part of the government that sports development should be on a par with other aspects of social development in the nation building process, induced the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Malaysia to formulate the National Sport Policy, 1988 (Ministry of Youth and Sport, 1988).

\textsuperscript{31} Managing Director of National Sport Council of Malaysia.
5.2.5 The National Sports Policy of Malaysia, 1988

Though Malaysia’s achievement in sport before the 1970s had been encouraging, the 1980s saw a decline in international achievements, particularly in badminton. Malaysia won the 1967 Thomas Cup, but lost the title in 1970. Since then, Malaysia has always been ‘behind’ China and Indonesia, as measured by success in major sporting competitions relevant to these three countries. The Asian and Olympic Games held during this period saw disappointing performances by Malaysian athletes, and there was a great deal of concern in the mass media (Salman, 1997). A complete overhaul of the sports system was demanded. The Ministry of Youth and Sport put its efforts into running a National Sport Convention, 1986, to discuss formulating a National Sport Policy.

In the meantime, as an autonomous body liaising with this Ministry, the National Sports Council played an active role in developing high performance sports. In 1981, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport established a Task Force to develop a ‘blue print’ for the Council. The Task Force, which was led by Dr. Elyas Omar, the Deputy Director of Malaysian Civil Servants, proposed that the NSC would focus on the development of high performance sport and provided a Five Year Plan (1981 – 1985) for the Council. NSC was re-activated at the end of 1982 and became fully operational in early 1983 (Zolkples Embong, Interview: 2001). In 1983 the Ministry approved more staff (84 officers and staff) and more finance (RM 7,198,975) for the Council (National Sport Council, Annual Report, 1983).

The Council was funded through the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport, by government grants, loans, income generated from projects and investment, gifts, donations and bequests. More importantly, as was the case in New Zealand with 'Lotto',
the National Sport Council of Malaysia also received funding from Sports Toto\(^{32}\) (a national lottery) which was privatised in 1985, on condition that a minimum of RM 5 million per year went to the NSC (Adam, 1991).

The Malaysian Cabinet adopted the National Sports Policy in 1988. The policy takes into account sports performances and achievements over the years and provides guidelines and plans to ensure systematic growth through scientific approaches, together with an effective administration. Both high performance sport and mass sport have been encompassed in the policy. The concept of mass participation in sport was relatively new in Malaysia (Ministry of Youth and Sport, 1988). According to Douglas (1989: 171), "...[from 1988] Sport for All and elite sports performance received equal emphasis as the two prongs of Malaysian sports policy". The policy is based on the Olympic ideal of participation in competitive sports by high performance athletes as well as by the general public (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 1988). It proposes that the efforts of the government be directed toward the entire population with the aim of developing a healthy, disciplined and united society through greater participation and better opportunities in sports.

The Ministry of Youth and Sport carried out most of the sports activities on a competitive basis (Zolkples Embong, Interview: 2001), although the mass sport programme, *Malaysia Cergas*, which was launched in 1982, was still in progress. To produce high performance athletes and promote mass sports among Malaysian youth, attention was paid to planning and co-ordination, the training of professional and qualified personnel, the provision of incentives, adequate funding and providing proper facilities. In all this, the Ministry of Youth and Sports\(^{33}\) and various sports bodies work in unison with the Federal and State

\(^{32}\) The Government of Malaysia incorporated Sports Toto Malaysia Sdn Bhd in 1969. The Company was privatised on 1st August 1985, relinquishing henceforth the *status quo* as a state-owned gaming enterprise. Sports Toto is listed on the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange. Today, Sports Toto is the sole national lotto operator with over 680 outlets throughout Malaysia and offers a variety of games. Since 1969, the Company has donated substantial amounts to the promotion and development of sports, youth and cultural activities in the nation. In line with the Company's philosophy of promoting a caring society, it also makes contributions to charitable organisations, the sick, the aged, the poor and the needy (Sports Toto Malaysia, 2001).

\(^{33}\) The Culture division was transferred to the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism, on 20\(^{th}\) May 1987, leaving a re-named Ministry of Youth and Sports.
Government to implement the policy. Although the Olympic Council of Malaysia, the Malaysian School Sports Council and National Sports Institute have specific roles to play, the need for an overall co-ordinating machinery in the form of a standing committee, to ensure greater rapport among these organisations, has been met by a division of policy responsibilities between the National Sports Council (high performance sport) and the Sport Division, Ministry of Youth and Sports (for mass sport programmes).

Sport for All, based upon competitive mass sports, is not necessarily good for all. Such a policy effectively ignores a large number of citizens, for the majority of Malaysians do not choose to engage in leisure activities that are governed by rules and schedules and that require special equipment, facilities or skills (Cousineau, 1995). In recognition of this situation and to correct it, the Ministry’s Sports Division established the **Malaysian Leisure and Recreation Council (MARFIMA)** in 1992. The Council acts as an umbrella organisation in an advisory capacity to the government on matters related to non-competitive sports. The Council is chaired by a Ministry official and includes government officials from other ministries, presidents of national NGOs, University representatives and other individuals.

The Council has three objectives:

- To act as coordinating body for all leisure and recreation and the Sport for All Association.
- To promote leisure, recreation and active living concepts to the populace.
- To act in an advisory capacity and assist government agencies in matters related to leisure, recreation and Sport for All.

The effectiveness of the Council is limited, as it has limited funds and staff. The Council’s annual budget for 2001 was only RM 760,000 (US$20,000) compared to, for example, the *Rakan Muda* programme itself with RM 70 million (Wasitah, Interview: 2001). It has only one full-time and two part-time staff (ASFAA, 2000). Further, as MARFIMA was categorised as a sports body, it remained under the control of the Ministry of Youth and Sport via the *Sport Development Act 1997*. According to this Act, the Commissioner, who is the Secretary General of the Ministry, shall have the power “... to impose such conditions as he thinks fit on the registration” and “... to revoke or
suspend the registration of a sports body” including MARFIMA. Thus far the Council has complemented and supported the Ministry’s programme, with its emphasis on competitive mass sport and recreational activities, in order to function and survive.

In line with National Sports Policy 1988, the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the Sports Association in Malaysia continue to encourage participation and running sports events. Concurrent with preparation for the Commonwealth Games which were scheduled in 1998, Malaysia hosted conferences including the First Asian Conference of the International Council for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance in 1994, first Asian Conference on Women and Sports held in Kuala Lumpur in December 1994 and the International Conferences for Sport for All in Langkawi, 1997. The Ministry of Youth and Sport saw that there was a need to improve the way sports were being developed and administered in the country. Legislation for sport was needed to determine the process and structure involved in management, and the duty of office bearers of sports bodies. This led to the passing of the *Malaysian Sport Development Act 1997.*

### 5.2.6 Sport Development Act 1997

The main purpose of the Act was to promote and facilitate the development and administration of sports in Malaysia. It attempted to restructure the sports administration system for which legislative measures had been adopted and foster greater accountability and responsibility among office bearers in sports bodies (Tie Fatt Hee, 1998). The Commissioner of the Act, Dato’ Mahamad Zabri Min (Interview, 2001) considered that this Act was a very necessary instrument to enable the Ministry and National Sport Council to refine sports administration and develop sports in keeping with the country’s vision. All sports bodies are required to apply to the Commissioner for registration to

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34 In the early 1990s, efforts were made to create awareness of women’s aspirations in sport, fitness and recreation. The Women’s Sports and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) was formed with the aim of promoting health, sport and fitness and was led by a politician, Dato’ Shahrizat Abdul Jalil. (Dato’ Shahrizat was a Deputy of Youth and Sport at that time. Since 2001 she has been the Minister of Women’s Affairs, Malaysia.)
carry out sports activities (*Sport Development Act, 1997*). Six hundred (600) sport and recreation associations re-registered in 2000, increasing to 890 in 2001.

This Act also monitors the relationship between these associations and the corporate sector (e.g., Petronas; EON). The corporate sector has contributed significantly to the development of sport in Malaysia. Twenty-six sports associations have reportedly entered into a form of agreement with the corporate sector in which sponsorship for a five-year period (1995-2000) has been promised. Sponsorship amounts to about RM96.5 million (Randhir Singh, 1995). The willingness to sponsor on the part of corporate bodies is seen as a positive development and the argument has been advanced that these sponsorships will increase where sports associations are professionally managed (Tie Fatt Hee, 1998).

According to the 1997 Act, the Minister of Youth and Sport is responsible for the development of sports at all levels:

> ...the Minister shall be responsible for providing or issuing guidelines in relation to the development of sports including the long term development programme for sportspersons, coaches and sports administrators and officials at all levels...The Minister may [also] appoint a Commissioner of Sports, and so many Regional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners of Sports and other officers and servants as the Minister thinks necessary for the proper administration of this Act.


The Act clearly vests substantial powers in the Minister compared with the 'hands off' approach which developed in New Zealand in the 1990s. It also empowers the Minister to decide on participation in international competitions35. In addition, bids to host international sports competitions or events in the country must be made with the written approval of the Minister. In the Act, the Minister is vested with the power to exempt associations from its provisions (This provision appears to exceed the powers provided under the *Societies Act 1966*).

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35 The decision is made, however, with the cooperation of the national sport associations. This avoids a breach of the Olympic Charter, which states that participation in international games is between individual or team events and not between countries (Arasu, 1997)
The power of the Minister of Sport has increased significantly under the Act. Being an elected representative of the public, he of course remains accountable to the public and answerable to Parliament in all matters related to sports. So long as the governing party continues to maintain its political dominance, however, by means of this Act, the present government can drive the development of sports towards enhancing political stability while addressing the management problems of sport associations. Since sport events are highly commercialised [such as SUKOM 9836] and the contribution of the corporate sector involves huge amounts of money, the Act can play a proactive role in anticipating and thereby controlling the misconduct of sport leaders and administrators. At the same time, political stability and the direct involvement of politicians in sport, create a climate favourable to commercial development and the sponsorship of sport.

The Act may lead to better governance and it may help organised sport, but it does not recognise the importance of unorganised, or less organised and more spontaneous forms of sport and recreation.

5.2.7 Malaysia’s central government involvement in the development of leisure policy: A summary

We can draw a number of preliminary conclusions from an examination of the history of national leisure policy in Malaysia. First, as in New Zealand, the policy is predominantly a sport policy. (New Zealand legislation gave a wider ‘gloss’ to its policy by referring to ‘sport and active leisure’, but as the concerns of New Zealand outdoor recreationists demonstrate,37 the emphasis shown by the policy-implementing body, the Hillary Commission, was on urban sport.) Second, the central government’s involvement in administering and funding sports development, both ‘Sport for All’ and ‘Elite Sport’, has increased significantly over time. While the policy is clear, its implementation suffers from a number of difficulties. Third, political leaders dominate policy formulation and the approach to sports policy in Malaysia is top-down (see, for example, the role of the

36 SUKOM NINETY-EIGHT BERHAD (a company under Companies Act) was set up with responsibilities to administer and promote the 1998 Commonwealth Games.
37 See Chapter Seven, Section 7.4.1.
Minister of Youth and Sport through *1997 Sport Development Act*). Fourth, and again as in New Zealand, the Malaysian government has a large influence on sport and recreation organisations, but in a much more direct way. Leisure policy is not administered at arm’s length via a Quango. Moreover, as I will demonstrate in the following chapter, local government and community initiatives do not constitute a separate power base or sphere of influence in Malaysia and so are unable to act as a counter-weight or even a complement to central government activity. Fifth, Malaysian governments have, from the time of Independence, always been far more pro-active in using sport funding and sport policy to promote nationhood goals, notably the pursuit of harmonious multi-culturalism. (New Zealand governments too have come to appreciate the way leisure policy can be harnessed for wider objectives, but this appreciation, in terms of the nation’s separate history, took longer to achieve.)

5.3 Comparative analysis of central government’s leisure policy in New Zealand and Malaysia

5.3.1 Similarities

In terms of similarities, it is noticeable that New Zealand and Malaysian central governments’ emphases within the leisure portfolio changed as wider national objectives changed. In the case of New Zealand, the *Physical Welfare and Recreation Act, 1937*, was designed in part to prepare the nation’s young men for an impending war. The importance placed on recreation by earlier governments was reviewed in the 1980s as attention focussed increasingly on sport and active leisure (fitness). In 2001, there took place a further refinement of the ‘leisure as active lifestyle’ policy, to fulfil the ‘vision’ for sport and leisure in New Zealand for the next 25 years (Graham Report, 2001). The aim was to make New Zealand a healthier nation, thereby generating other personal, social and economic benefits.

A Malaysian example of the way the leisure portfolio changes as wider national objectives change is provided by the transfer of the Culture Division of the Ministry of
Culture, Youth and Sport, to the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism. This occurred in 1987 as part of the government’s plan to promote tourism ahead of ‘1990 Visit Malaysia Year’. Within the government ‘framework’ – to achieve national objectives, unity and continued stability – the Malaysian government further recognised the importance of the sports industry in the country (e.g., it built the National Sport Complex, Bukit Jalil, Kuala Lumpur for the 1998 Commonwealth Games), and simultaneously contributed towards the development of the tourism industry (Eighth Malaysia Plan, 2001).

At one time, central government leisure policy in both New Zealand and Malaysia had broad recreational and cultural-enhancement objectives in addition to the promotion of sport. It has now come to focus narrowly on sport and active leisure. Both countries distinguish between, and support, sport-for-all (e.g. ‘Push Play’ and ‘KiwiSport’ in New Zealand schools and ‘Fitness Malaysia’ and ‘Young Partner’ in Malaysia) and elite sport approaches in their sport development. In the context of elite sport, New Zealand sport policy, administration and funding at the national level are designed to produce athletes who will be capable of winning ‘gold’ for their sport and their country (Hindson & Gidlow, 1994). Indeed, the failure of New Zealand athletes to perform more successfully at Olympic and Commonwealth Games is routinely followed by considerable soul-searching, of the official as well as the armchair type. There are parallels in Malaysia too.

Recently, because of the poor performance in the 2000 Sydney Olympics, last year, the [Malaysian] cabinet looked at the matter very seriously. The cabinet has directed the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the Ministry of Education to come up with a paper and propose what actions are to be carried out in sport in general, particularly in schools and the universities (Zolkples Embong, Interview: 2001).

Such is the importance given to this particular form of expression of national success, sport.

According to my interviewees (who were themselves closely involved in leisure and sport policy changes), individual political leaders and the appointed advisory group exerted a strong influence on sport and leisure policy direction in both New Zealand and Malaysia. In the New Zealand case, this is, not withstanding the development of the Hillary Commission, to administer sport and recreation in New Zealand at ‘arms length’. In New
Zealand, the Hons. Mike Moore, John Banks and Trevor Mallard, and in Malaysia Tun Razak, Dato' Najib and Dr. Mahathir were all ‘strong’ individuals with particular views of what these countries’ sport and leisure policies should be. They were also in a position, via their roles in central government to have strong ‘voices’ in the need for policy review and therefore provide a policy framework for the appointed advisory group to work within. Whereas in New Zealand the mandate is given commonly to ‘sports’ people to chair taskforces and reviews, in Malaysia that role is usually filled by the Sport Minister at the time, or by a high-ranking civil servant, normally the Secretary General of the Ministry of Youth and Sport. The ‘consultations’ undertaken by New Zealand reviews, e.g., in connection with the 2001 Graham Taskforce, give the appearance that they are more democratic than their Malaysian equivalents. In fact, however, the views of those who share the philosophies of the instigators of the reviews are given more credence than those of detractors. (See Section 7.2.1.) Even the appointment of the Chairs of these reviews signals governments’ intentions. John Graham, for example, was a notable and vocal sport (rugby) advocate long before he was given the task of convening the 2001 Taskforce review, and he continues to play a prominent role in the New Zealand Rugby Football Union.

In both societies, from the mid-1980s (and until now), the funding of sport and active recreation has relied heavily on Lotto support. Indeed, the establishment of the Hillary Commission was in part a realisation by Government that it could not continue to fund leisure, recreation and sport without opportunities to seek additional, external, funding.

5.3.2 Differences

Although New Zealand and Malaysia were both influenced by British colonialism, the historical ‘route’ experienced by each country is different. New Zealand had an earlier start in the foundation of central government leisure policy, which began in 1937 and has gone through four reviews, the latest of which was in 2001. Malaysia’s experiences in leisure policy, by contrast is ‘young’. Following independence in 1957, the Malaysian Government emphasised fundamental national socio-economic development including
eradicating poverty and restructuring the society. In national development programmes, leisure did not form a major policy item until the late 1980s, and leisure was only given a ‘narrow’ recognition in 1988 when the Sport Policy was founded.

Malaysia’s leisure policy is highly centralised and driven by government policy objectives, such as economic development, but ethnic ‘harmony’ is a key, explicit, ‘driver’. New Zealand leisure policy has become ostensibly ‘hands off’ in light of the neo-liberal reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s. Ethnic harmony is not a central driver of New Zealand’s leisure policy and this issue has nowhere near the same salience in New Zealand as in Malaysia. In a sense, by institutionalising bi-culturalism, the Treaty of Waitangi means that leisure, recreation and sport are not required to be dominant ‘vehicles’ in the drive towards more harmonious ethnic and race relations.

The issue of using sport to promote multi-culturalism is far more apparent in Malaysia than in New Zealand. Until quite recently, when Maori demands for formal acknowledgement and redress for the wrongs which had been done to them began to surface, New Zealand’s political and community leaders took good race relations for granted. For example, the Empire Games in Auckland were seen as symptomatic of racial harmony (Phillips, 1987): New Zealand was portrayed as a country with ‘friendly natives’ and a united people.

... the Empire Games visitors would feel that the demonstration of unity between the two peoples of New Zealand was something that completed the spirit of unity seen at the games. At this time in world history it was fitting the visitors should be given a demonstration that two peoples could live together without any impediment of language or colour.

Malaysian leaders have been far more aware of the multi-cultural mix of their society. "Undoubtedly, recreation and leisure activities, on top of other political, social and cultural activities, provide a powerful influence in the integration of all ethnic groups for social well-being" (Ainol Adnan, 1979: 76). Every sport and recreation programme,

\[38\] In the New Zealand case, however, a ‘hands off’ approach to the administration of leisure, recreation and sport is not synonymous with a ‘hands off’ approach to policy development.
especially those sponsored by the Malaysian Government, must objectively contribute to social integration.

5.4 Summary

Over the last twenty years, leisure, sport and recreation policy development in New Zealand and in Malaysia following Independence, have been driven explicitly by wider objectives set by the governing political party, and justified by the need to use public monies wisely and to gain a return on their 'investment'. With Vision 2020, the central government of Malaysia took even firmer control over leisure, recreation and sport policy and its promotion to meet financial and economic development objectives.

The evidence presented in relation to these countries’ national leisure policies, then, would appear to offer more support for the convergence thesis. ‘Modern’ governments bring rational accounting practices and assumptions to bear upon (limited) public monies, and are more aware than their predecessors of the ‘nationhood’ benefits of encouraging certain, ‘tangible’ developments in leisure, sport and recreation. They are also sensitive to the indicators that will encourage the private sector to venture into leisure-related products, services and infrastructures, the last often in the form of private-public partnerships.

In the next chapter I will discuss local government leisure policy in New Zealand and Malaysia, using the same format as that adopted in the present chapter. Again, the extent to which ‘convergence’ can be demonstrated will be a central concern. A full review of the relevance of the convergence thesis to an understanding of changes in leisure policy as well as leisure behaviour and leisure structures, will be provided in Chapter Nine.
Chapter 6

The evolution of local government involvement in leisure, sport and recreation provision and policy in New Zealand and Malaysia

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine several aspects of local governments' involvement in leisure, sport and recreation provision and policy in New Zealand and Malaysia including history, administrative framework, role, philosophy, policy and operations. I will also be concerned with the working relationships between local and central government in the leisure area. Finally, as in Chapter Five, I will draw conclusions about the implications of the convergence thesis for local government comparisons between Malaysia and New Zealand.

6.1 New Zealand's local government involvement in leisure policy

New Zealand's local government was modelled, historically, on English local government (Reid, 1999). From the abolition of the provinces in 1876 until the local government reform of 1989, New Zealand local government was based on the British forms and nomenclature of boroughs and counties. The 1989 reforms reduced the number of authorities and increased efficiency (Local Government in New Zealand, 1997).

Local government in New Zealand has a long and successful history in facilitating the development of community projects and programmes. It is responsible for providing and maintaining the basic services, including leisure, sport and recreation provision within the Local Government Act. I will review the administrative framework, role, philosophy, policy and operations of New Zealand local government.
6.1.1 Administrative framework

Changes in the operational approach of local authorities towards sport, recreation and leisure provision are influenced significantly by the *Local Government Amendment Act 1989*. According to Charles Roberts (Interview: 2001), before 1989 local authorities worked independently, but after that date they depended increasingly on contractors. Neil Tonkin (Interview: 2000) further elaborated this point:

> After the *Local Government Amendment Act 1989*, there were many changes. These included a distancing between politicians and officers and a split out policy where we contracted out our operations. A lot of local authorities, including ours sold the park operating unit; and the relationship between ground people and clerk and officer became more competitive, resulting in more tension within the relationship.

The reforming legislation in 1989 recognised that local government operations were not as effective as they could be, and it provided scope for increased efficiency. The final reorganisation schemes (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 2000) led to:

- a reduction to 74 City/District Councils (including Chatham Islands County Council) and 12 Regional Councils;
- the abolition of most special purpose authorities; and
- major restructuring at committee and staff levels in the new local authorities

The Act requires (Local Government in New Zealand, 1997):

- local communities to be adequately informed of local government activities;
- local government to be accountable to its citizens; and
- regulatory activities of council to be separate from non-regulatory activities.

An important feature of the 1989 legislation was the requirement for local government to operate in a more business-like environment. Local authorities must identify leisure services which are regarded as essential and to ensure the delivery of such services in the most cost effective manner.

6.1.2 Role

In 2000 and therefore following the 1989 reforms, there were 74 Territorial Local Authorities and 12 Regional Councils operative under the *Local Government Act*. Local
government supplies services that it feels cannot successfully be provided by the private sector, which are not provided by central government, yet which are demanded by its communities through the annual planning process (Local Government in New Zealand, 1997). Local government plays a major role in leisure, recreation and sport through the provision of community facilities, parks and recreational services, maintenance of waterways services and access roads, the implementation of bylaws and policy outcomes for recreational users. Local government makes a very significant contribution to the provision\(^{39}\) of basic infrastructures, which allow recreational, and predominantly but not exclusively sporting activities, to be pursued.

Local government is by far the principal provider of leisure facilities and programmes in New Zealand and the annual expenditure in this area was conservatively estimated, in 1991, at $330 million, 12 times that of the Hillary Commission (Dale, 1992). It increased to $450 million in the 1999/2000 year (Graham Report, 2001). It is disappointing, however, that so little has been written about the involvement of local government in New Zealand leisure, recreation and sport. While the Local Government Act provided a general guideline and lists a range of activities that are common to most Councils (Local Government in New Zealand, 1997), there is no legislation which sets out minimum standards for local government provision. This can in part be attributed to the lack of sport and recreation planning, lack of accurate data regarding specific expenditure, and some local authorities confining their role to the 'basics' (Hillary Commission, 1991). Yet clearly, the interpretation of how to 'fulfil' this demand for recreation and sport development varies from one local government to another.

The contribution of local government to the provision of recreation and sport includes community centres, halls and venues, playgrounds, playing fields, parks and reserves, access to waterways, swimming pools and dry land facilities (Graham Report, 2001). The rationale for heavy local authority expenditure upon resources for physical leisure lies in

\(^{39}\) Provision of leisure facilities and activities is wide ranging including: foreshores and aquatics; motor camps; parks and gardens; museums; swimming pools; passive recreation areas; specific sport venues, e.g. velodromes, athletics; boating / marinas; golf courses; leisure centres; libraries; sports fields; major stadiums; sport and recreational programmes (Hillary Commission, 1991).
the demands of local communities for quality lifestyle, recreational leisure and sporting facilities. Local authorities must fulfil this demand from the community or, arguably, faced outward drifts of population, lower utilisation of other civic amenities, and an eroding economic and rates base.

Local authorities also see their role as being complementary to private sector providers who manage, increasingly, leisure services on behalf of local authorities. Local authorities are retaining ownership of facilities such as swimming pools and recreation centres and contracting out management of these operations. In some cases this has provided an opportunity for private sector investment and has made it possible to draw upon national and international expertise to aid the management of operations, thereby increasing the effective use of ratepayers’ funds.

6.1.3 Philosophy

The philosophy that governs local authority involvement in leisure, recreation and sport is characterised by New Zealand local government’s administrative system – local self-governance. It represents a concern for community service and development. Colin Dale (Interview: 2000) illustrates the philosophy of local government provision:

It must have a strong element of public good rather than private benefit. We provide recreation facilities to fill any gaps in the community with the idea of bringing equity to people in districts that are not able to afford facilities. ... and of providing an even spread of facilities for reasons of social equity, justice, opportunity, and a happy lifestyle. We also promote the ‘healthy city’ campaign and look towards maximum involvement and success. Community development principally is the reason we provide facilities and programmes.

‘Community development’ in leisure, sport and recreation is exactly what central government stepped away from in 1985-6. Presumably the rationale was that community development initiatives belonged at the ‘local’ level, with central government wanting to avoid duplicating local authorities’ responsibilities (Peter Dale, then CEO of the Hillary Commission, Interview: 2000).
The increasing interdependence of local authorities and private leisure providers has required a major philosophical shift in the last ten to fifteen years. It is part of taking a more business-like approach to service provision, to match the efficiencies of private providers and meet the increasingly discerning tastes of consumers. The quality of leisure service has been improved with council-initiated complementary activities for swimming pools including recreation centres, fitness gyms and children’s playgrounds (Lesley Symington, Interview: 2000). While the private sector will typically operate a fitness gym as a stand-alone business, local authorities continue to play an important role in this and allied activities, arguing that the public sector fitness gyms cater for a different market (e.g. family, ageing population). According to Lesley Symington (Interview: 2000) “...now, we recognise that we may be a big player but we are (only) one of the players, and the resources will go a lot further if we actually partner with other agencies”.

Private sector interest in the sport and recreation sector has increased over the last decade in line with demographic and social changes. The interest in fitness for health and involvement in new development of recreational sports have increased significantly. This has spurred private sector investment in equipment hire for such activities as mountain biking, rollerblading, rock climbing and canoeing. The private sector has also been involved in a range of adventure-activities such as white water rafting, caving, bungee-jumping and tramping, and in activities such as indoor netball and indoor cricket.

These private sector contributions, from a local authority point of view, are positive for community development. The facilitation of highly ‘individualised’ recreational pursuits cf. team-building sports, however, impacts upon the ‘traditional’ sports and recreational programmes which were considered to strengthen communities. Regional sports clubs, for example, have struggled to survive as demand for participation in organised sports has decreased and demand for participation in ‘pay as you play’ sports (e.g., Ten-pin bowling) has increased.

Meanwhile, people can join (and benefit from) the ‘voluntary’ sector. The YMCA / YWCA, for example, charge low membership subs, and provide amenities which overlap the public and private sectors – e.g., squash courts and climbing walls.
6.1.4 Policy

When developing policy relating to leisure, recreation and sport, New Zealand local authorities take into account current trends and public expectations including value for money and the need to keep rate increases at or near the level of inflation in the economy. The 1989 Local Government Amendment Act allows “… each community to make its own choices about the type and range of public facilities and services it wants to have” and “… local government to be run by local people” (Local Government in New Zealand, 1997: 7). Local authorities are therefore encouraged to develop policies specific to the social make-up of a particular local authority. For example, free entry to local authority swimming pools in Manukau City encourages greater use by less privileged groups in the community (Colin Dale, Interview: 2000).

Changes in the past ten years or so include an increased expectation on the part of ratepayers for quality leisure facilities and services. This is strongly influenced by the standards set by private sector provision of leisure services, but also by consumers who have a global perspective on service and facilities, not just with respect to leisure. It is also strongly influenced by the philosophy of ‘user pays’. When ratepayers are asked to pay ‘up front’ for the services they receive, it is reasonable for them to expect a higher standard of provision than if costs are included as part of the rates.

While the private sector and local government have been working effectively together in leisure provision, there are continuing tensions between local authorities and central government. Charles Roberts (Interview: 2001) provides an example, “… in the past 10 years, there has been no relationship between Wellington City Council and Creative New Zealand and only an individual relationship with the Hillary Commission”. Local government originated as an independent political form. It is not an agent of central government for the implementation of national level policy (except for certain local tasks specifically named by Acts of Parliament) and the 1989 Act improved its freedom of operation and responsibilities.
If in the 1970s and early 1980s, local government relied on central government to provide leadership and some funding (Bob Stothart, Interview: 2000), after the 1989 reforms local government moved towards working independently from central government and strengthening its relationship with the private sector. My New Zealand interviewees informed me that the 1989 legislation has ‘pushed’ local government towards commercialising many leisure ‘services’ such as swimming pools, stadiums and fitness gyms. The Local Government Amendment Act 1989 allowed local authorities in New Zealand to develop their own recreation plans, maintain their own sources of income and privatise aspects of their trading activities.

6.1.5 Operations

My interviews suggest that there have been significant changes in the quality of staff working in local authorities within the leisure services. An educational framework for training leisure workers was developed in the 1970s by the Council for Recreation and Sport, Lincoln College (now Lincoln University) and Victoria University, and has rapidly developed in these and a number of other tertiary institutions over the past 15 years. Previously the only qualification required for local government employment in the leisure sector was an interest in sport. Now the minimum expectation is that a person entering the leisure industry will be studying towards a degree or diploma in recreation management, sport marketing or an associated discipline. The increase in educational standards has increased the quality and range of programmes (Colin Dale, Interview: 2000), and has coincided with legislative developments relating to health and safety. In many cases, particularly in the case of swimming pools and outdoor adventure activities, these developments have increased the need to provide highly qualified staff.

41 In Christchurch, this is evident in the use of private sector sponsorship to support City Council led activities such as ‘Sparks in the Park’ and the annual book festival.
6.1.6 Summary

Local government in New Zealand is a 'gatekeeper' to key resources of leisure, sport and recreation. It deals with local interests consistently, to balance the involvement of public and private sectors and to deliver leisure services as part of community development. The *Local Government Amendment Act 1989* played a very significant role in changing local government's role, philosophy, policy and operation and the context of leisure provision. Directly, this Act required New Zealand local authorities to practise a business-like approach to their community services including recreation, sporting and leisure provision. So far there is no evidence that the 'dollar-driven' and accountability culture, when applied at the local government level, has seen a similar 'outcome' to that at the national level; that of funding being directed towards organised, structured, sport and recreation, rather than to 'informal' leisure. Regional Sports Trusts, funded by the Hillary Commission, (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.1), largely meet this need. This does not relieve local authorities of all responsibilities with respect to the provision of amenities and facilities for sport, but it does mean that they are 'free' to champion other activities which reflect the mix of population in their catchments.

6.2 Malaysian local government involvement in leisure policy

6.2.1 Administrative framework

In Malaysia, the British heritage was strong, but over the years, local government authorities have evolved into a system that has its own identity, characteristics and laws that reflect the national socio-economic and political environment (UN ESCAP, 2002) and local leisure-related policy and practice. Local government is placed under the portfolio of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in the Federal Constitution, that is, a joint responsibility of the federal and state governments. Under this
governmental system\textsuperscript{42}, the major cities have appointed mayors and all local governments have appointed councillors. The district offices and municipal councils, which are in charge at local government level, fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of state governments.

6.2.2 Policy

As opposed to New Zealand, local government in Malaysia is structured in such a way that it cannot override central government in terms of policy formulation (Singh Kler, Interview: 2001). Local government will always adhere and refer to the objectives laid down by the central government. My Malaysian interviewees reported that the relationship between central and local government is 'good' as they work in a 'one way' (top-down) governmental system. Basically, central government provides policy for local government to enact. Compared to the British heritage of rates and property, local government in Malaysia is funded mainly by central government. Rents and fees for services and grants / subsidies are given by state or central government and local taxation (assessment rate). Local government, however, has considerable discretion to gain revenue from other sources, which might include miscellaneous forms of charges and fees (licences, payment for various forms of services, rental penalties and compounds and interest). Most rural local authorities have very limited funds. This directly limits the development of leisure, recreation and sports facilities and programmes in those areas (see Colin Dale's point in Section 6.1.4). There is, in other words, considerable variation across Malaysia in the ability to provide leisure, recreation and sports infrastructures.

My interviews suggest that there is no 'specific' and 'formal' written policy for leisure, recreation and sport in Malaysian local government. Local government is able to propose plans to the state or / and central government to develop sport and recreational facilities.

\textsuperscript{42} Before independence in 1957, Malaysian local government used to elect councillors. According to Affandi (Interview: 2001) the change from 'elected' to appointed' is to reduce 'politicking' at the local level. Local government suffered in the turbulent years after independence; it was placed under the state list and during subsequent years of confrontation with Indonesia in 1963, elections [for councillors] were suspended (UN ESCAP, 2002).
As Affandi (Interview: 2001) said, "...our (local government) work is as a complement to the [central] government initiative". Kuala Lumpur City Council, for example, complements the Ministry of Youth and Sport's programme by providing sport facilities (e.g. the Velodrome\(^{43}\) in Cheras, Kuala Lumpur).

In the major cities such as Kuala Lumpur, the Mayor, who holds executive power, can influence the city's leisure, recreation and sports policy. According to Zainol Abidin (Interview: 2001), in the 1980s the Mayor Tan Sri Elyas Omar emphasised upgrading the sports facilities -- football, badminton, etc. and sports team management for Kuala Lumpur City Council. In the 1990s, the new Mayor, Dato'Mazlan Nordin, decided to upgrade the parks and green areas including Permaisuri, Perdana and Titiwangsa lake gardens. This illustrated the Mayor's personal interest and agenda, leading to a strong policy movement towards incorporating these features into sport and leisure provisions in Kuala Lumpur.

6.2.3 Role

Malaysian local governments' roles in leisure, sport and recreation policy in the community are still 'unclear' because most of their activities are not being researched and recorded (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2). The information in this section is thus, inevitably, sketchy.

Two major roles of Malaysian local governments involve the provision of services and the facilitation of socio-economic growth (UN ESCAP, 2002). As a 'provider of services', under Kota Kinabalu Town Planning in Sabah, the council provides open spaces including gazetted areas -- hills, beaches and sports facilities. In Melaka, the Council develops public gardens and forest recreational areas (*hutan rekreasi*).

According to Mansor (Interview: 2001), Melaka City Council emphasises the building of facilities for active recreation which can be used for sports competitions such as track and field, turf hockey and soccer. According to the *Town and Country Planning Act 1976*,

\(^{43}\) This is Malaysia's only Velodrome of an international standard.
every housing estate has to allocate 10% of the area for open spaces, sport and recreation. This policy is applied to all local government in Malaysia. The issue of the 'shrinking green' threatens such policy. According to Jabar Johari (Interview: 2001), this problem occurs because "...the provision of the 10 per cent area of open space is not centrally located and it is just one piece of useless land". Consequently, the green areas are shrinking and community leisure enjoys fewer facilities.

The role of local government as a 'facilitator of socio-economic growth' is related to the increase of privatisation as a public management policy which began in 1983 in Malaysia. This was due to limited resources on the part of the government (Eighth Malaysia Plan, 2001). As the public benefited through the provision of more efficient and wider coverage of services, local governments were allowed to privatise their services. The role of the councils has changed from service ‘provider’ to ‘facilitator’ (cf. Colin Dale, Section 6.1.2). Their regulatory functions shift to the regulation of activities offered in the private market. These new roles demand new mechanisms to ensure transparency and accountability to the communities which local authorities represent.

6.2.4 Summary

There are two notable features of Malaysian local government involvement in leisure, sport and recreation. First, structurally, Malaysian local government is placed under the joint responsibility of central and state government. Central government appoints the mayors and councillors, and provides 'general' policy and funds for local government to function. Local government has no specific policy for leisure; rather it complements central government initiatives. Second, the increase in privatisation as a public management policy in Malaysia changed the role of local governments from 'providers' to 'facilitators' of leisure services and socio-economic growth, with more impact on urban than rural areas. (This particular change also occurred in New Zealand in the late 1980s and was significantly rapid after the 1989 local government reforms.)
6.3 Comparative analysis of local government leisure policy in the two countries

In New Zealand, local government has always operated at a distance from central government, and having its own rates-based funding source has encouraged this. In Malaysia, local government has become increasingly centrally controlled. In New Zealand, the Government Policy Statement 1987, leading to local government reform in 1989, was released at a time when neo-liberalist economic policy was informing attitudes to the central State (sometimes described scornfully as the ‘Nanny State’). It conferred increased ability to reach decisions locally outside the control of higher levels of government. By contrast, in Malaysia the Local Government Act 1976 regulated the powers, duties, responsibilities and functions of local authorities and led to a highly centralised form of local government in Malaysia.

Leisure provision and funding show clear differences between New Zealand and Malaysian local government. While in New Zealand most local authorities have their own leisure policy, in Malaysia, there is no ‘specific’ written policy for leisure, sport and recreation. The Local Government Amendment Act 1989 enabled local government in New Zealand to control its finances, and therefore it allocated sufficient monies to support its leisure policy. New Zealand local government is moving from the early pioneering days of providing basic infrastructure – transport, sewerage, water and electricity – to providing higher levels of service including art, culture and recreation provisions. This ability has been matched by opportunities for greater flexibility and discretion on the part of local authorities to choose the type of leisure service they provide for their communities.

Malaysian local government also appears to have considerable discretion, but this is little more than rhetoric, as it has insufficient funds to do anything even when it has the discretion. Central government control over local government is characterised by financial control, appointment of senior staff and local politicians, and the determination of powers and functions of local authorities. For some rural local governments (for example, Kulim-Kedah and Sandakan-Sabah), there are simply not enough financial
resources to provide their communities with anything beyond the basic essentials. The bulk of expenditure by Malaysian local government is spent on the maintenance of basic infrastructure (transport, sewerage, water, etc.) with few funds available for leisure, sport and recreation.

While privatisation and commercialisation in the leisure sector are pronounced and advanced in New Zealand, Malaysia pursues this trend more aggressively, perhaps because of the lack of a Malaysian public-sector equivalent to rates-based funding. In the 1990s, local government in New Zealand became more market oriented. Public leisure management and commercially delivered or provided recreational services were separated, wholly owned government trading was established and leisure services such as parks operation units were contracted out to private companies (Neil Tonkin, Interview: 2000). Accountability is required to the local community rather than to central government. It appears that at present, local (self-) government in New Zealand, permitting Councils to make decisions ‘independently’, maximises the effectiveness of the private management of public facilities while ensuring high quality community services.

The Malaysian government is pursuing a marked policy of deregulation and privatisation, including deregulation of building control by giving this task to private contractors. In pursuit of services in a more market-driven, customer-oriented and corporate era, Malaysia has introduced Corporate Management techniques to local government: e.g., total quality management; Client’s Charter; ISO 9000 (UN ESCAP, 2002).

Under this approach, the membership of local government committees is mostly appointed, not elected by the community. This is a culture of technical control – decisions are delegated to groups of technical experts or those with special interests, who will not necessarily reflect wider community opinion and values in leisure-related policy. In this respect, Malaysia has ‘Malaysianised’ local government, moving away from the inherited British model into a more centralised system with limited devolution, although Britain,
like New Zealand, has also adopted a number of corporate approaches to the delivery of local government services.

6.4 Overall comparison of New Zealand and Malaysia in relation to the convergence thesis

A comparison at the local authority level leads to a different conclusion regarding the balance of global and contingent factors from one at central government level (Chapter Five). The major findings from the comparison between New Zealand and Malaysia’s central and local governments are as follows:

6.4.1 Central government

- Historically, New Zealand introduced a formal leisure policy in 1937, earlier than Malaysia. Malaysia became independent in 1957 and founded a sport policy in 1988. Despite the development of neo-Liberal economic policies in New Zealand in the 1980s and despite the creation of Quangos (including the Hillary Commission) and State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) modelled on the private sector and charged with returning profits to their shareholding Ministers, national leisure policy in both countries demonstrates a strong element of central direction and even, in Malaysia’s case, direct control.

- In both New Zealand and Malaysia, leisure policy is now carefully integrated with other central government objectives, justified in New Zealand’s case by the need to make wise ‘investments’ of public monies (e.g., promoting ‘active’ leisure and sport as illness-prevention measures), and in Malaysia’s case by the continuing need to achieve national objectives such as ethnic harmony.

- This means that in both New Zealand and Malaysia, leisure policy focuses on sport and active leisure: particularly promoting excellence in sport at the highest level but with some attention paid to encouraging Sport for All.
• Political leaders have a strong role in shaping leisure policy in both countries, despite the appearance of greater ‘democracy’ in the way this process is implemented in New Zealand

6.4.2 Local government

• New Zealand local government has always valued the independence from central government which rates-based funding makes possible. The Local Government Amendment Act 1989 enhanced this independence. Accountability is required to the local community, and regular, open, elections, often fiercely contested in more populous regions and cities, constantly remind representatives of this. Malaysia’s local government, by contrast, is highly centralised with insufficient funding to protect local autonomy from central government intervention. The Local Government Act 1976 gave central government control over local government via financial control, appointment of councils, district officer and local politicians. Accountability is required to the central government.

• Among New Zealand local governments, leisure, sport and recreation services figure highly among the obligations towards the communities they serve, and there is commonly a diversity of provisions reflecting community needs. In Malaysia, and excepting wealthier communities where local political leaders are able to use leisure to put their own ‘stamp’ on their administrations, local government for the most part acts as a local-level administrative arm of central government.

The evidence reviewed above suggests that New Zealand and Malaysian leisure policy is more ‘convergent’ at the national than at the local level. This perhaps reflects the fact that both are small nations trying to find economic prosperity and a sense of place in a large and not particularly friendly world, and their central governments promote leisure, sport and recreation with a view to that wider context and requirements.
At the 'local' level, and consistent with the model (Figure 1.1) which begins this thesis, the different institutional arrangements operating in New Zealand and Malaysia, particularly with respect to political structures and processes, are the key to explaining the different 'philosophies' governing leisure provision. As we saw in Chapter Three, the 'threats' which Malaysia faced in the period leading up to and, particularly, following, Independence, have served to legitimate a system of politics with limited plurality and with a high level of central government involvement in all aspects of peoples' lives. New Zealand is steeped in a different political tradition, one where local authorities have distinct responsibilities and enjoy a strong measure of independence from central government.

6.5 Summary

The strongly centrist nature of Malaysian leisure, sport and recreational provision, even at the local government level, legitimised by appeals to Islamic principles and the need to put collective needs of nation building ahead of individual concerns for freedom, would seem to indicate that politically contingent factors are strong in that country. Unapologetically, the ruling party continues to be interventionist when it perceives that global forces threaten to undermine national unity. This degree of interventionism, ridiculed as symptomatic of a 'Nanny State' by its neo-Liberalist detractors in the U.K. and New Zealand at the beginning of the 1980s, would probably no longer be tolerated in these countries. In contemporary New Zealand, different institutional arrangements apply. In particular, local government jealously guards its independence from 'Wellington'. As my interviews with 'key players' demonstrated, local authorities tailor leisure provision to the particular needs of the communities being served.

In the quote which opened this thesis (page 1), Thorns made the point that 'resistance' to global processes at the 'local' level could take 'varied forms'. What the New Zealand and Malaysian experiences demonstrate, at least as far as leisure, sport and recreation are concerned, are indeed the presence of 'varied forms' of 'resistance' but what they also reveal is a serious lack of specificity of the concept of 'local' when used in the context of
the resistance-to-globalisation debate, and a failure to consider the intentionality (or possible lack of intentionality) behind ‘resistant’ actions. ‘Local’ resistance in Malaysia is intentional and it is national, not local, in its inception. The nation’s governing party sees itself as having a duty to ‘resist’ ‘profane’ values for the good of its peoples. In the New Zealand case, resistance is ‘local’, but it is unintentional, stemming simply from the concern of local governments to respond, as part of their mandate, to the varied leisure needs of their communities.

In both New Zealand and Malaysia, however, as leisure becomes increasingly commodified, and as consumption comes to dominate the choices of leisure actors, the behaviour of the private sector, and even the priorities of governments (because of leisure’s contribution to economic growth), these differences in institutional arrangements are likely to lose significance. The way urban populations in particular spend their leisure time, as Chapter Four showed, is really not so different between New Zealand and Malaysia, whatever the differences in contingencies. For example, although Malaysia is an Islamic country and Islam prohibits alcohol consumption, the prohibition does not apply to non-Muslim groups. In both countries, alcohol is a great ‘lubricator’ of leisure behaviour.

Furthermore, in both New Zealand and Malaysia, local governments pursue efficiency in the management of leisure provision, especially of facilities and events, and in this connection, partnerships with the private sector are encouraged.

In the next Chapter, Chapter Seven, I will use some of my interview data to look more closely at issues raised in this and previous chapters: These include who determines leisure policy; community participation in policy development; the role of local government; and the emphasis on sport in the national leisure policies of both countries.
Chapter 7
Leisure policy formulation and implementation in New Zealand and Malaysia: Views from the ‘inside’

7.0 Introduction

The case was made in Chapter Two in relation to my interviews with ‘key players’ in Malaysian and New Zealand leisure policy, 1970-2003, that official developments in leisure policy, signposted by changes in legislation, by official pronouncements, and by changes in the structures and agencies which deliver leisure services, commonly conceal the ‘contested terrain’ occupied by different philosophical positions, lobby groups and vested interests. I was interested to know whether a glimpse into this terrain would reveal anything of further interest with regard to a convergence thesis interpretation of changes in leisure policy in Malaysian and New Zealand in the time period covered by this thesis. In the case of Malaysia, the shortage of information regarding leisure behaviour in particular made my interviews with ‘key players’ an essential step in providing comparative information (Chapter Four). In the present chapter, I will use selected interview data to review themes touched on in previous chapters and which are relevant to an evaluation of the convergence thesis. These are the question of who determines leisure policy; community participation in policy development; the role of local government; and the emphasis on sport in the national leisure policies of both countries. For each theme, I will discuss the New Zealand, then the Malaysian, situation.

7.1 Who determines leisure policy?

7.1.1 New Zealand

My interviews confirm that the involvement of political leaders was a prime mover in policy formulation. The 1985 review, for example, was set up because the Hon. Mike

\[\text{footnote: According to Ibrahim (1982:201), “Islam, in fact, condemned both gambling and drinking [alcohol], especially the latter, which was totally prohibited. This did not prevent its recurrence now and then during the long history of the Islamic Empire”;}\]
Moore regarded it as important. He was a keen follower of sport; his Ministerial portfolios had sensitised him to the potential of sporting success to raise national profiles and thereby contribute to trading and tourism receipts; and the lobbying by sports promoters used arguments which were consistent with his own sympathies. He stated, "...I was aware that there had been few changes to the Government’s role in recreation for a decade. That was too long a period and for that reason I asked for the whole recreation and sport programme to be reviewed" (Recreation and Government in New Zealand, 1985:3). Further background to the Minister’s thinking at that time is provided by Sir Ron Scott (Interview: 2000):

Let me tell you briefly how I got into that review. I was coming back from Los Angeles in 1984 with the New Zealand Olympic team, where we won eight gold medals because the winners had gone through four years of very good planning and preparation to achieve this. That was the product of very good planning and of absorbing the technology of building canoes. The Hon. Mike Moore at the airport met me and he whispered in my ear... ‘we have inefficient sport bodies and we didn’t have sufficient public sector money to help people who did have a good chance to get gold medals’... So that’s why he set up the review.

The ability of a political leader to manage sources to fund policy, especially during a period of economic recession, is important too. The Labour Government, which was elected in 1984, faced an economic crisis. From the 1960s to the 1980s there had been a notable decline in the performance of the New Zealand economy. Per capita income grew just 1.4% per annum (OECD, 1993). According to Douglas (1993:24), "...the economy languished, swamped by debt and regulation. Job losses continued to grow ... [government spending] deficits blew out to 8.6% of gross domestic product in 1978-1979 and 9.1% in 1983-1984".

The growth in Lottery funds – especially from Lotto – coincided with this recession and public sector fiscal tightening. Funding for many projects ceased as traditional sources were forced to reduce support so, as a result, the demand for funding from Lotto increased (Farrington, 1992), including demand from sport and recreation associations. In

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45 At this time the Hon. Michael Moore was Minister of Tourism, Sport and Recreation (1984-87), Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing (1984-90), Minister in Charge of Publicity (1984-88) and Chairman, Cabinet Economic Development and Employment Committee.
1987-1988, the Lotto income available for distribution was about $21 million; in 1991 it was nearly $128 million, an increase of 68%. (The distribution of funds did not go narrowly to sport at that time, however, but to other statutory bodies such as QEII Arts Council, the New Zealand Film Commission and the New Zealand Film Archive. See Chapter Five, Section 5.1.4.)

7.1.2 Malaysia

In Malaysia, as I sought to demonstrate in Chapter Five, there is strong control of leisure and sport policy by central government. My interviews confirm this picture.

The National Sports Policy was derived from various groups through conferences and symposia presented by many sectors. There are differences of opinion as to how ‘democratic’ this process was. Zainal AZ (Interview: 2001), who was the former Director of Sport Division, Ministry of Youth and Sport, explained:

Before we came up with a policy, the Ministry studied the policies of many countries. These involved very many models. After that we sorted out the best... ones that involved all the 14 states representatives, all the sports presidents. We didn't just listen to the OCM; we also listened to other sports practitioners, private clubs, and commercial people, NGOs etc. We also involved individuals like lawyers, doctors, academicians who love sports. We put them together in a Sports Congress to formulate a policy and so it was done. The result is the policy. It was not done by the government alone, it was based on views, studies etc.

Taib Hussin (Interview: 2001), however, said that the “...policy came from the top, for example, motor sport – this kind of sport needs a lot of money. It doesn't happen at school level. It comes from the Prime Minister”. Khoo Kay Kim (Interview: 2001) gave the impression that Malaysians believe that civil servants are the best decision makers for everything, including sports. To him, the bureaucracy, which includes political leaders, still controls Malaysian sports.

The Sports Minister and the Minister's group of advisers formulate policy from the ‘top’. They work within the government ‘framework’ – to achieve national objectives, unity...
and continued stability. A member of the NCC, ⁴⁶ Sieh Kok Chi (Interview: 2001) explained that the policy "...was only policy statements and principles and didn’t have basic data or basic information at all". The attempt to gain ideas from the ‘bottom’ of society through seminars, conferences and workshops (Jabar Johari, Interview: 2001) was only undertaken as a formality. Jabar Johari confirmed that the policy:

...is top down. The Ministry of Youth and Sport organised most of the major recreation and sport for all activities, and most of the major activities and events. The minor events were organised by NGOs, but the NGOs did not have financial backing, infrastructure or access to the infrastructure. For these we had to rely on the government.

Since 1964, the Sport Division of the Ministry of Youth and Sport has formulated the sport and recreation policies and programmes which its officials think are best suited to be implemented for the masses. Without properly considering the community’s views, the Ministry seems to focus on competitive sport and physical activity.

The 1988 National Sport Policy also stated that sports activities are important in developing a united society. A number of my respondents made supporting comments. According to Jabar Johari (Interview: 2001), "...sport and leisure are important as a means to unite people". He noted that Malaysians of all races have begun to cross ethnic boundaries in participating in games and sports in which goodwill and interest are being cultivated. Zainal AZ (Interview: 2001), on the other hand, contradicted the policy rhetoric above, claiming that, "...[in Malaysia] there is no such thing as sport as a medium for fitness, or sport as a medium for recreation or a medium for integration, except for competition". Research, including national surveys of participation in sport and recreation, has not yet been conducted in Malaysia. Without empirical data, anecdotal comments about the success of otherwise of sports’ ability to integrate different communities cannot be substantiated.

⁴⁶ The National Consultative Committee (NCC) consists of the representatives from various ministries, the states, sport agencies or/and individuals (Jabar Johari, Interview: 2001)
7.2 Community participation in policy formulation

7.2.1 New Zealand

My interviews, together with research by Sam & Batty (2001), confirm that governments seek increasingly to bring the development of leisure policy under central direction, discounting the ability of ‘non-experts’ to contribute to such complex, and nationally strategic, decisions.

Publicity in advance of the Graham Taskforce (2001) suggested that it would be independent (Alastair Snell, Interview: 2001) and would take full account of the community’s views. According to Sam & Batty (2001), however, the Taskforce inquiry reflected political ideas and interests. It was shaped by the institutional arrangements it inherited from agencies such as Treasury and the Office of the Minister for Sport, Fitness and Leisure. The Taskforce also spent little time discussing the results of public consultation, or the submissions. Out of 365 submissions, only a few filtered past John Graham. Sam & Batty (2001) identified a paradox in the Taskforce’s consultation process, in that it was not really an independent body, but one whose membership and terms of reference would ensure that it would be sympathetic to sporting interests and concerns.

Further, there are conflicting interpretations as to what is meant by ‘consultation’ as a background to policy making purposes; full consultation may be democratic but it is also time-consuming, costly and almost always inconclusive as a guide to policy formulation given the range of opinions frequently expressed. Government and officials may see a more effective approach as one which gathers and channels ‘expert’ knowledge.

Sometimes members of the public don’t listen to the voices of the policy makers. There’s an assumption that the policy makers are always a long way behind, they’re inefficient and they’re not as good as they should be. A lot of the complaints and views expressed by people are based on a lack of really good information. With regard to high achievement, there are not many people who understand what it takes to win a gold medal at the Olympics. They think it is
simply a matter of putting on a black singlet and getting stuck in, and if you show some guts you’ll win the gold medal. (Sir Ron Scott, Interview: 2000.)

7.2.2 Malaysia

My interviews confirmed that opportunities for Malaysian community participation in sport and recreation policy and planning are limited. Sports administration is highly centralised and has changed from a voluntary, community-organised activity to becoming increasingly government-controlled.

It’s all centralised ... Sport ... was run by the people for the people. But now it has reversed. It has been made into a government-controlled activity.
(Sieh Kok Chi, Interview: 2001.)

7.3 Role of local government

7.3.1 New Zealand

As Chapter Six demonstrated, financial independence from central government via rates income gave New Zealand local authorities room to make autonomous provision of leisure, sport and recreation services. While it is the case that central government’s priorities have seen a narrowing of the dimensions of provision, with an increasing sport focus, this has not been duplicated at the local level. Local authorities continue to offer a variety of leisure, recreation and sport activities. Speaking of the Christchurch City Council’s provisions, for example, Lesley Symington (Interview: 2000) commented “...we haven’t given away the arts, we haven’t given away passive recreation, we still regard recreation as more than physical activity. We are not interested primarily in elite sport, we are interested in participation”. Colin Dale, representing Manukau City, stressed that:

Providing opportunities to young people, families and the elderly to enjoy simple leisure pursuits in the district is part of the blend for the new community and to allow for social well being.47

47 See Chapter Six, Section 6.1.3.
7.3.2 Malaysia

The Malaysian local government system, in contrast to New Zealand, has been unable to counter the centralising tendencies in leisure policy and administration in that country. Local government was never really involved in sport because the local government has very limited power and very limited funding. It has to depend on the central government. Local government is very weak, the weakest link in the whole government system. Usually the chairman [of local government] is the District Officer. Because the people do not elect the District Officers (they’re all appointed), community loyalty to them is shallow at best (Sieh Kok Chi, Interview: 2001.)

The absence of a strong, local, mechanism for programme delivery compromises the effectiveness of Malaysian sport policy implementation. Poor coordination between Ministries compounds the problem.

We have a policy but we do not have a good implementation and management approach. Cabinet is very supportive but we just do not have the ability to implement. What we have now are ‘parody’ approaches, one part is played by the Ministry of Youth and Sport, one part by the Ministry of Education, one part by the Ministry of Health, but the approaches are not being integrated into a national approach. The development process is very ad hoc in nature. The approach that we are undertaking now is more of a band-aid approach (Jabar Johari, Interview: 2001.)

Problems of policy implementation and programme delivery at the local level persist despite the *Sport Development Act, 1997*, which was supposed to improve sport participation, management and development in Malaysia. The Secretary General of the Ministry of Youth and Sport, implies that poor communication is to blame.

Yes, the problem lies in the actual implementation of the policy. I think at first there was confusion or misunderstanding or communication breakdown in terms of selling the whole package at the grassroots level. Down the line, the people who actually run the programme may have had less information. (Dato’ Mahamad Zabri Min, Interview: 2001)

The history of sports policy in Malaysia, however, together with the comments of those close to the development of these policies, suggests that this interpretation is inadequate.
Local involvement was never encouraged, and hence local organisations do not have the ‘legs’ to deliver centrally determined policies.

The Malays do not have access to a road – the road to the Olympics. It does not exist in a Malay village boy’s school, in any field including football, badminton, etc. Sport is all dominated by urban teams and this results from the failure of Malay leadership because the Malay leaders today all are non-players, and were non-players. (Ungku Aziz, Interview: 2001.)

We are too eager, for example, we are jumping into Formula One but we do not have a Formula One driver. We have a Formula One car but it is not a Malaysian car. Now we are moving into big event promotion and event management. Everybody goes for that, but we don’t even have participants. We are very eager to move in line with global developments, but unfortunately we do not look at ourselves first. (Jabar Johari, Interview: 2001.)

7.4 Emphasis on sport

7.4.1 New Zealand

My interviews gave an explanation for the removal of ‘recreation’ from the mandate of the Hillary Commission after 1991. Following the 1985 Recreation and Sport Reviews, the report on recreation, the ‘Recreation and Government in New Zealand’ Report, posed a problem. According to Sir Ron Scott (Interview: 2000) that report:

…only discussed the issues but it did not propose a methodology to advance it. On the other hand, the ‘Sport On The Move’ Report was accepted because it laid out a plan. It really was a plan rather than simply a commentary

Peter Dale (Interview: 2000) informed me that the ‘Recreation and Government in New Zealand’ Report recommended the establishment of a Department of Recreation, and thereby more government bureaucracy at a cost to the taxpayer. This would be a bureaucracy open to policy reversals with every change of government, whilst ‘Sport On The Move’ recommended that there be an independent government agency.

Neil Tonkin (Interview: 2000) confirms the views of Sir Ron Scott regarding these two reports:
My personal perspective is that the ‘sport’ option was pretty sensible and logical and this was because there were some very pragmatic people on that working group. One of the reasons that the ‘recreation’ one failed was because most of the people involved were academic and a little bit detached from the reality of politics and the life. So therefore they put up an idealistic scenario that didn’t really have any complete outcome. Whilst, ‘sport’ came out with a comprehensive outcome – get Lotto, get lots of money, form a central organisation. Therefore when the Hillary Commission came into being in 1987, certainly the ‘Sport On The Move’ side of it was given more shape than the recreation one.

The period between 1987 and 1991 could be seen with hindsight as a ‘period of transition’. Despite the vagueness of ‘recreation’, there was continued acceptance by government of the need to resource this area. From 1992 onwards, when legislation changed, there was a significant re-focussing of the Commission’s efforts away from the recreational emphasis (where it was difficult to gain creditable evidence of the ‘output’ from taxpayer ‘input’), towards the more defined, and thereby auditable, sport, fitness and physical leisure sectors.

There were two problems for ‘recreation’ advocates in the late-1980s and early-1990s in New Zealand. First, there was disagreement about the philosophy of recreation among recreation’s national organisations. Bob Stothart (Interview: 2000) claims that the New Zealand Recreation Association and national organisations for dance, music, etc., failed to work together. He added that “...now recreation by definition is occasional, not highly organised, it’s out there all around the community and it is not highly structured”.

Second, issues of auditing and accounting made the promotion of sport a ‘safer’ use of taxpayer monies, from a political point of view, and this justification happened to coincide with (male) politicians’ identification with sport rather than recreation. The Hillary Commission decided not to fund ‘unstructured’ leisure, sport and recreation.

...we decided that the three important ingredients of justification of the Hillary Commission were communities, healthy lifestyles and national identity. Participating in [individual] leisure is not a public benefit, of course – we don’t know where you put your money to support leisure. We support a lot of organised youth groups. We don’t spend money on unstructured sport and recreation. That was the decision that I made when I became the Chief Executive in 1990. (Peter Dale, Interview: 2000.)
Dale also explained that the Commission understood that the provision of leisure services—parks, beaches, open spaces, recreational facilities—is an issue for territorial level authorities and other government departments such as the Department of Conservation.\footnote{The Hillary Commission was heavily criticised by outdoor recreationists for seriously neglecting this aspect of active leisure, in favour of ‘urban’ sport.}

### 7.4.2 Malaysia

It is important to understand why, in Malaysia, the term sport is more ‘familiar’ than leisure and recreation. The direct translation for sport in the Malay language \textit{sukan}. Sukan requires physical movement, a competition element, rules and regulations and a result. It also includes the element of play (\textit{main}) and game (\textit{permainan}). Sukan is more organised and institutionalised and is depicted in many national and international events such as the Commonwealth Games and South East Asian Games (now Asian Games). Malaysia’s National Sport Policy (1988) placed leisure and recreation as part of the sport objectives and promotion:

\begin{itemize}
  \item C. Objective. 10. iii)... to develop and improve the knowledge and practice of sport in the interest of social welfare of the individual and the enjoyment of leisure\footnote{Malaysia’s National Sport Policy document does not provide the meaning of leisure. Generally, in Malaysia, leisure is interpreted as ‘free time activity’. In my understanding, the term leisure in this document means ‘leisure sport’, which includes traditional and recreational sport. The activities may be in the form of competition, but offer enjoyment and have a positive impact on the group.} among the public at large (pg. 11), and
  \item D. Strategy and implementation. 13 ii) b. The Ministry of Youth and Sports will promote mass sport and recreational activities based on the ‘\textit{Malaysia Cergas}’ concept\footnote{‘Malaysia Cergas’ is based on the Sport for All concept in which the people are encouraged to live an active life-style by participating in sports and physical recreational activities for physical fitness and mental health in order to increase productivity and to strengthen social and inter-ethnic relations (Ministry of Youth and Sport Malaysia, 1988)} (pg. 15).
\end{itemize}

The availability of the terms \textit{sukan}, \textit{main} and \textit{permainan} (sport, play and game) in the Malay language has helped sports to be more familiar among Malaysians than leisure and recreation. Sports occupy an important place in physical education in Malaysian schools. This subject consists of an introduction to selected sports skills and training. Students are also involved in sport as extra-curricula activities including sports competition between
houses, inter-school, inter-district competition and so forth. While there has been thorough exposure to sport, there are no academic programmes in leisure and recreation in Malaysian schools (Cousineau, 1995). Camping, hiking and mountaineering, for example, are known as outdoor sports or outdoor activities. Culturally, most of the pastime activities enjoyed in Malaysia such as card games, kite flying, top spinning, dance drama, self defence and bull fighting are not referred to as leisure but as play or games. Only in the past 15-20 years has there appeared a recognition, via linguistic awareness, of the significance of leisure and recreation in Malaysians’ lives, but that awareness is limited. Jabar Johari (Interview: 2001) explained:

In the 1980s, NGOs in recreation were almost non-existent. With the National Sport Policy [1988] we began to have training programs for sports leaders and recreational leaders. We [as a group of experts] helped them [Ministry of Youth and Sport] to develop programs. The Ministry in turn trained NGOs’ leadership and also initially provided fitness programs like the exercise-aerobic, mass jogging programs, fitness testing, recreational movement. We had courses like canoeing, camping, trekking, orienteering etc. Later on, we had the NGOs in recreation associations forming the Malaysian Leisure and Recreation Council. So far the movement has not really picked up. Schools do not have recreation programmes. Universities and colleges do not have recreation programmes. They have co-curricular programs but not recreation programmes.

7.5 Summary

My interviews with ‘key players’ largely corroborate the analysis developed in earlier chapters. Key political figures had the vision to see that sport served wider national interests, and were able to ‘sell’ this vision to their colleagues. This is partly because sport is popular (and therefore unlikely to lose votes if it became the key leisure policy plank). It can, or so its advocates believe, contribute to ethnic harmony. Sport can also help profile a country in international markets and meeting places, and returns on ‘investment’ in sport (such as the number of gold medals at Olympic and Commonwealth Games and World Championships), compared to investments in ‘recreation’ can be calculated, albeit imperfectly. These correlations of support for sport are likely to win sympathy for pro-sport Ministers and their supporters, and they help explain why governments are anxious to control ‘consultation’ on changes to leisure policy.
My interviews also suggest that while in New Zealand, recreation has gradually been excluded from national leisure policy, in Malaysia it has yet to be recognised at all. The term 'recreation', like 'leisure', is unfamiliar to most Malaysians and the government has not been in any particular hurry to make them familiar with it. Again, the wide contribution which sport can make to the achievement of national goals helps explain why recreation in both countries is downplayed in national leisure policy.

There is much to support the 'convergence thesis' interpretation of changes in central government leisure policy here. Governments in Malaysia and New Zealand seek to make leisure policy supportive of other priorities, while the popularity of sport means that governments which place strong emphasis on the importance of sport are not at risk of making themselves politically unacceptable to voters and party supporters. My interviews also confirm that it is at the local government level that differences between Malaysia and New Zealand are most apparent. It is here that 'contingency' makes itself apparent, the reasons for which were explored in Chapter Six.

The following Chapter, Chapter Eight, turns to a comparison of leisure, sport and recreation structures in Malaysia and New Zealand. It is concerned with the question of to what extent 'convergence' in leisure policy on the central importance of sport and active leisure/fitness converts itself also to similarities in the structures which are developed to oversee the implementation of that policy and the provision of opportunities for leisure, recreation and especially sport.
Chapter 8

Leisure, sport and recreation structures in New Zealand and Malaysia

8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to compare leisure, sport and recreation structures in contemporary New Zealand and Malaysia, with a view to determining whether these structures have become similar over time, in keeping with what one might expect if the convergence thesis has veracity.

8.1 New Zealand: leisure, sport and recreation structures

As discussed in Chapter Five, the legal and policy frameworks for leisure, sport and recreation structures in New Zealand changed over time, but with decreasing emphasis on direct central government provision and oversight accompanied by an increasing emphasis on a narrow interpretation of ‘leisure, sport and recreation’ whereby urban ‘active leisure’ and sport became a central focus. The Recreation and Sport Act 1973 led to the establishment of the Ministry and Council for Recreation and Sport in New Zealand, but twenty-five years later, the Recreation and Sport Act 1987 disestablished these and replaced them with the Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport. (This then became the Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure under the Sport, Fitness and Leisure Act 1992). The Hillary Commission was designed to operate at arms-length from the government and take only a facilitative role in service delivery.
8.1.1 The structure of the Hillary Commission during the 1990s

Figure 8.1: Hillary Commission Involvement in Recreation and Sport
(Adopted from Vincent & Trenberth (1994: 106)

The Hillary Commission supported NGOs, Regional Sports Trusts and local clubs in their efforts to encourage more people to be active. It supported over 4,600 clubs throughout New Zealand (via the Local Authority Community Sport Fund), helped athletes compete at top levels (via funding to the New Zealand Sports Foundation), and aimed to assist in the delivery of sport through programmes such as 'Push Play' (Hillary Commission, 1999). In 1998 the Commission administered a budget of $37.6 million and through it the government provided additional funds for international sporting events, such as the Commonwealth and Olympics Games. For example, the Cabinet approved an additional $1 million to help New Zealand athletes and teams prepare for the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games and $140,000 for drug testing programmes (NZIER, 2000).

The Regional Sports Trusts were key players in the Hillary Commission team and were unique to New Zealand. They were small and dynamic organisations, which delivered the Commission's sport, fitness and leisure programmes to the people in their own regions.
There were 17 trusts, from Northland to Southland. A Regional Sports Trust was a one-stop-shop for sports and active-leisure advice. They employed professional staff who ran programmes for everyone, and also provided information on how to restructure an organisation, put on a sports tournament or fun run, or where to enrol for a coaching course.

As discussed in Chapter Six (Section 6.1.2), local authorities make by far the greatest contribution to the physical leisure industry in New Zealand. Total expenditure by local authorities in 1990/91 was $302m, compared with the $184.6m spent by central government (Hillary Commission, 1993). In 1997 and 1998, local authorities contributed more than $340m each year to sport and active leisure in their communities. The Commission also provided them with advice on developing facilities and delivering services.

Before 2001, apart from the Hillary Commission, there were four other major sports structures in New Zealand. They included the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association, the New Zealand Sports Foundation, National Sports Associations (promoting and organising specific sports) and Sports Service Organisations (see Figure 8.2). The Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure was an independent statutory body dedicated to helping all New Zealanders participate and achieve (Hillary Commission, 2000) via the targeting of grant-aid to national sports and physical leisure organisations and the delivery of specific programmes in line with the Commission’s mission/objectives. The New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association is recognised by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as the National Olympic Committee in New Zealand. It seeks to establish and maintain New Zealand as one of the best sporting nations in international competition involving current and potential Olympic and Commonwealth Sports (Whineray, 1995) via the commissioning of Olympic and Commonwealth Games teams. The New Zealand Sports Foundation sought to provide assistance to outstanding New Zealand sportsmen and sportswomen so that they were given the opportunity to develop their full potential in international sport, via the targeting of funding for the identification and development of top athletes.
## Figure 8.2: Key Sports Organisations in New Zealand circa 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisations</th>
<th>Major roles/ example of organisations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand Government</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
- Hillary Commission: Dedicated to helping all New Zealanders participate and achieve in sport, fitness and leisure  
- NZ Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association: To establish and maintain New Zealand as one of the best sporting nations in international competition – Olympic and Commonwealth Games  
- NZ Sports Foundation: To provide assistance to outstanding NZ sportsmen and sportswomen – via the targeting of funding for the identification and development of top athletes  
- National Sports Associations: Associations/Federations recognised as being the national governing body of any one particular activity - NZ Rugby Football Union, Netball NZ, etc.  
- Sports Service Organisations: Organisations which represent a special area of interest and/or particular service to sport - Coaching Association of NZ - NZ Assembly for Sport - NZ Sport Science and Technology Board - Regional Sports Trusts - NZ Federation of Sports Medicine |

National Sports Associations (NSAs) are the Associations or Federations recognised as being the national governing body of any one particular activity. For example, the NZ Rugby Football Union is responsible for the control, promotion and fostering of the Game of Amateur Rugby Union Football throughout New Zealand (Crawford, 1995). Netball NZ is another example, and its objective is to foster, develop and promote netball by providing enjoyment and recreation for all participants (Nauright, 1995).

Sport Service Organisations (SSOs) represent a special area of interest and/or particular service to sport. For example, the Coaching Association of NZ has responsibility for the promotion and improvement of quality coaching and coach education and development in NZ sport. The NZ Assembly for Sport is an autonomous organisation, which provides a forum for NSAs and SSOs to discuss and action matters of common interest. Other examples include the New Zealand Sport Science and Technology Board, Regional Sports Trusts and the NZ Federation of Sports Medicine.
8.1.2 Active New Zealand, 2001

As discussed in Chapter Five, the Graham Report (2001) led to a streamlining of the functions of the Hillary Commission, New Zealand Sports Foundation and the sports policy role of the Office of Tourism and Sport by putting them under one organisation, Active New Zealand (now ‘Sport and Recreation New Zealand’ – SPARC) (see Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3: The components of Active New Zealand (later SPARC) and partners
(Adapted from the Graham Report (2001: 86))

This new organisation is headed by the Minister for Recreation and Sport, who, according to the Graham Report (2001), would have authority to make Active New Zealand/SPARC Board appointments from a list of persons recommended by an Electoral College. The Minister is also the key person in generating the essential government recognition and funding for New Zealand’s sport and recreation. This implies that the Minister is now less ‘hands off’ than he / she was under the previous arrangement. The Board facilitates the direction of sport and recreation development in New Zealand. The
Chief Executive of SPARC, who sits on the Board, is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the organisation and is the critical link between the Board and SPARC.

Structurally, SPARC is designed to maximise the involvement and also the communication between the parties that make up the agency. SPARC has three main components (Graham Report, 2001): recreation development, sports development and policy and services. Regional Trusts, it is anticipated, will be positioned to lead the development of effective regional and local strategies and initiatives in recreation and sports. National Recreation and Sport Organisations have principal responsibility for the future good of their respective activities at all levels. National Recreation Organisations (NROs) exist in various forms, ranging from umbrella organisations to small bodies with specific interests. National Sport Organisations (NSOs) provide the vision and structure for the majority of participants in New Zealand sports. Regional recreation and sport organisations are pivotal in grassroots participation and the pathway for elite individuals and teams at the national level. SPARC also has a special responsibility to promote and assist the implementation of informal (club and school) recreation – the grassroots level.

To facilitate New Zealand’s participation in the Olympic Games, SPARC has a functional relationship with the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC), particularly in the elite sport and coaching strategies, since NZOC is mandated under the Olympic Charter to ensure observance of the Olympic ideals in New Zealand. One of the functions of NZOC is to organise the selection process of New Zealand’s athletes to represent the country at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. The New Zealand Sports Drug Agency (NZSDA) is an independent agency and a leader in developing internationally accepted quality standards for doping control. The Sports Drug Agency plays a crucial role in monitoring sports ethics. NZOC, NZSDA and the operations of SPARC are coordinated. This becomes particularly important when New Zealand hosts international sporting events.
Sports and recreation central administrative agencies in New Zealand are concerned with the development of fitness and active leisure. The Hillary Commission’s definition of leisure as ‘active leisure’ is carried over into SPARC’s understanding of ‘recreation’. As a Crown agency, SPARC is considerably ‘freer’ from rigid government bureaucracy, though the structure allows the politicians to be involved significantly in leisure policy formulation. The changes outlined in the structure are intended to gain more resources from the government and encourage close links across government agencies, as well as with the private sector (Graham Report, 2001).

In the following section I will discuss leisure, sport and recreation structures in Malaysia. I will then compare the leisure structures in the two countries.

8.2 Malaysia: leisure, sport and recreation structures

8.2.1 National Sport Council of Malaysia

After race riots in 1969, and after the launch of the New Economic Policy (1971-1990), the promotion of national unity and integration was further strengthened, becoming a major concern of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports and the Malaysian government. The National Sports Council of Malaysia Act 1971 aimed to develop sport for the purpose of nation building and made provision for the establishment of the National Sports Council of Malaysia and State Sports Councils.

As state statutory bodies, State Sports Councils are answerable to the state government, especially in terms of finance. About 90 per cent of the expenditure of the Sarawak Sports Council, for example, is borne by the Sarawak State Government (Ik Pahon Joyik, Interview: 2001). State Sports Councils and the National Sports Council work hand in hand in Sukan Malaysia (Malaysian National Sport) in the selection of athletes to represent the nation. State Sports Councils have received minor grants from the NSC for sport facilities, equipment and coaches’ allowances.
Every state in Malaysia has a State Sports Council (which looks after high performance sports) and the Department of Youth and Sport (which looks after mass sports). The state government provides state policy and funds for all state sports agencies which develop a relationship with the National Sports Council or Ministry of Youth and Sport through the state government. A complication when trying to describe the structure of sport and recreation provision in Malaysia is that the States of Sabah and Sarawak also have a Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport. This Ministry acts as a central agency for sport in Sabah and Sarawak at state level. Peter Rajah (Interview: 2001) explained the scenario and relationship between various states' sports agencies in Sabah:

We [Sabah Sports Board] are a statutory body of the state and we fall under the umbrella of the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport. We get our grants from the government through this Ministry. Now, the Sabah Sports Council is also under this Ministry. So we work as partners. We also have another agency here. It is called Jabatan Belia dan Sukan Persekutuan (Federal Department of Youth and Sport). They (the Ministry) make the policy and we implement it. But the Ministry takes into consideration state policy as well as national policies on sport.

8.2.2 The Ministry of Youth and Sport

The Ministry of Youth and Sport is the central administrative agency for sport and recreation in Malaysia. The administrative structure of sport and recreation, however, has been developed in the realm of the ‘youth’ portfolio. Both at national or state level, the Ministry’s emphases are to develop ‘youth’ groups and to use sport and recreation to achieve this development. In terms of sports, the stated objectives and functions of this Ministry are to increase the number of people participating in an active and healthy lifestyle through the strategies of ‘Sport for All’ and ‘Active Malaysia’, and to increase the excellence in sports at the national and international levels (Malaysia Official Yearbook, 1997). Information from interviews and library research helped me to identify the structure of sport and recreation in Malaysia under the Ministry of Youth and Sport (see Figure 8.4).
Figure 8.4: The ‘contemporary’ central administrative structure of sport and recreation in Malaysia

Figure 8.4 shows that the Ministry of Youth and Sport is a central agency for sport and recreation in Malaysia. The National Sports Council (NSC), Sports Division and Malaysian Leisure and Recreation Council (MARFIMA – see Chapter Five (Section 5.2.5)) are the three sub-agencies working for the Ministry. NSC (high performance sport) and Sports Division (for mass sport programme) are the co-ordinating machinery in Malaysian sports. The Ministry of Youth and Sport, NSC, the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM) and National Sport Organisations (NSOs) ‘work in unison’ (Salman, 1997) with the federal and state governments to implement sport policy. My understanding of the phrase ‘work in ‘unison’ is that the Ministry hopes that all sports and recreation agencies at all levels will support the Ministry’s policy and programme.
8.2.3 Leisure ‘delivery’ in Malaysia

Figure 8.5 below, is an attempt to convey the extent of the many ministries in Malaysia working within different sub-fields of leisure, along with NGOs and private sector providers.

As a central administrative agency, the Ministry of Youth and Sport has taken the lead in implementing government ‘leisure policy’ through the National Sport Policy and the National Youth Policy. While some Ministries have leisure provision as one of their primary foci, for others it is a secondary or third-level focus.

**Figure 8.5: Leisure ‘delivery’ in Malaysia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agencies</th>
<th>Leisure Sectors</th>
<th>Policies/Programmes/Initiatives</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. GOVERNMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Ministry of Youth and Sport</td>
<td>Sport - Recreation</td>
<td>The National Sport Policy - The National Youth Policy - National Fitness and Recreation Council (MARFIMA). Malaysia Cergas (Fitness Malaysia) Rakan Muda [programme] (Young Partners)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment</td>
<td>Outdoor recreation</td>
<td>National Park Act 1980 A key supplier of outdoor recreation areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Ministry of Forestry</td>
<td>Outdoor recreation and tourism water based recreation</td>
<td>National Forestry Policy 1978 Recreational forest areas (e.g. waterfalls)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. The Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>sport recreation</td>
<td>River, man-made reservoirs and shoreline (beaches) for recreational use.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government</td>
<td>academic programmes of physical education; sports; park and recreation</td>
<td>Town and Country Planning Act 1976 Development Plan Rules 1984 Administrates the laws and subsequent policies related to cinemas and theatres, hotels, bars and coffee shops, public housing, and town and country planning (Planning the sport and recreation infrastructures)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Ministry of Education</td>
<td>academic programmes of physical education; sports; park and recreation</td>
<td>Malaysia School Sports Council (Sport Schools) Physical education – compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools. [Programmes] academic courses: i- University of Agriculture of Malaysia Parks, Wildlife and Recreation Management (Under Forestry Programme) ii- University of Technology MARA Diploma of Sport and Recreation iii- University of Malaya - Sport Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>National Library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. The Ministry of Multimedia
   - media
   - Responsible for radio and television licensing, film productions, news broadcasting.
   - Tourism promotion
   - Presentation of the nation's culture; spirituality; arts.

8. The Ministry of Culture, Art and Tourism
   - tourism
   - recreation
   - arts
   - Presentation of the nation's culture; spirituality; arts.

9. The Ministry of National Unity and Social Development
   - tourism
   - recreation
   - Promotes commemorative events and festivals.

B. NGOs
   1. Physical Education, Sports and Fitness Association of Malaysia (PPJSSKM)
   - physical education, sports, fitness and recreation
   - Conferences
   - Diploma Courses
   - Documentation Centre

   2. Women's Sports and Fitness Foundation (WSFF)
   - sports and fitness
   - Promoting health, sports and fitness among Malaysian women.

   C. Private Sectors
   - Entertainment
   - Sport and Fitness Clubs
   - Tourism resorts
   - Shopping mall and dining facilities
   - Consumption of recreation goods
   - Investing in tourism and recreation facilities

8.3 Summary

It appears from Figure 8.5 that the Malaysian government distributes responsibilities for leisure policy implementation through a number of Ministries notably, but far from exclusively, the Ministry of Youth and Sport. This would appear to present a substantial difference from New Zealand where, since the mid-1980s, government priorities in relation to sport and recreation (then sport and active leisure), were met largely through one, quasi-autonomous non-government organisation, the Hillary Commission. Previous quotes (notably Chapter Five, Section 5.1.4), show that the attractions of this 'arm's length' way of structuring the administration of leisure policy in New Zealand were to 'de-politicise' the administration of sport and recreation and make it easier to tap into alternative, non-government, sources of funding and support. At the same time, such a move was entirely consistent with the Labour (and then, in 1991, National) Government's commitment to neo-Liberalist principles of economic and political management. These principles encouraged greater efficiency and accountability in government trading arms (hence the creation of 'State-Owned Enterprises', required to return a profit to their
shareholding Ministers); greater efficiencies in the provision of public health; the restriction of a 'cost plus one' budgeting mentality; and the 'privatisation' of some 'public goods'. In the case of science, for example, 'Crown Research Institutes' (CRIs), were required to go increasingly into the market place to secure research funding and to develop business arms (Hunt, 2003).

As the quote by Hugh Lawrence in Chapter Five (Section 5.1.4) demonstrates, however, New Zealand governments became uncomfortable with the lack of accountability of the 'arm's length' way of structuring policy implementation with respect to recreation and sport. The Hillary Commission's replacement, Sport and Recreation New Zealand, is more responsive to government direction while not representing a return to direct Ministerial control.

The big difference between Malaysia and New Zealand when it comes to structuring central government leisure provision is surely that in Malaysia the control exerted continuously over politics since 1957 by the ruling party ensures that there is no perceived need for an extra-political quango to ensure administrative stability and continuity in the fields of leisure, sport and recreation, as was the case in New Zealand with its pluralistic, 'Westminster' style of government.

In the concluding chapter, the arguments made in separate chapters in this thesis with respect to leisure behaviour, policy and structure in Malaysia and New Zealand will be brought together with a view to establishing the relevance of the convergence thesis.
Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to pull together the 'threads' established in previous chapters with regard to the relevance of the convergence thesis for explaining trends in leisure behaviour, policy and structures in New Zealand and Malaysia between 1970 and 2002.

9.1 The relevance of the convergence thesis

The convergence literature remains unclear as to why, precisely, developed and developing countries are becoming more similar, why they are moving towards: a state of political pluralism; domination by market economics; declining influence of ascribed, 'closed', values and the dominance of achieved, 'open' values. (See Chapter One, Section 1.2.1) The point should also be made that convergence as to "ends", e.g. similar sporting and recreation policies, does not necessarily indicate similarity as to the reason behind such policy developments. When Clarke Kerr and others were writing (in the 1960s and 1970s), the 'Cold War' and the 'Iron Curtain' were parts of the global political landscape, and distinctions between market and command economies, and 'democratic' and 'totalitarian' political regimes were apparent. They believed the future lay in the 'American' way. Indeed the convergence thesis as originally proposed was a eulogy for that way of life. Perhaps for that reason, European scholars were largely scornful of the thesis because of its clear ethnocentric, and therefore ideological, lineage. 'Glasnost', resulting from the failure of the Soviet command economy to be able to compete in what were in effect two contemporary 'potlatch' ceremonies, the Space and Arm Races, meant that the 'American' writers had to be taken seriously, possibly for the first time. But what were the critical factors involved and to what extent was the United States an exemplar of the characteristics supposedly positively associated with convergence? Ultimately, the convergence thesis is a form of technological determinism, which says that advances in
technology are the key to economic growth and improvements in living standards, and that technological advancement requires an educated, skilled and mobile labour force, advanced communications systems (physical and electronic), a competitive environment embodying achievement values, and an entrepreneurial, individualistic, culture.

Technological determinism has been criticised elsewhere, for its lack of cultural sophistication (see for example, the anthropological-based criticisms made by Lenski & Lenski, 1978:101) and for its failure to acknowledge the extent to which technology is a human product, not a self-generating process. Furthermore, any argument that the United States is the embodiment of the values required by industrialism is undermined by evidence of continuing deep social divisions within the society and the failure outside the society to observe the principle of free trade and open marketplaces that are consistent with Kerr’s convergence model.

The ‘globalisation’ thesis is a further development within this determinist line of thinking, and its passage within social science understanding is marked by uncritical acceptance of its omniscience, its unstoppable nature, on the one hand, and a fairly unsophisticated structural Marxist critique on the other. Various forms of regionalism – in geography, economics and sociology, for example – seek to study space-place relationships in ways that allows for the subtle interplay of global and contingent forces and studies resistance at various levels and ‘sites’, not all of them structurally conditioned. This comparative study of leisure behaviour, policy and structures in Malaysia and New Zealand was conducted with that more recent social science tradition in mind.

51 Writers in the New International Division of Labour tradition, in particular, develop ideas based on centre-periphery models originating in the work of Andre Gunder Frank, among others. The models consist of sets of binary relationships between more and less powerful nation states.

52 Movements in New Zealand to oppose the introduction of genetically modified organisms, or even to allow field trials under rigorously controlled conditions, are examples. These movements are popular and to some degree, ‘spontaneous’. They are not ‘class based’ in an orthodox Marxist sense, and their opposition to what they see as the ‘interests’ of multinational food companies, many of them U.S., is as much cultural as economic.
The model developed in Figure 1.1 assumes that both Malaysia and New Zealand, as trading nations, have economies which are 'open' at least to some extent, to global forces via international market places, importing and exporting, the movement of money capital across national boundaries, submission to trading agreements and currency exchanges and the location of branches of trans-national corporations within their shores. The model also assumes that societies develop sets of institutional arrangements, largely as a result of their historical experiences, that influence the way that economic, social and, notably in this case, political aspects of life are organised and legitimated. Malaysia and New Zealand are both 'colonial' societies, but as Chapter Three in particular tried to establish, their colonial experiences were very different, leading one down the path of highly centralised political control, and the other down the path of a pluralistic, Westminster, system of government, which included frequent changes in the governing parties and an autonomous system of local government.

The third key concept in the model is what I have called national cultural practice, an attempt to incorporate a cultural dimension into the model. This recognises that while a society is made up of a number of different ethnic, class and religious cultural groups, there are certain cultural practices that receive support and legitimation as ones that help define that nation within its territorial boundaries. An example in New Zealand would be the Treaty of Waitangi and the support for biculturalism, which include recognition of, and a place for, tangata whenua in, for example, national languages, schools and the media. An example in Malaysia would be the recognition of Islam.

As Islam is an official religion, almost every Malaysian public policy, including the National Education Policy, has been influenced by Islamic values, even though many ethnic communities in Malaysia are not Muslim and are free to follow their own spiritual paths.

The model assumes that these three factors, economic development, institutional arrangements and national cultural practice, provide some 'local' resistance to pressures arising from globalisation, perhaps in different ways in the two societies in question, that
they influence one another in certain ways, and in some respects react on the wider, global environment. Most obviously this occurs when Malaysia and New Zealand develop their own trans-national corporations and do business in other parts of the globe, making ‘local’ impacts in those places and sometimes generating resistance. (The example of Fletcher Forests’ operations in Canada comes to mind.)

The model thus assumes that the impacts of convergence/globalisation are mediated, to some degree, by these ‘local’ factors and that the comparative study of ‘leisure’ – behaviour, policy and structures – will display this ‘mix’ of the global and the local in different ways. Most obviously, leisure behaviour is likely to be most susceptible to global trends because the electronic media, which are so important to contemporary leisure behaviour, are very difficult to mediate. The whole point of the ‘world wide web’, after all, is that it is a global, not a local, point of reference, and widespread access to it, particularly among the young, creates aspirations which cut across nationality, class, ethnicity and, arguably, religion. While ‘electronic’ forms of leisure do not exhaust leisure behaviour by any means, they have become the defining characteristics of popular forms of leisure in both Malaysia and New Zealand, as Chapter Four demonstrated.

Leisure policy is one aspect of leisure which requires governments to respond to global trends, to encourage, channel, oppose and sometimes attempt to compensate for those trends, as when governments encourage active leisure, sport and fitness as an antidote to the passive leisure associated with electronically-dominated leisure behaviours.

Leisure structures too, require government mediation if it is determined that commercially provided leisure (often dominated by overseas-based trans national companies like Nike, Adidas, Time-Warner and Disney) shall not be allowed to drive out the not-for-profit sector and public provision.

The choice of ‘leisure’ as the focus of this thesis, and its articulation in terms of the convergence thesis, will strike many social scientists as curious, given that they regard leisure as a sociological ‘remainder’ category, almost an epiphenomena in the canon of
important 'work'. Yet within 'postmodern' debates, where most of the theoretical exchanges in social science are now located, leisure has moved to centre stage. The 'tourist gaze', sport as entertainment, the iconic figures, the Michael Jordans and the David Beckhams, the hyper-reality of Disneyland, all these significant events, processes and figures, are drawn from the world of leisure, not, any longer, from the world of 'work' or 'politics' or 'religion'. We know, then, that leisure increasingly belongs to the 'global'. Has it now ceased to be part of the 'local', a defining condition for individual nations, cities, ghettoes and leafy suburbs?

Chapters Three to Eight are an attempt to use the model to understand similarities and differences in 'leisure' between New Zealand and Malaysia. I will now summarise my major findings under the headings which I have used consistently in this thesis: leisure behaviours, leisure policy and leisure structures.

9.2 Leisure behaviour

From the discussion in Chapter Four, the following trends are apparent:

- Passive leisure

'Passive' leisure is increasing in popularity among the peoples of both New Zealand and Malaysia. Concerns in both societies about obesity and levels of fitness, particularly among children and young people, demonstrate that leisure activities in both societies are becoming less physically demanding and increasingly indoor-based. The emergence of 'consumer culture', the popularity of shopping malls and the rise of recreational shopping illustrate changing leisure-time activities. Increased technological sophistication of leisure goods and services fuels these tendencies.
• Growing importance of electronically-focused and -mediated leisure

While 'watching television' continues to be the major way of spending leisure time in both New Zealand and Malaysia, these countries have also witnessed an explosion in the popularity of electronic games, use of computers and the Internet, cell phones, 'home movies', videos and DVDs. These electronic devices considerably shorten communication time and, more than any previous mode of communication, expose their users directly to information, entertainment trends and materialistic values, on a global scale, without resort to filtering, interpretation and guidance by reference groups and community leaders.53

• Increased choices of leisure expression

New activities have been created which entertain, challenge and excite people, especially the young, and which broaden the base for recreation. Skating and roller-blading, for example, bring pleasure to their participants but problems to others, raising issues about the use of urban space and the need for dedicated facilities. Consequently, in New Zealand as well as in Malaysia, the landscapes of town parks or/and playgrounds, and the uses to which those facilities are put, are changing. Christchurch's Hagley Park, for example, is now regularly used for open-air concerts and community celebrations, and is a major site for the local authority's 'Summer Times' programme of festive events and an events venue for gardening promotions ('Gardenz') and wine and food festivals. In Chapter Four I drew attention to an increasing preference for low-impact, spontaneous and low-commitment leisure activities which, like so-called 'fast food', reflect an attempt to cope with perceived time-scarcity. In New Zealand, more so than Malaysia, tailoring leisure behaviour to meet individual tastes and preferences is quite marked.

53 Early 'mass communication' theorists were criticised (e.g., by Swingewood, 1977), for treating audiences as undifferentiated, 'masses', open to exploitation and manipulation by 'totalitarian' forces of one kind or another. Modern forms of electronic communication make those criticisms harder to sustain.
The commercialisation of leisure

Leisure products and services, including tourism, constitute an increasingly important part of the economic well-being of countries (Godbey, 1999). The importance of leisure, recreation and sport to the economy of New Zealand, for example, has been recognised.

Sport and leisure activities ... are approximately a $4.5 million-a-day business, and support 22,745 jobs in New Zealand. The total employment attributable to the leisure industry is about 1.6 per cent of national employment. In addition, these activities directly and indirectly account for $300 million a year in tax revenues and contribute $1,648 million to New Zealand’s GDP. (Gan, 1998:334.)

Typically, revenue is generated by the commodification and promotion of sports products and allied brands throughout the world. The link between Michael Jordan and the Nike brand is perhaps the most famous, but in New Zealand, for example, the All Blacks are associated with the Adidas brand, while top tennis players advertise these, plus other makes of tennis rackets, balls and other equipment.

In Malaysia too, sport and leisure play a very important part in the development of the national economy, as when sporting events are linked to tourism promotion (Singh Kler, Interview: 2001)

The impact of the commercialisation of leisure is felt across the leisure behaviour spectrum. Yachting, for example, ranges from a club activity for children, involving help from dedicated volunteers, through to a multi-million dollar industry, making a major contribution to the economy via events (e.g., hosting the America’s Cup), boat-building and design. Such events, which are fuelled by sport-as-entertainment, also contribute to tourism receipts both regionally and nationally.

The commercialisation of leisure, in turn, promotes the professionalisation of sport and increased vocational specialisation in leisure occupations such as leisure management, event and facility management and coaching.
• **Professionalism**

Sport increasingly involves education and certification programmes, qualifications, accreditation and so forth. As well as the players themselves, professional sport also involves expertise in human resources management, marketing, accounting, business planning, event management, coaching, physiotherapy, etc. There are many sport organisations in New Zealand (e.g. netball, soccer, basketball) and Malaysia (e.g. soccer, badminton), which are now following the path of rugby and administering their organisations in a fully professional way, even if their codes sometimes remain amateur. The demand for success in the sporting world pushes sport leaders around the world to seek a competitive ‘edge’ in preparing teams and athletes for competitions. Ironically, this may mean copying proven training programmes from another country, importing ‘foreign’ coaches to help local athletes, or sending athletes/teams abroad for expert training and competition with world leaders in their fields. In other words, the world of professional sport is a converging one.

• **The role of the electronic media in sport promotion**

The role of the media in sport and recreation enhances the trends discussed above. Traditionally, the media reported sport as though these were finite activities. Increasingly, the media have become big promoters of sport and, in the case of television, have captured the imagination of viewers. The media can direct sport via the power of huge revenues gained from directing advertising at captive sports audiences. Sports are redesigned and structured to suit the media, and not the other way round. Certain sports are more media attractive and are broadcast more often than others (e.g., rugby in New Zealand and soccer in Malaysia). Requirements of ‘prime time’ TV advertising can sometimes drive the sport agenda. For instance, "... during the Olympic Games in Seoul 1988, the 100 metres was run at an odd time, dinner time – which was prime time in America" (M. Jegathesan: Interview, 2001).
• The development of common, international, standards

The globalisation of sport is increasingly based on internationally agreed rules that defy the ability of national governments to change sport and recreation policies at will. Both New Zealand and Malaysian societies adopted the Olympic charter. Global events like the Olympics impose a degree of uniformity on those who adopt its charter. For instance, in the early 1950s, many Malaysian national sporting associations were formed in preparation for the 1956 Olympics. The Malaysian, as well as the New Zealand government took a greater role in leisure, recreation and sport management in the provision of playing fields and sporting facilities, especially from the 1970s onwards, and in funding high-performance sport management and coaching.

New Zealand and Malaysia have both hosted international sporting events, for example, the Commonwealth Games. When seeking such hosting rights, a country has to demonstrate that it possesses, or will possess, venues equipped with international standard sport facilities and be able to meet other, internationally-determined, standards of ‘best practice’. Although the events require considerable amounts of money and administrative preparation, governments welcome such events, because of the economic, social and promotional advantages.

The inclusion of a new sport in major international sporting events, the Olympics or the Commonwealth Games, can generate wider interest in that sport. For example, after lawn bowls was included in the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur in 1998, a sport previously unheard of in South East Asia became one of the regularly contested sports in the region.

54 And who would not do so, given that the Olympics are an opportunity to express national membership of the 'Big Boys' club?
9.2.1 A leisure paradox

There is a paradox is to be found in leisure provision. In a situation of ‘time scarcity’ (Linder, 1970) or ‘time squeeze’ (Haworth, 1997:4), members of the public of an age and fitness level appropriate to active forms of leisure, respond positively to the certainties that structured, programmed, leisure activities provide. At the same time, and again in a situation of time scarcity, people value spontaneity and low levels of commitment in their leisure choices.

Hence the popularity, even among the young and fit, of ‘informal’ sport, of spontaneous games of soccer or touch, with no requirement to reach certain pre-match fitness levels or to take part on regular training or coaching. In this situation of choice and flexibility, moreover, some people, particularly in New Zealand with its Western-derived support for individualism (see Chapter Three, Section 3.5), prefer to engage in individualistic rather than team pursuits. They run, they cycle, they climb, they kayak. A number of these activities are capital-intensive, and for this reason perhaps are more common among better educated people with disposable income.55

This leisure paradox exists against a wider culture of commodified leisure, much of it, but not all, of a passive, kind. (The athlete who tours the cycle shops searching for the latest mountain bike or late-model kayak is as much caught up with leisure-as-consumption as the ‘couch potatoes’ who wander the shopping malls searching for the latest video games to equip their Sony 2 Play- Stations.)

9.3 Leisure policy

The evidence presented in relation to national leisure policy in Malaysia and New Zealand, offers more support for the convergence thesis. In both countries, the provision

55With respect to participation by New Zealanders in different ‘cultural’ activities, the 2002 Cultural Experiences Survey noted that “…for most activities, educational qualifications were the most important variable, with a clear split between people with either secondary or tertiary qualifications and those with no formal qualifications” (Statistics New Zealand, October 2003: 11).
of leisure in all of its forms is seen to involve more than satisfying the ‘rights’ of citizens. Contemporary governments are more aware than their predecessors of the ‘nationhood’ benefits of encouraging certain, ‘tangible’, developments in leisure, recreation and sport. They are sensitive to the indicators that will encourage the private sector to venture into leisure-related activity and see opportunities to offset other government expenditures by using sport and active leisure, particularly, to promote healthier lifestyles.

Chapter Five established that in both New Zealand and Malaysia, public-private partnerships accompany the growing commercialisation of leisure, sport and recreation provision. Following economic reforms in 1980s, the privatisation of facilities and services, and private-public partnerships have been apparent in New Zealand and Malaysian governments’ approaches to leisure provision. While privatisation and commercialisation in the leisure sector are pronounced and advanced in New Zealand, Malaysia pursues this trend more aggressively, for example through Corporate Management techniques (UN ESCAP, 2000).

At the local government level, however, we noted significant differences in leisure policy and provision between New Zealand and Malaysia, with local government in the latter showing little separation from central government control. Chapter Six noted that differences in institutional arrangements, notably in political structures, reflect different approaches to the achievement of nationhood. These differences demonstrate that there are various ways in which resistance to global trends is manifest and they also demonstrate the difficulty of defining ‘the local’ (see Chapter Six, section 6.5).

The concern for nation-building is strongly influenced and designed by the different pre-and post-colonial histories of New Zealand and Malaysia, their ethnic and cultural composition and the different salience of religious belief systems.

In Malaysia, nation-building is equated with achieving ethnic harmony, the well-being of the people and political stability. The aim is to achieve the status of a developed nation by 2020. The role of Islam, the promotion of Islamic values, and the formulation of
government policy in keeping with these values, is central to Malaysian nation-building. With a central government which explicitly embraces a nation-building mandate and is resistant to democratic movements, Malaysian policy statements are able to be much clearer about the ‘directive’ intent of government which is to produce a healthy, united and disciplined society through greater participation and better opportunities in sport. Wira (hero) status is no longer conferred on the basis of one’s efforts in fighting against the colonial power, but is measured by one’s achievement in raising the country’s profile worldwide, whether this is in business, politics or sport. All aspects of local authority development in Malaysia, including leisure, recreation and sport sectors, are framed by ‘overriding’ national objectives concerned with ‘nationhood’. ‘Vision 2020’ is but a recent manifestation of a long practice in this regard.

In New Zealand, the concern for nation-building was initially cultural rather than political, as the needs and aspirations of the tangata whenua, the indigenous people, were ignored and a sense of overwhelmingly British cultural identity and homogeneity prevailed. Establishing a sense of cultural identity separate from that of ‘Mother England’ became a key concern during the 20th century. In an increasingly secular society, sport emerged as an important identifier. Nationalist sentiments are sometimes expressed subtly, because overt displays of patriotism are no longer fashionable. As an ‘outsider’, however, one only had to observe the state of mourning into which the nation was cast when the New Zealand All Blacks failed to make the semi-finals of the 1999 Rugby World Cup and to hear of the reaction in New Zealand to their failure to make the final of the 2003 World Cup, to recognise that something ‘deep’ was being touched by this loss.

However, sport is not the only activity capable of bringing peoples and communities together. Non-formal education, volunteer work, sport and other physical activities, as well as cultural and religious activities, for example, encourage integration and solidarity among Malaysian ethnic groups. The Malaysian government promotes various community games (permainan rakyat) and pastimes (Permainan masa lapang Malaysia) with the aim, according to Adnan (1979), of encouraging and strengthening community participation and integration. The ‘telematch’ (sukaneka) is an example. In the modern
era, ‘nation building’ may have become a historically convenient, political, justification for a support of sport and sports-based events that is based increasingly on economics.

9.4 Leisure structures

Figure 9.1, below, shows several points of comparison between Malaysia and New Zealand with respect to contemporary leisure structures and provision.

**Figure 9.1: Examples of leisure, sport and recreation organisation by sector and level of provision in New Zealand and Malaysia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Not-for-profit</th>
<th>Voluntary</th>
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<td>Level</td>
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<td>M'sia</td>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>M'sia</td>
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<td>National</td>
<td>Active New Zealand / SPARC</td>
<td>National Sport Council</td>
<td>-Sport Tourism Franchises -Bungy jumping</td>
<td>Grand Prix Formula One</td>
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<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td>National Sport Council</td>
<td>-Indoor Netball -Superstrike Tenpin bowling</td>
<td>-Fitness centres franchises -Tenpin bowling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Environment Waikato</td>
<td>Sarawak State Sport Council</td>
<td>Theme Parks Jellie Park Lido</td>
<td>Theme Parks (Sunway Lagoon)</td>
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<td>Local</td>
<td>Local Authorities Sports Section</td>
<td>Youth and Sports Offices</td>
<td>Business House Sports</td>
<td>(Jordan) Fishing Competitions</td>
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The general picture is of a ‘mix’ of public, private and voluntary provision in both countries, and with both governments placing a heavy emphasis on sport and active leisure in their leisure policies. As discussed in Chapter Eight, different institutional arrangements, stemming from the different histories of Malaysia and New Zealand, have seen explicit political control maintained over ‘leisure’ in the former and (from the 1980s) a pseudo-Liberal ‘independent’ organisation of leisure structures, via a Quango, in the latter.
9.5 The significance of national cultural practices

Although the way Islam is interpreted in Malaysia is more ‘liberal’ and accepting of some
globalisation values, such as the Olympic movement, Islamic values do ‘filter’ and
‘reject’ what are seen to be the ‘negative’ effects of globalisation.

To some extent, the influence of Islam in leisure, sport and recreation roles and policy in
Malaysia mediates globalisation processes, although there is no necessary contradiction
between the two. Under the Malaysian education system, Islamic values were emphasised
more in the 1980s than previously. The time allocations for the Islamic religious
education of Muslim students were increased to 13 per cent of the total time for all
subjects (Ministry of Education, Malaysia, 1984). Concurrently, non-Muslim children
take the ‘moral’ subject, which is compulsory. Both subjects basically stress ethical and
moral values. Changes in the school curriculum include practices in the schools’ physical
education and sports. Muslim girls are encouraged to wear track bottoms with a scarf
covering their hair and they have separate physical activities from boys, especially in
sport activities.

The Malaysian government claims that Islam helps in completely eliminating racial pride,
prejudices and ethnic superiority. As Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad
stressed recently (New Straits Time, 2002), “… racial harmony is achieved in Malaysia
because of Islam and because the majority of the people here are Muslims”. This
statement is perhaps true to the extent that since 1970, the interracial cooperation party
(Barisan Nasional) which is led by a Muslim politician, has been successful in sustaining
political stability and maintaining racial harmony. The government ensured people abide
by Rukunegara56 (Malaysian Ideology), which is philosophically based upon the ‘five
pillars’ of Islam57.

56 Rukunegara (rukun means principle and negara means nation) is the guiding principle of all nations in
the country towards cementing the various communities into one single cohesive group. It is guided by five
principles namely Belief in God; Loyalty to King and Country; Upholding the Constitution; Rule of Law;
and Good Behaviour and Morality. Rukunegara catered to all Malaysian citizens to achieve national unity.
57 The ‘five pillars of Islam’ are guiding principles for every Muslim to be practised individually for Allah
(God).
In places and on occasions where the ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims is high, Islamic influences can be readily observed in leisure, recreation and sport practices including use of the Islamic dress-code; inclusion of prayer times in the program schedule; serving of halal food as well as availability of prayer facilities or rooms at the venues concerned. Many of these observations do not hold in situations where non-Muslims prevail, but even here, official night-time sporting events must start after the Isyak prayer call (about 8.45 pm Malaysian time) and any activity must stop for a while when the participants hear ‘azan’ (the call for prayer from the mosque, especially in Maghrib – the period of dusk). The government requires such observances on the grounds that they are ethical actions intended to respect Islam and the Muslim.

While religion has served, and is still serving, to stabilise the existing social order by endowing the accepted traditions with sacredness, leisure serves as a vehicle of human expression. Here lies the inevitable link between leisure and religion: which form of human expression is acceptable? (Ibrahim, 1982: 197.)

9.6 The significance of the study

The research will hopefully support and enrich the study of leisure, sport and recreation, particularly the comparative leisure studies literature which is currently in its infancy – nowhere more so than in South-East Asia. It confirms that ‘no country is an Island, entire unto itself’, and that in seeking to go their own way, but for different reasons, New Zealand and Malaysia are, ironically, witnessing trends seen elsewhere, including ones seen in the United Kingdom, the ‘Mother Country’ (for New Zealand) and the Colonial Power (for Malaysia). A comparative cross-national study provides insights into the roles of leisure, sport and recreation institutions, including legislatures and government departments, as well as policies. Importantly, for this thesis, noting similarities and differences in the values and organisation of leisure and sport helps to distinguish between generic (e.g. the leisure consumption ethic) and contingent factors (e.g. religious practices), shaping this sector.

There has been no previous study of this comparative kind in Malaysia. Based on this work, one could proceed now to a study focusing on the study of convergence trends
(convergent and divergent) in sport and recreation in the South-East Asian region. The model introduced at the beginning of this thesis and the schema of comparative analysis could be utilised as a template for the research, and of course, the model and the template would undoubtedly be modified as a result of such a project.

The new knowledge generated by this study extends to the methodology, where, via semi-structured interviews, I was introduced to information not available in published sources. (An example of this was the Hon. Mike Moore's informal comment to Sir Ron Scott in 1984 (cited by Sir Ron in my interview with him), about the future of sport and recreation in New Zealand.)

Finally, as has been repeatedly mentioned, for the purposes of this thesis, the convergence thesis has been interpreted as a generic theory, an 'umbrella' under which to pick up, scrutinise, keep and discard various empirical 'stones'. Stripped of its earliest functionalist overtones, the convergence theory has been valuable in that respect, but with care needed to recognise divergent as well as converging influences. In this connection, the role of cultural differences, traditions and robust value systems, in defending some measure of autonomy in patterns of national economic development and social policy (including leisure policy) formation, has been noted.

9.7 Limitations of this thesis

At the very beginning of this thesis I proposed a conceptual model (Figure 1.1) to help understand the comparative study of leisure, sport and recreation in a global context. This involved developing an understanding of the relationship between global factors and local or contingent factors. This thesis has very much concentrated on developing a familiarity with the 'output' side of the model, that being the nature and relationship of contingent factors. Nothing has been said, analytically, about the 'input' side. The reader will have been left with the impression that globalisation forces are real, that they are systemic and that they are coherent/unified. This is an assumption which itself can be and should be questioned, but to do so would require a second PhD or would perhaps be a life's work.
9.8 Summary

This researcher expected to find that as the representative of an 'Eastern', 'collective' culture, and one which formally espouses Islam as the national religion and develops public policy infused with Islamic values, Malaysia would demonstrate a more coherent and systematic resistance to the convergence trends of globalisation via its national cultural practices and institutional arrangements, than 'Western' New Zealand. On the contrary, Malaysia has embraced many aspects of the global leisure culture and its interpretation of Islam is moderate and pragmatic, more geared to providing a values base for promoting ethnic harmony and nation-building than directly censoring, in an intrusive way, what Malaysian citizens may see, hear and purchase. This moderate interpretation of Islam is harnessed, however, to a political system that is highly centrist and, for all practical purposes, essentially single-party (see Footnote 15). That party has a vision for Malaysia's future and sees itself as empowered to put policies in place, both at the national and regional/local levels, to achieve that vision. Hence it happily works through a large number of Ministries to achieve its vision with respect to the harmonising potential of sport and has done little to make local authorities more independent of its own control.

The historical situation facing New Zealand, in terms of developing its nationhood, was quite different from that of Malaysia. It regarded itself essentially as a mono-cultural society for the first 150 years of European settlement, the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 notwithstanding. Only in the past thirty years has New Zealand seemed prepared to recognise its bi-cultural obligations. Up until this time its concerns about nationhood were really about developing and valuing its separateness from Great Britain. New Zealand is also a Parliamentary democracy in the British tradition, with the same periodic changes in government from Centre-Left to Centre-Right as 'Mother England'. It is also a society where local government, again following a British tradition, jealously preserves its autonomy vis-à-vis central government. The play of these political institutional arrangements in the New Zealand case, and their implications for leisure policy and
structures, have been traversed in Chapters Five, Six and Eight and in Sections 9.3 and 9.4 of the present chapter.

Overall, it is my conclusion that the results of this thesis lend support for the convergence thesis as a way to explain developments in leisure, recreation and sport over the past thirty-two years. This support, however, is offered 'cautiously'. There are several reasons for such caution.

First, institutional arrangements and national cultural practice certainly do provide some resistance to convergence processes, Some of my findings are in keeping with Goldthorpe's (1966) point that a commitment to economic reform and media technological advances need not overwhelm a political culture (Malaysia) and tradition (New Zealand), in shaping policy.

Second, the convergence thesis is a rather crude tool to measure differences between countries. It cannot pick up the nuances that attach themselves to behaviours. An example, provided in Chapter Three is the importance of rugby union in New Zealand. This is a sport played by the same rules as pertain to the country from which it originated, Great Britain, but it carries considerably different symbolic 'weight' in New Zealand's case because of its significance as a marker of nationhood.

Third, like all social science theories which concern themselves with specific events or classes of events, the convergence thesis is better at explaining what has already happened than in predicting what may happen in the future. With respect to the predictive powers of the convergence thesis, we have yet to see how terrorism, for example, will influence the world balance of power. Will it produce the Balkanisation of more States? Will militant Islam sweep away the moderate forms of Islam practiced in countries like Malaysia and curtail many of the freedoms which their citizens enjoy, including the freedom to participate in the global consumer marketplace of leisure? Will the United Stated decide that Pax Americana has too high a price tag and retreat to more cautious forms of foreign policy and military involvement?
It would be unfair to single out the convergence thesis for criticism because of its inability to predict precise events/cultural differences. The thesis does have value in a practical way as a dynamic conceptual framework (see Figure 1.1), a means to identify factors which might be brought into a conceptual model, the relationships between each of which can then be observed. It is also one concrete way of articulating, then critiquing, simplistic claims about the omniscience of globalisation processes. Although the model is clearly limited (Section 9.6), if this thesis does little else I hope it will persuade the reader that the resistance of local, contingent, arrangements to global forces involves very complex and mutually iterative processes.
Bibliography


http://www.unm.edu/~coughlin/convergnew.htm


Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness and Leisure. (1993). *The Hillary Commission today*


Hindson, A., & Gidlow, B. (1994). *Trickle or drop? The effects of the Olympics on sport participation.* 10th Commonwealth and International Science Congress. (pp. 10-14 August, University of Victoria, BC, Canada.


Appendix I

Semi-structured interview questions

Interview themes – New Zealand Central government

Personal history
• Can you tell me about your personal background and how you came to be involved in leisure, recreation and sport promotion and policy?
• Could you provide me with a brief chronology of your career to date, as practitioner/administrator or policy maker in the New Zealand leisure, recreation and sports area?

Changing role of leisure, sport and recreation
• What role do you see leisure and sport performing in New Zealand? Has this changed during the last 20 years? In what ways? Which people or organisations were the key ‘players’ in these changes in your view?

Policy making
• Who determines leisure policy in New Zealand? What influences are they responding to in term of people, events and trends?
• Have you had experience of situations where the ‘voices’ of some groups or individuals failed to be heard by policy makers? Why in your view, did this happen?

Review of sport, fitness and leisure
• What would you hope for from the review of the sport, fitness and leisure sector commissioned by Trevor Mallard? Do you think such a review is needed?

Central government’s role
• Building on this matter of the review of sport, fitness and leisure, what role or roles do you see for central government in leisure, recreation and sport in New Zealand? Has government helped or hindered this sector over the past 20 years?

Local government’s role
• How would you characterise the relationship between central and local government over the past 20 years in terms of the determination of leisure, sport and recreation policy and practice? (For example, do local authorities wait to see the impact of central government initiatives on regions, district and cities before formulating their own policies? Or are they ‘tuned’ to purely local trends, needs and initiatives?)

New Zealand leisure, sport and recreation in global context
• Do you think New Zealanders should be concerned with global developments affecting the leisure, sport and recreation sector? What would you identify as the
key global developments and what kind of response would you like to see developed by government with a view to the leisure, sport and recreation sectors?

Interview themes – New Zealand local government

Personal history
- Can you tell me about your personal background and how you came to be involved in leisure, sport and recreation promotion and policy?
- Could you provide me with a brief chronology of your career to date, as practitioner/administrator or policy maker in the New Zealand leisure, sport and recreation area?

The philosophy governing local authority involvement in recreation and sport
- Does local authority involvement have a ‘philosophy’ behind it?
- Where is that philosophy expressed? How is it shared? How is it modified?

Local authority policy and operations in recreation and sport
- Can you explain what ‘contexts’/ factors local authority providers bear in mind when developing policy relating to sport, recreation and leisure?
- Have there been changes in the past 20 years or so years in the operations of local authority sport, recreation and leisure providers?

Contexts of local authority provision
- How would you characterise the relationship between local and central government over the past 20 years in terms of the determination of leisure, recreation and sport policy and practice.
  (For example, do local authorities wait to see the impact of central government initiatives on regions, district and cities before formulating their own policies? Or are they ‘tuned’ to purely local trends, needs and initiatives?)
- Have national-level changes, such as the creation of Sport Trusts and greater commercial provision of leisure and recreation, had an impact on local authority approaches to provision?

New Zealand leisure, recreation and sport in global context
- Do you think New Zealanders should be concerned with global developments affecting the leisure, sport and recreation sector? What would you identify as the key global developments and what kind of response would you like to see developed by local authorities with a view to the leisure, sport and recreation sectors?

Future trends
- In terms of leisure, sport and recreation policy, what directions do you expect local authorities to take in the future?
Interview themes – Malaysian central government

Personal history
• Can you tell me about your personal background and how you came to be involved in leisure, recreation and sport promotion and policy?
• Could you provide me with a brief chronology of your career to date, as practitioner/administrator or policy maker in Malaysian leisure, sport and recreation?

Changing role of leisure, sport and recreation
• What role do you see leisure and sport performing in Malaysia? Has this changed during the last 20 years? In what ways? Which people or organisations were the key ‘players’ in these changes in your view?

Policy making
• Who determines leisure, sport and recreation policy in Malaysia? What influences are they responding to in terms of people, events and trends?
• Have you had experience of situations where the ‘voices’ of some groups or individuals failed to be heard by policy makers? Why in your view, did this happen?

Review of sport and recreation policy
• There is a general opinion that the present sports policy is in need of a review. What is your comment? Based on practice, who will set the ball rolling when it comes to a policy review? If the review does take place what will be your suggestions and expectations? (Probe issues / factors to be considered)

Central government’s role
• Relating to the above matter, what role(s) do you see for central government in leisure, sport and recreation in Malaysia? Has the government helped or hindered this sector over the past 20 years?

Local government’s role
• How would you characterise the relationship between central and local government over the past 20 years in terms of who has determined leisure, sport and recreation policy and practice? (For example, do local authorities wait to see the impact of central government initiatives on regions, district and cities before formulating their own policies? Or are they ‘tuned’ to purely local trends, needs and initiatives?)

Malaysian leisure, sport and recreation in global context
• In your view what are the global developments affecting the leisure, sport and recreation sector in Malaysia? What would you identify as the key global developments and what kind of response would you like to see developed by government with a view to the leisure, recreation and sport sectors?
Interview themes – Malaysian local government

Personal history
• Can you tell me about your personal background and how you came to be involved in leisure, sport and recreation promotion and policy?
• Could you provide me with a brief chronology of your career to date, as practitioner/administrator or policy maker in Malaysian leisure, sport and recreation?

The philosophy governing local authority involvement in recreation and sport
• Does local authority involvement have a 'philosophy' behind it?
• Where is that philosophy expressed? How is it shared? How is it modified?

Local authority policy and operations in recreation and sport
• Can you explain what 'contexts' / factors local authority providers bear in mind when developing policy relating to sport, recreation and leisure?
• Have there been changes in the past 20 years or so years in the operations of local authority sport, recreation and leisure providers?

Contexts of local authority provision
• How would you characterise the relationship between local and central government over the past 20 years in terms of the determination of leisure, sport and recreation policy and practice.
(For example, do local authorities wait to see the impact of central government initiatives on regions, district and cities before formulating their own policies? Or they ‘tuned’ to purely local trends, needs and initiatives?)
• Have national-level changes, such as the creation of State Sport Councils and greater commercial provision of leisure and recreation, had an impact on local authority approaches to provision?

New Zealand leisure, recreation and sport in the global context
• In your view, what are the global developments affecting the leisure, sport and recreation sector in Malaysia? What would you identify as the key global developments and what kind of response would you like to see developed by government / local authorities with a view to the leisure, sport and recreation sectors?

Future trends
• In terms of leisure, sport and recreation policy, what directions do you expect local authorities to take in the future?
Appendix II

Consent letter and consent form

Date
Dear __________,

You are invited to participate as a participant in a project entitled “Leisure policy in New Zealand and Malaysia: a comparative study of developments in sport and physical recreation”. I understand that one of my supervisors, Professor Grant Cushman or Bob Gidlow, has already made informal contact. The aim of this project is to investigate and compare three key issues in New Zealand and Malaysia: 1) Leisure: concepts and culture, 2) Leisure behaviour, and 3) Leisure policy and structure, with particular reference to sport and recreation.

Your participation in this project will consist of an interview with me. The interview will not involve working through a fixed questionnaire. Rather, I have a number of broad questions which I invite you to respond to, from your perspective as a “player” in New Zealand/Malaysia leisure, sport and recreation, during the past 16 – 20 years. With your permission, I will tape-record the interview with a view to transcribing it later. Naturally, if you have additional, written, material which can help me with my study, and you are willing to let me see it or photocopy it, that would be very much appreciated.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. If you wish the identity of participants will not be made public without their consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality I will be the only person with access to the information obtained from you and I will keep the data in secure storage until destruction.

The project is being carried out as part of my research towards a PhD by me, Mohd Salleh Aman, phone 03-325 2322, e-mail: amanms@Lincoln.ac.nz . I will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project. The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Subjects Ethics Committee.

Thank you for your time. If you have any questions regarding this research, please contact me at P.O. Box 84, Human Sciences Division, Lincoln University, or my supervisors: 1) Bob Gidlow (03-3253838 – 8766) and 2) Prof. Grant Cushman (03-3253838 – 7806).

Thank you

Mohd Salleh Aman
P.O. Box 84
Human Sciences Division
Lincoln University
New Zealand
Consent Form

For Participants

Doctoral Project:
Leisure policy in New Zealand and Malaysia: a comparative study of developments in sport and physical recreation.

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a participant in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved if I so wish. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Signed: ___________________________  Date: ___________________________

Printed Name: ___________________________
## Appendix III

### Participants' details

#### New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contact</th>
<th>Agency / background</th>
<th>Time/Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Alastair Snell</td>
<td>Level 6, 3 Kingston St</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
<td>19th September 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>Sport, Fitness &amp; Leisure</td>
<td>Tuesday, 11.00am.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 09-9164562</td>
<td>Ministerial Taskforce, 2000</td>
<td>Place: Office, Auckland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:Snell@activenz2025.org.nz">Snell@activenz2025.org.nz</a></td>
<td>Chair: John Graham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 06-3684605</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday, 5.00pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 04-3850240</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saturday, 10.00am.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:bobstot@pop.ihug.co.nz">bobstot@pop.ihug.co.nz</a></td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: house Wellington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Waikato</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuesday, 2.30pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamilton, New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: Room 3.10,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 07-8384500</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Leisure Studies, WU, Waikato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:leeveani@waikato.ac.nz">leeveani@waikato.ac.nz</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rotorua, NZ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monday, 2.00pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 07-3484199</td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: Office, Rotorua City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:mail@rdc.govt.nz">mail@rdc.govt.nz</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council Recreation Officer,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuesday, 11.00am.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and City Manager: 1992</td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: Office, Manukau City Council, Auckland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 09-2625105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:hschlege@manukau.govt.nz">hschlege@manukau.govt.nz</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Diane O'Neil</td>
<td>Officer Hillary Commission</td>
<td>Master's degree in Recreation and Leisure Studies; Play Advisor for NZ Council for Recreation and Sport, and for Hillary Commission. Involved in policy development; disability in recreation and sport, green prescription.</td>
<td>13th October 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tel: 04-4778058</td>
<td></td>
<td>Friday, 12.00pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:info@hillarysport.org.nz">info@hillarysport.org.nz</a></td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: Office, Hillary Commission, Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Role</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Date/Time</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Hugh</td>
<td>Senior Policy Analyst, Ministry of Social Policy</td>
<td>P.E teacher; Lecturer; an athlete and coach; Board member – Coaching NZ; Sport Science NZ; Sport, Fitness and Recreation Training NZ, and policy adviser, Ministry of Social Policy, NZ.</td>
<td>15th September 2000. Friday, 2.00pm. Place: 5th Floor, Charles Fergusson Building, Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Harvey</td>
<td>Lecturer, Human Sciences Division, Lincoln University</td>
<td>Master’s degree in Geography &amp; Recreation; PhD in Human Geography; Associate Professor; 1980 – Advisor for Ministry of Recreation and Sport, NZ, Involved in policy development and implementation, urban recreation.</td>
<td>10th October 2000 Tuesday, 1.30pm. Place: Office, Human Sciences Division, Lincoln University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perkins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ian Boyd</td>
<td>Former Olympic athlete; Physicist; Worked in Engineering Department, Loughborough University and Victoria University, NZ; Involved in Coaching NZ, Athletics NZ, and NZ Olympic Committee.</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th September 2000 Saturday, 2.30pm. Place: house (Levin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. John</td>
<td>Managing Director, The Sports Management &amp; Training Group P.O. Box 9077, Hamilton, NZ Tel: 07-8395837</td>
<td>Involved in sport since youth; Parent’s leadership; Teachers’ College; 5 years in Britain, professional cricket; 8 years in New Zealand Cricket Team; Established Waikato “Sport Trust”; Cricket commentator for 10 years, NZ.</td>
<td>1st August 2001 Wednesday, 11.30am. Place: Suite 7, Westpac Trust Park, Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Joseph</td>
<td>C/O New Zealand Listener P.O. Box 90-119 Auckland Mail Centre, NZ Tel: 04-4768087</td>
<td>Sport Journalist since 1975 Working with Evening Post newspaper – Wellington; Cricket writer, Sports editor; Since 1989 Sports Writer in The Listener Magazine; Coach of Squash and Cricket; International Squash Player</td>
<td>2nd August 2001 Thursday, 10.45am. Place: Wellington Airport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lesley</td>
<td>Christchurch City Council, Christchurch, NZ <a href="mailto:Lesley-Symington@ccc.govt.nz">Lesley-Symington@ccc.govt.nz</a></td>
<td>City Council Officer; Librarian; Social worker; involved in recreation and leisure policy development at Christchurch City Council level.</td>
<td>27th September 2000 Wednesday, 3.00pm. Place: Office, Christchurch City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Lisa Hayes</td>
<td>Department of Leisure Studies, The University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105 Hamilton, New Zealand Tel: 07-838 4500 <a href="mailto:lisa@waikato.ac.nz">lisa@waikato.ac.nz</a></td>
<td>Involved in leisure, recreation and sport industry since 1972; Lecturer - leisure leadership, management; Working experience: local government; HC; Voluntary organisation; Focus: physical recreation</td>
<td>31st July 2001 Tuesday, 1.00pm Place: Room 3.12, Department of Leisure Studies, Waikato University.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>16. Peter Dale</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer Hillary Commission, Corner Featherston &amp; Balance Streets, P.O. Box 2251 Wellington Tel: 04-4728058 <a href="mailto:info@hillarysport.org.nz">info@hillarysport.org.nz</a></td>
<td>Master's Degree in Geography on Camping, 1968; Mountaineer and river guide; Teacher; Outdoor instructor; General manager of Recreation for Government, and then Hillary Commission; Chief Executive of HC, 1991-current.</td>
<td>12th October 2000 Thursday, 11.00am. Place: Office, Hillary Commission, Level 13 Investment House, Wellington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Peter Darracott</td>
<td>617A Ferguson Dve Trentham, Upper Hutt City, Tel: 04-5288893 Wellington</td>
<td>Master's Degree in Education, USA; Involved in YMCA New Zealand; 1973-1983 as Office assistant, as Chief Executive 1983-1992: Community service consultant.</td>
<td>15th September 2000 Friday, 9.00am Place: House, 617A Ferguson Dve, Trentham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Peter Sharp</td>
<td>33 St. Andrew Square, Christchurch, NZ <a href="mailto:pssharp@xtra.co.nz">pssharp@xtra.co.nz</a></td>
<td>Master's Degree in History &amp; Geography. Involved in sport - cricket, soccer, basketball; Coaching: Kiwi Sports 1990; Broadcast Cricket for Radio and TV (35 years); Education Department / Ministry representative for the Hillary Commission since 1987.</td>
<td>16th October 2000 Monday, 9.30am Place: House, Christchurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Sir Ronald Scott</td>
<td>33B Chatsworth Rd, Silverstream, Upper Hutt, Wellington Tel: 04-5297315 <a href="mailto:ronnies@xtra.co.nz">ronnies@xtra.co.nz</a></td>
<td>Sport: Chairman of Commonwealth Games, Christchurch, 1974; Director of New Zealand Sports Foundation: 1979-1987; Chef de Mission NZ Olympic Team, Los Angeles 1984; Chaired Sport on the Move; Chairman Hillary Commission 1986-1993: Now - Managing Director Leisurenz Ltd.</td>
<td>12th October 2000 Thursday, 3.00pm Place: Office, 33b Chatsworth Rd, Upper Hutt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>Agency / background</td>
<td>Time/Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Trevor</td>
<td>Level 9, 90 Symonds St, Ponsonby, Auckland</td>
<td>Academic: Physical Education, Otago University; Park &amp; Recreation, Indiana University; Former Chief Executive of the Ministry of Recreation and Sport, NZ; President of New Zealand Association of Health and Recreation; Now – Casino Control Authority, NZ.</td>
<td>18th September 2000 Monday, 2.00pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrett</td>
<td>Tel: 09-9164562</td>
<td></td>
<td>Place: Office, Level 9, 90 Symonds St, Auckland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taumaunu</td>
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**Malaysia**

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<tr>
<td>1. Shaikh Saifuddin and Dr.</td>
<td>Ketua Pusat Perundiang &amp; Latihan IKIM, IKIM</td>
<td>Senior officer, Institute of Islamic Understanding of Malaysia; Involved in sport recreationally; researcher.</td>
<td>15th January 2001 Monday, 9.00am Place: Office, IKIM, Jalan Duta, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Bakar Majeed</td>
<td>No. 2, Langgak Tungku Off Jalan Duta 50480 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-62010889 <a href="mailto:ambakar@ikim.gov.my">ambakar@ikim.gov.my</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alijus Sipil</td>
<td>Chief Planning Officer Kota Kinabalu City Council Kota Kinabalu Sabah</td>
<td>Chief Planning Officer, Kota Kinabalu City Council</td>
<td>13th March 2001 Tuesday, 12.00pm Place: Office, MPKK, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abang Affandi Abang</td>
<td>Director Kota Padawan City Council Kota Padawan Kuching Sarawak</td>
<td>The Director of Kota Padawan City Council; Sport Chairman of MAKSAK (Government Workforce Sport and Recreation Association) of Sarawak.</td>
<td>20th March 2001 Tuesday, 9.00am Place: Office, Kota Padawan, Kuching, Sarawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annuar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Balwant Singh Kler</td>
<td>Director Sabah Tourism Board Kota Kinabalu Sabah</td>
<td>The Director of Sabah Tourism Board; Former athlete – swimmer; Founder of Kinabalu Climbthon and the event of Triathlon in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.</td>
<td>13th March 2001 Tuesday, 9.00am Place: Office, Sabah Tourism, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Ik Pahon Joyik</td>
<td>Director Sarawak Sport Council Sarawak Stadium Kuching Sarawak</td>
<td>Director for Sarawak Sport Council</td>
<td>19th March 2001 Monday, 10.00am Place: Office, Sarawak Sport Council, Kuching, Sarawak.</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jabar Johari, Dr, Ass. Professor</td>
<td>Dean Faculty of Cognitive Science &amp; Human Development Universiti Ferguraan Sultan Idris, 35900 Tg. Malim Selangor Tel: 05-4581210</td>
<td>Academic: majored in Physical Education; Master’s and PhD in Sport Science, P.E and Outdoor; an adviser for Sport for All Programmes, Fitness Malaysia, Malaysia Moving Together, hosted by Ministry of Youth and Sport.</td>
<td>12th February 2001 Monday, 9.00am Place: Office, UPSI, Tg. Malim, Selangor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dato’ M Jegathesan,</td>
<td>7-0-5 Danau Business Centre Jalan 3/109F Taman Danau Desa 58100 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 012- 2822328</td>
<td>A National, Asian, Commonwealth and Olympic athlete since 1959; medically qualified doctor; service with government (Ministry of Health) for 30 years; OCM vice-president; IAAF Medical Committee.</td>
<td>17th January 2001 Wednesday, 10.00am Place: Office, Taman Desa, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Khoo Kay Kim, Professor, Dato’</td>
<td>History Department, Faculty of Social Science Universiti Malaya 50603 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-79595572</td>
<td>Professor in Malaysian History; Sports writer and commentator; formerly a director of Sport Centre, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur; involved in competitive sport especially soccer.</td>
<td>16th January 2001 Tuesday, 10.30am Place: Office, History Department, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Dato’ Mahamad Zabri Min,</td>
<td>General Secretary Ministry of Youth and Sport, Jalan Dato’Onn 50570 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-26929341</td>
<td>General secretary, Ministry of Youth and Sport; Involved in various Malaysian sport policy and Act development; Administratively in charge of entire Malaysian youth and sport programmes.</td>
<td>19th April 2001 Thursday, 9.30am Place: Office, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mansor</td>
<td>Planning Officer &amp; Building Controller Melaka City Council ‘Bandaraya Bersejarah’ Graha Makmur No. 1, Lebuh Air Keruh 75450 Melaka Tel: 06-2326411</td>
<td>Director of town planning section, Melaka City Council, Melaka.</td>
<td>18th April 2001 Wednesday, 9.00am Place: Office, Melaka City Council, Melaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Mohd Taib Hussin, Tn. Hj.</td>
<td>Director Sport Division Ministry of Education JKR 143, Jalan Hang Jebat 50150 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-3583838</td>
<td>Academic: Malay Studies &amp; Geography; Involved largely in sport and traditional sport as an athlete, coach, manager and administrator; Former teacher and headmaster; Director of Sport Division, Ministry of Education, Malaysia.</td>
<td>16th January 2001 Tuesday, 8.30am Place: Office, Jalan Hang Jebat, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Title</td>
<td>Organization/Department</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Md. Salleh Othman</td>
<td>Director of Research and Development, Tourism Department, Ministry of Culture, Art and Tourism, Malaysia.</td>
<td>Tourism Department, Ministry of Culture, Art and Tourism, Level 6, Menara Dato' Onn, PWTC, 45 Jin Tun Ismail 50694 Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Peter Rajah</td>
<td>Director Sabah Sport Board, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah</td>
<td>Sabah Sport Board, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Sabree Salleh, Ass. Professor, Dato'</td>
<td>Dean Faculty of Sport Science and Recreation, UiTM, 40450 Shah Alam, Selangor</td>
<td>Faculty of Sport Science and Recreation, UiTM, 40450 Shah Alam, Selangor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Sieh Kok Chi, Dato'</td>
<td>General Secretary Malaysian Olympic Council Level Mezzanine Wisma OCM Jalan Hang Jebat 50150 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-2307448</td>
<td>General Secretary Malaysian Olympic Council Level Mezzanine Wisma OCM Jalan Hang Jebat 50150 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-2307448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Ungku Aziz, Royal Professor</td>
<td>Academic: Engineering – University of Malaya; Government officer – Department of Drainage &amp; Irrigation, 1963-1990, Involved in swimming and swimming association; Secretary General of OCM, 1992 – current.</td>
<td>Angkasa Wisma Ungku A. Aziz Jalan ss6/3 Kelana Jaya 47301 Petaling Jaya Selangor Tel: 03-7061519 <a href="mailto:angka@to.jaring.my">angka@to.jaring.my</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Wasitah Yusof</td>
<td>Academic: Master's Degree in Recreation, USA; Director, Young Partner Programme, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Malaysia.</td>
<td>Director Young Partner Programme Ministry of Youth and Sport, Aras 3, Blok G 50570 Jalan Dato' Onn Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-26915634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Zainal Abidin Abu Zarin, Tn. Hj.</td>
<td>Vice President Paralympic Council of Malaysia Level 1, Wisma MAB 166/1 Jalan Tun Sambangan Brickfields 50470 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-22733293</td>
<td>Kirby College, Teaching 1964; Cultural Division, 1973 - under Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport. 1987 - Sport Division, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Malaysia.</td>
<td>23rd February 2001 Friday, 10.30am Place: Office, Paralympic Office, Breakfield, Kuala Lumpur</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Zainol Abidin Ahmad</td>
<td>Assistant Director Department of Culture, Tourism and Sport Level 3, Block ANNEX Menara Tun Razak Jalan Raja Laut 50350 Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>Administration: 1988- Social Development, Culture and Sport Section; Secretary of KL City Hall Sports Club – 1989-1999: President (1999 – current): 12,000 staff, 20 games; Year 2000: Director of Culture, Tourism and Sport Section.</td>
<td>27th February 2001 Tuesday, 11.00am Place: Office, Kuala Lumpur City Council, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Zolkples Embong</td>
<td>Director Management Section National Sport Council Bukit Jalil Sport Council 57000 Kuala Lumpur Tel: 03-90581877</td>
<td>Assistant Director National Sport Council, Malaysia - Head of the Management Division; NSC permanent staff: 150; coaches; finance; information technology and also responsible indirectly for all other divisions e.g. National Sport Institute.</td>
<td>15th February 2001 Thursday, 9.30am Place: Office, NSC, Bukit Jalil, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>