Nothing Left to Chance? Development of elite sport policy in Scotland 1999-2003

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By

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Abstract

This thesis examines the state-supported system of support for elite-level sport in Scotland and considers whether or not that system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes and coaches and assesses the extent to which it was fair and equitable in terms of outcomes. The study is set within a feminist cultural studies framework that is enriched by qualitative study and based on the distinctively Scottish cultural and historical experience of the nature of sport. The review of the literature provides a detailed discussion of work from the cultural studies and feminist traditions that explore the complex relationships between sport, culture and power. Emphasis is given to those works that have incorporated Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony into their analyses and, in particular, it's appropriation by sports feminists who have used the concept to explore the dynamics of power that underlie contemporary gender relations in sport.

The thesis comprises of two major studies and the findings are based on original material collected from three main research methodologies: documentary evidence, quantitative and qualitative analyses. Study one sets the historical and policy context in which the main focus of the research can be understood. An historical account of state involvement in the elite sport sector is followed by a critical evaluation of elite sport policy agenda during the first session of the Scottish Parliament (1999-2003). The aim of this study was to identify and review the institutional and financial frameworks set up to guide the decision-making process for the delivery of the Scottish elite sport agenda. Study two was designed to gather demographic and socio-economic information on Scotland's elite athletes and to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme (TAP). The first, predominately quantitative, phase of the study, was conducted by means of a postal questionnaire. Significant issues raised during this phase were followed-up and explored in more depth in the second, qualitative phase. Information from athletes was enhanced by the data gathered from interviews with officials, coaches and administrators who are vital to the implementation and success of the elite sport programmes currently in place in Scotland and at the UK level. Where appropriate, interview data is put into some

context by with data collected by the researcher from various sources, including TAP press releases, annual reports and official documents.

The key findings of this research suggest that there are too many gaps in the present system of support for talented and elite athletes to be able to claim that Scotland is "*a country where sporting talent is recognised and nurtured*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, pp.7). Clearly, there is much still to be done if this vision is to be realised for *all* Scotland's talented athletes, irrespective of their gender, cultural or socio-economic background. Only then, can Scottish sport genuinely claim that "*nothing is left to chance*" and Scotland can be considered *"a country achieving and sustaining world class performances in sport"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, pp.7).

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to Sheila Fairweather, who took part in this study. Shelia was an outstanding scholar and athlete - I feel priviledged to have met her, and to have heard her stories.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In 1998, the Scottish Sports Council published "*Sport 21: nothing left to chance*" which set out a strategy for Scottish sport, at all levels. The strategy was based on three visions:

> *"A country where sport is more widely available to all; a country where sporting talent is recognised and nurtured; a country achieving and sustaining world class performances in sport"*
>
> (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, p.7)

"*Sport 21*" was a wide-ranging and ambitious strategy which attempted to ensure that nothing about Scottish sports provision was '*left to chance*' (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, p.144). The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which this ambition has been achieved in one specific vision "*a country achieving and sustaining world class performances in sport*". This study examines the present system of elite sport support in Scotland and considers whether or not the system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes and assesses the extent to which it is fair and equitable in terms of outcome. Based on a distinctively Scottish cultural and historical experience of the nature of sport (Jarvie, 1992), the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted are underpinned by a commitment to a feminist cultural studies analyses of sport, influenced by the ideas of Gramsci (1971) and his central concept of hegemony.

The growth of sport as a global cultural phenomenon is one of the defining characteristics of the twentieth century and it is clear that the public attaches considerable value to international sporting success[1]. Godfrey and Holtham (1999) identify a growing focus on top level sports by governments which stems from a desire to boost the nation's image internationally and a belief that that this can be done cost effectively. In the past three decades, Western states, including the United Kingdom, have become increasingly interested in the drive for sporting excellence and directly involved in the development of elite sports systems. The clearest expression of the UK government's commitment to an elite sport system was made in a recent sports policy document:

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[1]Over 90% of respondents to the Scottish Opinion Survey thought it was very or quite important that Scots do well in international sport generally and in the major competitions (**sport**scotland, 2002e).

> *"We can no longer rely on chance and goodwill. We need to learn the lessons of our competitor nations and have the most professional system for talent development and support of sporting excellence"*
>
> (Great Britain. Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a, p.15)

Most sport historians are in agreement that governments did not begin to view sport as a legitimate governmental responsibility until the late 1950s and 1960s (Anthony, 1980, Hargreaves, 1986a, Coghlan, 1990, Houlihan, 1991, Roche, 1993, Polley, 1998; Hill, 2002). Hill (2002) argues that the twin pressures of increasing commercialisation and concerns about the standard of achievement in elite sport forced late-twentieth century governments to take sport and leisure more seriously. In his study of state-sport relations in Britain from the 1960s, to the 1980s, Bramham notes that changing rationales for state involvement or abstention "*reflect fundamental concerns about the concerns about the nature of individual freedom and rights of citizenship*" (1991, p.140). Summarising the changes in this relationship, Bramham (1991) argues that emphasis has been placed on widening participation rather than sporting excellence, although it is clear that both are linked. It is claimed that higher levels of participation enhance the potential for the discovery of talent, and that excellence in performance can inspire wider participation. Interestingly, there is no academic evidence to substantiate either claim. A recent review of UK government involvement in sport noted that: "*the available evidence also suggests that there is no automatic link between high levels of participation and international success*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.72). Despite the lack of evidence, there are clearly political advantages to be gained from pursuing both strategies. This review recommended that the UK government should adopt a 'twin track' approach of increasing participation and developing sustainable improvement in success in international competition (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.7).

State involvement in elite sport systems

The role of elite sport systems in nation-states is now well established (Oakley and Green, 2000), although Riordan (1986) argued, that in contrast to the former Eastern

bloc[2], Western states' concern for promoting sporting excellence has not been easy to define. In their comparative study of elite sport systems, Oakley and Green (2000) considered whether developments show a trend toward uniformity or whether there is room for diversity between the different systems. They found a number of similarities in approach in Western elite sport systems that permitted them to develop a ten point '*tentative model of elite sport*'[3]:

- a clear understanding about the role of different agencies involved and an effective communication network
- simplicity of administration through common sporting and political boundaries
- an effective system for the identification and monitoring of talented and elite athletes
- provision of sports services to create an excellence culture
- well structured international competitive programmes
- well developed and specific facilities
- targeting of resources on a relatively small number of sports
- comprehensive planning for each sports needs
- a recognition that excellence costs with appropriate funding for infrastructure and people
- lifestyle support and preparation for life after sport

(Oakley and Green, 2000, pp.11-12)

Although they identified a number of factors that are uniform in all countries, Oakley and Green (2000) conclude that the traditions and patterns of government involvement in sport shape the systems in each country, which explains the variations in the model, employed in different countries. The preliminary findings of a recent cross-national research study into the development of medal winning elite's in Europe, suggest that there is "*one crucial element missing*" from Oakley and Green's model, namely the linkages between the different parts of the elite sports system (Sport Industry Research Centre, 2003, p.11). It would appear that it is not only the traditions and patterns of government involvement in sport that vary between countries, but the structure of sport as a whole (Sport Industry Research Centre,

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[2]Riordan's paper was written before the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe the late 1980s. Very few former Communist states continue to have well developed elite sport systems.
[3]The characteristics listed below are essentially the same as those of the former German Democratic Republic's sports system and clearly developed countries have drawn influence from this approach.

2003). The elite sport system that developed in the UK reflects our devolved political and sporting structures.

Elite sport system in the UK

The elite sport system in the United Kingdom began to develop in the early 1990s, when money from the National Lottery became available as a new source of funding (Holt and Mason, 2000). The Conservative government responded to perceived 'failures' at the international level[4] with proposals for the funding and support of elite athletes and the establishment of a British Academy of Sport which was modelled on the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS)[5]. Following the Labour Party's election victory in 1997, the British Academy of Sport concept was changed to a regional institute network. This decision reflects the unique organisation of sport in Britain and the government's political commitment to devolution. Theodoraki's (1999) study of the decision-making process surrounding the establishment of the UK Sports Institute (UKSI) illustrates the increasing importance of international sporting success to the UK government, and details the extent of political involvement in the creation of a successful elite sports system.

The system of support for elite athletes that developed in the United Kingdom reflects our devolved political and sporting structures. In competitive terms, no other country in the world competes internationally at two different levels. Athletes and teams from the United Kingdom sometimes compete at United Kingdom or Great Britain level and sometimes at Home Country level. Politically, the United Kingdom has a unitary, rather than federal system of government, which is complicated by the fact that it incorporates four home nations. Since devolution and the establishment of new political bodies for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, a more decentralised approach to sports policy has developed. The Parliament in Scotland and the Assemblies in Wales and Northern Ireland have the power to set different sports policies from each other and from the Westminster Parliament, which develops policy in England. All five Sports Councils in the United Kingdom[6] distribute lottery funding

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[4]The British Olympic team in Atlanta finished 36th in the medal table and won only one gold medal
[5]Bauman (2002) provides an excellent case study of the context and defining characteristics of the AIS.
[6]Sport England, **sport**scotland, Sports Council for Wales, Sports Council for Northern Ireland, UK Sport

to sport. These organisations are Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) which operate at 'arms length' from government, but are accountable for their decisions to the respective governments and Parliament or Assembly. The four Home Country Sports Councils administer Lottery-funded programmes to both the grass-root and elite levels of sport, while UK Sport has responsibility for elite sport only. UK Sport takes the lead role among the Sports Council's for all aspects of high performance sport that require strategic planning, administration, and co-ordination at the United Kingdom level (UK Sport, 2002a). This complex situation has led to a number of administrative challenges for the development and implementation of an elite sport system where sustained international success requires initiatives to be set within a UK wide context. The unique organisation of elite sport in the United Kingdom combined with the Labour government's commitment to political devolution is clearly reflected in the complex system of Lottery funding distribution and the regional structure of the UK Sports Institute (UKSI).

The UKSI is a network of high performance centres that provide elite athletes and coaches with access to a range of sports science, sports medicine, education and IT services. The UKSI network is made of the four Home Country Institutes, along with a Central Services Team[7], which is part of UK Sport. UKSI centres in Scotland and Wales are already operational, and the English Institute of Sport is now established on nine sites and will be fully operational by the end of 2003. Work on the UKSI network centre in Northern Ireland has yet to commence. The creation of the UKSI and direct financial support to elite athletes has transformed the sporting structure in Britain.

Elite sport system in Scotland

sportscotland (formally the Scottish Sports Council) is the national strategic body for sport in Scotland. It's strategic aims for the development of elite sport in Scotland are set out in *"Sport 21: Nothing Left to Chance"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b), and underpinned by a vision of Scotland as "*a country achieving and sustaining world*

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[7]In December 1999 (DCMS 257/99) after a period of extensive consultation, the government announced that the original Sheffield hub or headquarters concept had been revised and that the network would now be administered by a smaller, more focused Central Services Team which should become a division of UK Sport, based in London

class performances". **sports**cotland distributes Lottery funding to high performance athletes through its Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) and is a key partner of the Scottish Institute of Sport.

The Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) provides financial support to Scotland's top athletes who are, or have the potential to compete at the highest level. TAP is an application-based system which is, in theory, open to all. Applications for funding are assessed on several criteria including eligibility, performance targets, future potential, current performance standards, quantity and quality of proposed programme, relevance to existing national strategies and financial need. Athletes can apply for support in two categories; Sports Costs - which provide support with competition, training and coaching, sports science and medicine, clothing and equipment, and in exceptional circumstances Subsistence Costs - which cover costs associated with general living expenses. Subsistence funding is only awarded to the very highest standard performers.

The Scottish Institute of Sport [SIS], which is a lottery-funded programme, was introduced in 1998, with an initial four-year financial commitment from **sports**cotland of £20 million. Of this total, £12 million was set aside for core expenditure for the SIS headquarters and the six Area Institutes of Sport[8], with the remaining £8 million to be used to fund capital developments required to meet the training priorities of the Institute. The Institute's initial four-year funding expired on the 31st March 2003, and a new four-year funding commitment of £16 million to the Institute was approved by **sports**cotland in their revised Lottery Fund Strategy (**sports**cotland, 2003b).

Research aims and objectives

Most of the recent literature on elite sport systems has focussed on the strategic approach adopted for the implementation of a successful policy. While it is important to determine the strategic approach adopted in different countries it is also crucial to

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[8]The aim of the Area Institutes is to identify and work with talented young athletes, helping them to reach their potential, with the exceptionally talented young athletes progressing from the Area Institutes to the Scottish Institute of Sport

determine the effectiveness with which that policy is applied. It is this aspect of investigation that appears to be missing from the literature and is addressed specifically in this study. The aim of the research is to examine the present system of elite sport support in Scotland and consider whether or not that system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes and assess the extent to which it was fair and equitable in terms of outcomes. The research traces the development of **sport**scotland Lottery Fund programmes for elite level athletes in Scotland, from their introduction in 1997 through to the end of the historic first session[9] of the Scottish Parliament in March 2003. An analysis is undertaken of the policies and priorities for the distribution of Lottery monies in the light of the needs of elite sport in Scotland, government directions and the funds available.

Part of the critical analysis of the research process was to operate within a feminist framework. From the literature it is clear that feminism is not a monolithic concept, but one that contains different positions with differing analytical and explanatory priorities (Fasting, Pfister, Scraton and Bunuel, 1997). The development of feminist theory has been largely interdisciplinary, drawing on theoretical literature developed within a number of discrete disciplinary spheres. Political theorist, Judith Squires (1999) argues that this has generated a highly eclectic approach to existing theories, with feminist theorists taking the theoretical tools of one discipline to engage with issues in another. Yet, in the overarching feminist theorist trajectories some key concepts are common and these could largely be highlighted as the essence of feminist theorising. In constructing feminist knowledge three priorities are generally highlighted:

1. is based upon women's experiences
2. considers how such experiences have been constructed
3. reflects upon the power relations present

(Corrin, 1999, p.13)

Until the emergence of feminist theory as a recognised academic perspective, contemporary political theory was assumed to be gender-neutral in focus (Squires, 1999). That assumption has been subject to extensive critique and the highly gendered

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[9]Parliamentary sessions in the Scottish Parliament last four years. Session 1 covers the period from the first meeting of the Parliament in June 1999 until it's dissolution in March 2003.

nature of mainstream political theory revealed. Political theorist Anne Phillips (1998, p.1), argues that feminism "*is politics*" and its project is to realise fundamental transformations in gender relations. If, as Frazer and Lacey (1993) suggest, we accept the assumption that political theory is concerned with power relations, and that gender relations significantly determine the distribution of power, then political theory must analyse their operation. Squires (1999) argues that this takes political theory into areas not normally associated as political, as is the case in this study which examines the provision of support to elite sport. Like politics, women have been largely excluded from elite sport, as athletes, coaches and administrators, and the essentially masculine nature of contemporary sport has been widely recognised (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Dunning, 1986; Hargreaves, 1986b; J.A. Hargreaves, 1986; McPherson, Curtis and Loy, 1989; Summerfield and White, 1989; Messner and Sabo, 1990). Issues of equality and difference are critical to feminist theory and to this study. The distribution of lottery funding in the United Kingdom is premised on the notion of equality of opportunity, and the elite sport system attempts to equalise through funding, differences that are socially constructed. However, feminist theorists have taken issue with supposedly sex-blind versions of equality which require women to simulate the activities of men who constructed the norms (Phillips, 1999). Sport is one area of society where historically, women have been kept out, or their participation limited, through an emphasis on masculinity and affirmation of men's power and control (Theberge, 1987). Phillips (1999) argues that where people continue to promote institutions that are premised on social inequality, they do so in terms that pretend inequalities away. One of the main aims of this study is to explore the extent to which the present system of support embodies the traditional patriarchal values of mainstream sport and establish whether or not the system relates the concept of equality to wider social, economic, ideological and political issues.

The relationship between theory and practice is an important one in all aspects of feminist research. Praxis involves the fusion of theory and practice in action which leads to the generation of new ideas and ways of working that are directed, not primarily at academia, but at those who are working for social change (Stanley, 1990; Corrin, 1999). Grossberg (quoted in Wright, 2001) argues that research is inextricably linked to political struggle, and its point must be to transform the material contexts so that certain practices are no longer acceptable. This is of particular relevance in the

area of sports research where there is a notable gap between theory and practice (M.A. Hall, 1996). One of the fundamental aims of this research is to increase the knowledge base about women's involvement in the elite sport sector in Scotland and to help inform policy and practice. This view is evident in the work of feminists working in sports research. Fasting, Pfiister, Scraton and Bunuel (1997), for example stress that one of the main aims of their research was:

> *"to conduct research that would contribute to positive change for women in sport through the provision of knowledge that would benefit future policy and improve women's sporting experiences and opportunities"*
>
> (Fasting, Pfiister, Scraton and Bunuel, 1997, p.89)

Like feminist thinking, cultural studies has never been dominated by a single theoretical or methodological position. Indeed Hall (1992) argues that the growth of cultural studies could be described as a perpetual 'unity-in-difference' characterised by multiple theoretical influences, research methods and sites of analysis (Andrews, 2002). Despite this multiplicity of approaches, Grossberg (1997) has identified the definitional core of the cultural studies approach, which he describes as '*radically contextual*':

> *"In fact I would argue that context is everything and everything is context for cultural studies; cultural studies is perhaps best seen as a contextual theory of contexts as the lived milieux of power"*
>
> (Grossberg, 1997, pp.7-8)

According to Grossberg (1993) cultural studies is a political theory of contexts, with a method that can be defined as 'articulation'. Contexts are best thought of as:

> *"specific bits of everyday life' positioned between culture, understood as 'a specific body of practices' and particular social forces, institutions and relations of power"*
>
> (Grossberg, 1993 cited in Morris, 1997, pp.44-45)

The concept of articulation lies at the heart of Stuart Hall's (1986b) *"Marxism without guarantees"* thesis. Taken from Gramsci's theory of hegemony and comprehensively

developed by political theorists[10], articulation describes the process whereby social forces are connected, disconnected, make and break alliances thus forming and transforming contexts (Morris, 1997).

> "*An articulation is thus the form of the connection that can make unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is the linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made?*"
>
> (Hall, 1996, p.141)

By utilising this theoretical and methodological approach, cultural studies engages society as a tangible, historically produced, fractured totality, comprising of different types of social relations, practices and experiences (Andrews, 2002). While each cultural practice produces its own relatively autonomous field of effects, the meaning and effects of any cultural practice, or conjunctural identity, are always determined by the network of relations within which it is articulated (Hall, 1986a). Accordingly, the researcher must actively create context by "*forging connections between practices and effects*" Grossberg (1992, p.54).

Methodological influences on this study

While no consensus exists among feminist researchers about what distinguishes feminist research practice from other social research practices, Ann Hall (1996, pp. 75-76) argues that there are several defining characteristics. Firstly, Hall identifies research that is derived from a theoretical perspective that acknowledges the interaction between gender and power and its influence on social life. Also highlighted are the ways in which feminist research has modified existing research techniques and methods. For example, feminist researchers have made extensive use of interviewing and ethnography, although they have highlighted, and been critical of, the hierarchical power relations between researcher and subject evident in much social sciences research (Maynard, 1994). The political nature of research and the potential to bring about change in women's lives is identified as another distinctive

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[10]See Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985) Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics, Verso, London / See also Slack. J.D. (1996) The theory and method of articulation in cultural studies, in Morley, D. & Chen, K-H (eds) Stuart Hall: critical dialogues in cultural studies, Routledge, London

aspect of feminist research. Gender is central to understanding the disciplinary aspects of the formation of modern sport (Brookes, 2002). Feminist scholars have shown how sport operates to reinforce and perpetuate gender inequalities, but have also identified the strategies that are required to enforce institutional and personal change (M.A. Hall, 1988; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lorber, 1994). It is vital therefore, that the theoretical framework underpinning this study also recognises and embraces the feminist and cultural studies commitment to praxis.

Studies of men and women

This study has the potential to expose the social processes that construct sport as a masculine institution, however, the implications of this for the social transformation of sport are much wider than only improving sport for women. Feminist research has become increasingly sophisticated and the principle that it is "*on, by and for women*" no longer sufficient (Flintoff, 1997, p.167). Ramazanoglu (2000) argues that feminist research projects do not need to study women, or only study gender, or treat women as innocent of abuses of power. She argues that feminist research is "*not incompatible with looking more generally at gendered lives, power relations, hierarchies and institutionalized dominance*" (Ramazanoglu (2000, p.147). In the context of sport, Dworkin and Messner (1999) argue that the activist fight for women as a group will not be helped by simplistic research that views sport uncritically in terms of undifferentiated, universalised categories of men and women, when it is evident that different groups of men and women disproportionately benefit from the current social organisation of sport. What is required is an analytical and methodological framework that seeks to empower the disadvantaged, and appreciates the importance of class, race and sexual differences among both men and women (Dworkin and Messner, 1999, p.355). Research from a feminist perspective that focuses on men and institutions as well as women raises quite different issues and questions to research which exclusively focuses on women. There has been very little debate about how research practice might differ, if at all, in feminist studies on, or including men, from studies that only include women (Kelly, Burton and Regan, 1994).

A review of feminist literature on research shows that there are few empirically based accounts from the elite sport sector that have included the study of men and men's experiences as well as those of women. Smart's (1984) account of the methodological

process used in her study of the law and marriage in England, highlighted the potential difficulties of conducting feminist research on men and male-dominated institutions and was an important influence of the methodological development of this study. Smart (1984) claimed that her research was feminist and aimed at improving the lives of women, but was not necessarily about women's lives or experiences. In questioning ideas about the power relationship between the researcher and the researched, Smart (1984) points out that when interviewing powerful males the power dynamic was often reversed. This was particularly relevant to this study where a significant percentage of subjects (both athletes and elite's) were men, a number of whom were in powerful positions. Smart's (1984) study involved the use of a number of different research methods, which included both quantitative and qualitative analyses because she saw a place for both[11].

Qualitative research and multiple methodologies

Making use of as much of the expansive and flexible methodological practice as is available is an approach advocated by Larry Grossberg, one of the most distinguished North American cultural studies scholars:

> *"I believe that one can and should use any and every kind of empirical method, whatever seems useful to the particular project. Use them as rigorously and as suspiciously as you can ... I do not think that ethnography, or any other methodology has a greater claim to being somehow more empirical than another. Use anything, including surveys and statistics, if it seems useful, but consider how they are themselves rearticulated (and their practice changed) by the theoretical and political commitments of cultural studies and of one's own project. I am in favour of anything that helps you gather more information, descriptions, resources and interpretations"*
>
> (Grossberg quoted in Wright, 2001, p.145)

Different methods can be appropriate for different levels of analysis, and that it is the researcher who must decide on the analytical levels and the interrelationships that are relevant to the particular research question (Ramazanoglu, 2002). Feminist researchers have developed and experimented with qualitative research styles to

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[11]Much feminist research at that time inferred that quantitative measures had little to offer studies which attempted to explore the experiences of women's lives (Flintoff, 1997)

explore the diversity of women's lives and experiences (Ramazanoglu, 2002) but they also use a range of quantitative and other techniques to explore the nature and extent of the structural dimensions of women's lives (Scraton and Flintoff, 1992). The use of multiple methods in a single study is also known as triangulation (Denzin, 1989; Flick, 1998), which reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the issue under study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Brackenridge (2001,p.51) argues that the best designs are those that match rigorously-designed and administered quantitative elements with qualitative follow-up, bringing both the breadth and the depth to the account. Following this strategy, this research is based on original material collected from a number of research methodologies: documentary evidence, quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Documentary Evidence

Corbetta (2003, p.307) argues that institutional documentary evidence represents an "*irreplaceable source of empirical material for the study of contemporary society.*" There are two clear advantages of using this type of evidence for the purposes of social research. Firstly, the information is 'non-reactive' in the sense that it is not open to any possible distortion due to an interaction between the researcher and the topic under study. Obviously, institutional documents provide a particular view of social reality, but they are not liable to distortion through the act of recording itself (Corbetta, 2003). Secondly, because documents exist independently of the researcher's activity they can also be used to study the past. Historical analysis is particularly useful in qualitative studies for establishing a baseline or background prior to interviewing (Marshall and Rossman, 1999), and for obtaining knowledge about previously under-examined topics, as in this study. The history and context surrounding the topic of elite sport provision in Scotland, comes, in part, from reviewing institutional and official documents. Documents, including reports, minutes of meetings and other archival material of sporting organisations, parliamentary and government reports, announcements and formal policy statements, are useful in developing and understanding of the elite sport support system in Scotland specifically, and the United Kingdom more generally. The results of this historical and contextual analysis of the Scottish elite sport system are presented in chapters three and four.

There are however, also obvious disadvantages to using this type of material. Institutional documents are not objective and provide a particular, 'institutional' representation of the subject under discussion. Clearly, institutional documents are produced for purposes other than that under study, and as a result, the information gathered from these sources is often incomplete and insufficient. As a result, researchers often use a combination of primary research methods, of which documentary evidence is but one, vital component.

Quantitative Methodology

Researchers administer questionnaires to particular samples of the population in order to learn more about the distribution of characteristics, attitudes or beliefs (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Surveys are often the preferred method for researchers wishing to obtain small amounts of information about a large number of subjects. The lack of empirical and statistical information on the elite sports community in Scotland meant that it was necessary to collect baseline information such as details of age, gender, race and economic circumstance. The survey was conducted by means of a postal questionnaire, the results of which are presented in chapter five.

While the particular strength of the survey methodology is that it can describe and statistically explain the variability of certain features of a particular population, it has limited value for explaining complex social relationships or patterns of interaction (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). The limitations of the survey method can be compensated for through the adoption of another, complementary methodology, which, when used in combination with the data gathered from the survey, can build upon and enhance knowledge of the particular topic under consideration. In the context of this study, a third, qualitative methodological approach was adopted in order to explore, in more depth, some of the significant issues identified from the findings of the postal survey.

Qualitative Methodology

There is no single approach to qualitative analysis. A range of qualitative analytic strategies have evolved which reflect the diversity of theoretical aims and perspectives that researchers have brought to their material (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002, p.673). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe the qualitative researcher as a

bricoleur[12], which suggests that qualitative researchers are likely to employ a variety of strategies and methods to collect and analyse empirical data. They argue that qualitative research is defined primarily by a series of essential tensions, contradictions and hesitations that work back and forth between 'competing definitions' and conceptions. A very popular qualitative approach, popularised by Glasser, Strauss and Corbin (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1992; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1997) which has been widely used in a variety of the social science disciplines, is known as grounded theory. From this approach theoretical ideas are generated from the data, systematically collected and analysed through the research process:

> *"The grounded theory approach is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon"*
>
> (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.24)

Theory derived from the data, Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.12) argue, is more likely to resemble "*reality*", offer insight and enhance understanding than theory derived from a pre-conceived idea or speculation. Most importantly, they argue that grounded theories are more likely to provide a meaningful guide to action (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Silverman (2001) has simplified Glaser and Strauss's (1967) famous account of grounded theory:

- an initial attempt to develop categories which illuminate the data
- an attempt to 'saturate' these categories with many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance
- developing these categories into more general analytical frameworks with relevance outside the setting

Silverman (2001, p.71)

There have been many criticisms of grounded theory, most notably that it fails to acknowledge the implicit theories that guide work in the early stages (Silverman, 2001). Charmaz (2000) challenges that view and argues that these criticisms can be addressed by adopting a (social) constructive approach to grounded theory that builds

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[12] "*The bricoleur is someone who is skilled at using and adapting diverse materials and tools*" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p.24)

upon a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective. From this approach, an interpretative picture of the topic under study emerges and not an 'exact' picture that characterises earlier work that took a more objectivist position (Charmaz, 2002). Charmaz (2002) argues that qualitative interviewing fits in with grounded theory methods particularly well because it is an emergent and flexible technique where ideas and issues emerge which the interviewer can immediately pursue and explore. Qualitative interviewing provides open-ended and in-depth exploration of a topic, about which the subject has substantial experience, and from which the interviewer can unearth elicit views of the subjects' subjective world. For these reasons, this method of data collection was chosen for this study

Qualitative interviewing is based in conversation (Kvale, 1996), with researchers asking questions and respondents answering. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.633) describe the interview as a "*conversation, the art of asking questions and listening*". A grounded theory interview, from a constructivist perspective as advocated by Charmaz (2000), starts with a central issue that defines suitable participants for the study and then proceeds from how the interviewer and interviewee co-construct the interview. The results of this process are perceived to be 'views' rather than hard facts. From this perspective, interviewees are an active part of the process, not just used to by researchers to extract information (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). The use of semi-structured interviews has become one of the principle means by which feminists researchers have attempted to acquire an "*authentic understanding of [the] needs, desires, opportunities, and constraints*" of those under investigation (J.A. Hargreaves, 2000, p.9). A set of questions were developed by the researcher that were structured around key themes relating to the Talented Athlete Programme which emerged from the quantitative phase of the study.

Chapter by chapter outline

The following study examines the state-supported funding programme for elite-level sport in Scotland and considers whether or not that system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes and coaches and assesses the extent to which it was fair and equitable in terms of outcomes. The study is set within a framework that attempts a synthesis of theories from the cultural studies and feminist perspectives, is enriched by qualitative study and based on the distinctively Scottish cultural and historical

experience of the nature of sport. Like Ann Hall (1988), I believe that it is important to explore the connections made between knowledge about sport and the way that knowledge is produced:

> *"... the only viable analyses of gender and sport are those that provide both a critical and historical analysis of the ideological foundations of our past and ongoing research"*
>
> (M.A. Hall 1988, p.331)

Chapters two, three and four set the critical, historical and policy contexts in which the study can be understood. Chapter two presents a review of the literature in the field. Over the past decade, cultural studies has become a forceful presence within social sciences and its influence on the study of sport specifically is expanding. The chapter presents a detailed discussion of work from the cultural studies tradition that explores the complex relationships between sport, culture and power. Emphasis is given to those works that have incorporated Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony into their analyses of sport and, in particular, it's appropriation by sports feminists who have used the concept to explore the dynamics of power that underlie contemporary gender relations in sport. An historical account of the development of state involvement in the elite sport sector from a distinctly Scottish perspective is presented in chapter three, while chapter four maps out the development of the elite sports policy agenda during the first session of the Scottish Parliament. Any analysis of the Scottish elite sport funding system must, however be understood within the context of Britain's complex sporting organisational structure where some decisions are devolved to individual Home Countries and others are reserved to a national system administered by UK Sport. The intention is to offer a political analysis of sports policy development in Scotland and determine the extent to which government intervention in both the devolved administrations and at the United Kingdom level affect the outcomes for athletes in terms of funding and service provision. These chapters provide the historical and policy context in which the main focus of the study can be understood.

Chapters five and six present the results of a two-phase study undertaken by the researcher designed to gather qualitative and quantitative data information about the elite sport sector in Scotland. Chapter five presents the findings of the quantitative

phase of the study, which was designed to gather demographic and socio-economic information on Scotland's elite athletes and to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme (TAP). The significant issues raised by the postal questionnaire were explored in more depth in the qualitative phase of the study, the findings of which are presented in chapter six. Chapter seven presents a consideration of the findings from both studies and highlights areas for future study.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Introduction

Academic interest in sport has been dominated by the natural and biological sciences, although, the latter decades of the twentieth century saw a considerable increase in the work emanating from the social sciences and humanities. It is now possible to locate scholarly works on sport from a number of academic disciplines including law, economics and latterly politics (Allison, 1998), although it is clear that the disciplines of sociology and social history have dominated this area of study. There is a growing body of work that focuses on the links between politics, culture, identity and sport. This demonstrates the increasing recognition among scholars of the value of studying an area of society which was, until, relatively recently, not considered worthy of academic study.

Over the past decade, cultural studies has become a forceful presence within social sciences and its influence on the study of sport specifically is expanding (Andrews, 2002). Ann Hall (1996) argues that it is now readily accepted that the significance of sport in modern society can only be understood through an analysis of culture. As Critcher (1974) wrote almost thirty years ago:

> *"There is no sport without society. It has to be sport in society. Sport is not accidental; it is not peripheral; it's not a simple leisure activity which some people do in their spare time: it is essentially part of our culture"*
>
> (Critcher, 1974, p.3)

The complexities of positions that fall within the scope of the cultural studies tradition make it impossible to provide an extensive overview of the position. I provide a short general introduction to cultural studies before a detailed discussion of the work from the cultural studies tradition that explores the complex relationships between sport, culture and power. Emphasis is given to those works that have incorporated Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony into their analyses of sport and, in particular, its appropriation by sports feminists who have used the concept to explore the dynamics of power that underlie contemporary gender relations in sport.

Cultural Studies

As a body of work, cultural studies has never been dominated by a particular theoretical or methodological position. Hall (1980) suggests that it is best described as "*an area where different disciplines intersect in the study of the cultural aspects of society*" (Hall 1980, p.7). Cultural studies can be understood as an intellectual and political tradition that developed in response to the significant cultural changes that occurred in post-war Britain. According to Stuart Hall:

> *"...Cultural studies really begins with the debate about the nature of social change in post-war Britain. An attempt to address the manifest break-up of traditional culture, especially traditional class cultures, it set about registering the impact of new forms of affluence and consumer society on the very hierarchical and pyramidal structure of British society."*
>
> (Hall, 1990, p.12)

The origins of cultural studies, Hall (1980) suggests can be located in a number of decisive breaks with traditional intellectual disciplinary boundaries and cites as examples, the works of Richard Hoggart[13] Raymond Williams[14], and E.P. Thompson[15]. Despite vast theoretical and ideological differences, all three authors challenged the dominant disciplines of the time: the elitist and conservative literary criticism, the reductionism of Marxism and the positivist models of social science. These works are characterised by a concern with existing definitions of culture and the 'making' of cultural forms (Hollands, 1984). The influence and intellectual basis of cultural studies have grown over time and the early influence of literary frames of reference was gradually replaced by an increasing reliance on ethnographical and sociological disciplines which paralleled the growing influence of neo-Marxist, New Left thinking in the 1970s (Gruneau, 1988a). This intellectual transition is primarily associated with Stuart Hall who became Director of the CCCS in 1969. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the ideas of the Marxist philosophers Antonio Gramsci, and to a lesser extent Louis Althusser[16], came to figure prominently in the work undertaken at Birmingham. Gramsci's theory of hegemony and Althusser's conceptualisations of the relative

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[13] Hoggart, R. (1957) The uses of literacy: aspects of working-class life, Chatto & Windus, London
[14] Williams, R. (1958) Culture and society, 1780-1950, Chatto & Windus, London
[15] Thompson, E.P. (1963) The making of the English working class, Penguin, London
[16] During the 1980s the influence of Althusser decreased and there was a shift towards Gramsci. Althusser was increasingly seen to be excessively deterministic while Gramsci's theory of hegemony was perceived to be better able to theorise contingency and contest.

autonomy of ideology were the key intellectual influences which had shifted from an early interest in popular and media culture to questions of ideology, power, gender and ethnicity (Brooker, 1999).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony

Stuart Hall (1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1991, 1992) turned to the work of Gramsci (1971) and, more specifically, to his concept of hegemony to explain the nature and politics of popular culture. Gramsci was concerned with the relationship between cultural formations and political domination. His central concept of hegemony characterised the cultural field as a site of struggle between dominant and subordinate groups and dominant and subordinate cultures. Bennett describes the process as:

> *"The field of popular culture is structured by the attempt of the ruling class to win hegemony and by forms of opposition to this endeavour. As such it consists not simply of an imposed mass culture that is coincident with dominant ideology, not simply of spontaneously oppositional cultures, but is rather an area of negotiation between the two which – in different particular types of popular culture - dominant, subordinate and oppositional cultural and ideological values and elements are 'mixed' in different permutations"*
>
> (Bennett, 1998, p.221)

Gramsci (1971) rejected the classic Marxist economic reductionist view of capital domination with its associated class essentialist views of culture and ideology. The traditional interpretation of historical materialism had shown itself to be inadequate both as a mode of analysis and as an adequate political strategy for socialist transformation (Paggi, 1979, p.153). Gramsci's (1971) extended concept of hegemony[17] provides both a framework to explain the absence of socialist revolutions in Western capitalist democracies and a strategy for the working class in its struggle for socialism (de Giovanni, 1979). Gramsci's work is important because it addresses two important omissions in Marx's thinking; namely the neglect of politics and the neglect of culture. Politics is primary to Gramsci because it is the mechanism through which social relations are constituted. In the *"Prison Notebooks"*, Gramsci (1971) argued that domination could not be explained by economics alone but must have

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[17]Gramsci stated at several points (see p.357, 365 of the Prison Notebooks) that he found the concept of hegemony in Lenin

major political and cultural components. He pointed to the role of the state, intellectuals and ideas (Smith, 2001).

From a Gramscian perspective, hegemony describes a form of control through which a dominant class or group, and those allied to it, exercise political, intellectual and moral leadership over the subordinate groups in society (Gramsci, 1971, pp.181-185). That control is persuasive rather than coercive and is the result of the acceptance of the values and beliefs that support the prevailing structures of power by the subordinate classes and groups. For Gramsci, hegemony was a more complex phenomenon than simple political leadership, the ownership and control of the means of production, or a monopoly on state control. While he agreed that in any historical bloc, hegemony must be based on "the *decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity'* (Gramsci, 1971, p.161), fundamentally, hegemony was dependent on the ability of the dominant class to obtain the consent of the dominated in a way that united the whole of society positively. Above, all, hegemony was characterised by the notion of consent. Gramsci's key insight was the notion that specific historical forms of domination become embedded into consciousness as 'common-sense' through the ordinary experiences and relationships of everyday life. Williams (1977) critically adapted Gramsci's concept of hegemony to expand his idea of culture and described the process as:

> *"a whole body of practices and expectations, the whole of living; our sense and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values – constitutive and constituting – which as they are expressed as practices appear as reciprocally conforming".*
>
> (Williams, 1977, p.110)

Ideology

For Gramsci, ideology is a key aspect of hegemony because it is through the *'intermediary'* (Boggs, 1976, p.39) of ideology that hegemony is diffused into every area of daily life. It is through ideology that definitions of political, economic and moral reality, acceptable to the dominant class and those groups allied to it, are institutionalised into the state and civil society and constitute the lived reality for the subordinate classes (Hall, 1977; Mouffe, 1979b). Gramsci stressed the importance of

material and institutional structures to the elaboration and spread of ideology, arguing that the ideological structure of a hegemonic bloc was made up of different 'hegemonic apparatuses' such as schools, churches and the media. Ideological struggle is however, only part of the general struggle for dominance or hegemony, for as Hall reminds us, "*ideas only become effective if they do, in the end connect with a particular constellation of social forces*" (Hall 1986b, p.42). Hegemony or dominance requires the exercise of political, intellectual and moral leadership within a hegemonic system, held together by a common world-view or 'organic ideology', a value system to which the ideological elements of other groups are articulated in order to form a unified ideological system, or organic ideology (Mouffe, 1979b, p.193). Within the sporting context, there is a distinguishable set of sporting values and practices to which the majority subscribe and accept as "common-sense". Sports organisations such as clubs and national governing bodies perform the educational role through the recruitment and training of leaders and the dissemination of information (Allison, 1998). Of crucial importance to the development of this common world-view or 'organic ideology' on which hegemony is built, was the relationship between intellectuals and 'the people' (Gramsci, 1971, pp.418-22). Gramsci stressed that every relationship of hegemony was "*necessarily an educational relationship and occurs... between the various forces of which the nation is composed*" (Gramsci, 1971, p.350).

Role of Intellectuals

For Gramsci (1971) intellectuals exercised a pivotal role in the formation of both ideology and consent and he categorised intellectuals into two broad groups. Firstly, were 'traditional' intellectuals, who drew upon traditional methods from earlier historical periods to maintain continuity between one social formation and another. Then were 'organic' intellectuals, who developed new ideas and counter-hegemonic struggles, that generated pathways to a new social order (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). Gramsci (1971, pp.332-335) argued that the object of intellectual and moral reform was not the complete overthrow of one world-view and its replacement with a totally new and fully formulated one. It was, rather, a process of transformation and of re-articulation of existing ideological elements. Clearly, Gramsci rejected any notion of the existence of paradigmatic ideologies for each class or the necessity of one class subscribing to all of its ideological elements. In this way, Gramsci's concept of hegemony goes beyond a simple class alliance and becomes a union of political

leadership and intellectual and moral leadership. A counter-hegemonic struggle based on a mass movement against capitalism, that would take account of specific national contexts and national traditions, and be driven by a collective national popular will. Any class with aspirations to become hegemonic had to nationalise itself:

> *"... the particular form in which the hegemonic ethico-political element presents itself in the life of the state and the country is 'patriotism' and 'nationalism', which is 'popular religion', that is to say it is the link by means of which the unity of leaders and the led is effected"*
>
> (Gramsci, as cited in Mouffe, 1979b, p.194)

Such a movement would require alliances to be forged between political parties, social movements and increasingly wider sections of the population. Gramsci called on the proletariat to rise above its narrow "*corporate class interests*" and "*become the interests of other subordinate groups*" (Gramsci in Forgacs (ed.). 1988, p.205). In this sense the Gramscian framework potentially allows the cultural politics of other issues, such as feminism and nationalism to be worked through in relation to one another (Tritschler, 1986). While some theorists are more optimistic than others about this particular interpretation of Gramsci, Bennett's (1986) assessment is one with which many have concurred:

> *"... the Gramscian critique of class essentialist conceptions of culture and ideology and the associated principles of class reductionism enables due account to be taken of the relative separation of difference regions of cultural struggle (class, race, gender) as well as of the complex and changing ways in which these may be overlapped on to one another in different historical circumstances"*
>
> (Bennett, 1986, p.xvi)

Power and the role of the state

Gramsci was critical of conceptions of the state and politics from both the Marxist perspective, which reduced them to an expression of class interests, and the liberal view, which presented them as being completely independent of class interests (Mouffe, 1979a). According to Gramsci's non-reductionist, enlarged notion of the state, all aspects of human experience are seen to be 'political' and ideological struggle becomes a fundamental aspect of political struggle. The state was identified

as a critical site in the hegemonic process, but hegemony was related to the state only in so far as the state was defined as:

> *"...the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consensus of those over whom it rules"*
>
> (Gramsci, 1971, p.244)

Power, according to Gramsci (1971), was embodied in the state, which, he argued, was the sum of political society plus civil society:

> *"For it should be remarked that the general notion of State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion)"*
>
> (Gramsci, 1971, pp.262-3)

The critical distinction made between consent and coercion was pivotal to Gramsci's analysis of the nature of state power. Gramsci redefined the state as force plus consent to hegemony, reinforced by coercion (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). The hegemonic dimension of politics as expressed in his notion of the integral state, and his insistence that the supremacy of a fundamental class is not exercised by domination alone, led Gramsci to conclude that power is exercised as at all levels of society (Mouffe, 1979b). Although ideology is identified as the main mechanism through which hegemony is maintained, the capacity of the dominant group or groups to define economic and cultural standards is also partially achieved through its ability to place its own members into the key institutions and structures that support their power and social authority (Jarvie, 1993). Lukes (1974) referred to this sort of power as:

> *"The power to define the agenda, to shape preferences, to prevent conflict from arising in the first place or to contain conflict when it does arise by defining what sorts of resolution are reasonable or realistic within the existing order"*
>
> (Lukes, 1974, p.23)

Power, when viewed from this perspective is both direct, because of the state's monopoly over coercion, but should also be seen in a relational sense within the institutions of civil society. Civil society, according to Gramsci (1971) consists of a

range of semi-autonomous institutions and activities, such as education, the church, the media, sport and other areas of popular cultural.

Popular culture

The shere scale of organised sport in countries like the United Kingdom, and its capacity to activate people who would not be activated in any other way, is a distinctive aspect of sports' contribution to civil society (Allison, 1998). Sport is also based on distinctive values such as the importance of competition, teamwork, and a willingness to accept authority in the form of rules, selectors, referees and umpires, which clearly make it a significant institution through which hegemony is maintained. Gramsci's theoretical framework provided confirmation that mass and popular culture mattered, and that it had a significant ideological function (Brooker, 1999). By making the connection between human agency and social structure in the construction of everyday existence, the concept of hegemony allows popular culture to be viewed as a continually contested terrain through which social order is communicated, experienced, explored and reproduced (Andrews and Loy, 1993). It highlights the relationship between power and culture in capitalist liberal democracies where dominant social relationships and alliances are inherently unstable and contradictory. As a result, popular cultural forms and practices are viewed as part of the process through which dominant groups are continually forced to negotiate and re-negotiate the terms on which the legitimacy of their dominance or rule is sustained (Gruneau, 1988b). This can be demonstrated in the context of sport, where British sports organisations resisted government attempts to organise a boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980. Government power was effectively checked by sporting organisations when the government proved completely ineffective in its attempts to control sporting organisations (Allison, 1998).

From a Gramscian perspective, power is not viewed as fundamentally bad or as necessarily oppressive. Power is understood positively and productively and power relations are defined not only in terms of distributions, prohibitions and constraints but also in terms of empowerment and disempowerment (Morris, 1997). Some feminist political theorists have also embraced this expanded notion of power. Anna Yeatman for example, has argued that while there has been a tendency within feminism to collapse power into domination and to perceive it as undemocratic, she

argues that domination 'can be used to control others in order to serve the interests of the powerful, or, domination can work democratically to extend or even constitute the powers of its subjects" (1997, p.145).

To be successful, hegemony must operate in a dialectical manner, as a set of principles that must be variable and flexible. So while hegemony might be dominant, it is never totalitarian or sustained by any one class or group, because opposing ideas or alternative cultures will exist at any given time. The content of any hegemony is partially determined by those sub-cultures, counter-cultures and opposing class factions that form a hegemonic bloc (Jarvie, 1993). Hegemony can be viewed as a dialectic relationship that sets limits but also opens up possibilities for individuals and subordinate groups. It is in this respect that Gramsci's work incorporates the potential for cultural resistance and transformation. Hall argued that culture is:

> *"A middle ground in which people constantly try to bend what they are given to their own needs and desires, to win a bit of space from themselves, a bit of power over their own lives and society's future".*
>
> (Hall, as cited in Grossberg, 1986, p.63)

Ingham and Donnelly (1997) insist that overwhelming empirical evidence exists to show that subordinate groups can extract concessions from the dominant group during the on-going processes of negotiation. Grossberg (cited in Wright, 2001) argues that because culture is not autonomous, and is inextricably linked with economics, institutions, governments and the distribution of resources, values and power, cultural studies must address questions about culture's relationship to and articulation with, other sorts of practices and structures of power. When applied to sport, a contextual cultural studies approach recognises that the practices, products and institutions of sport can only be understood by the way they are articulated to a particular set of complex, historically produced social, economic, political and technological relationships that compose the social context (Andrews, 2002). It allows the history of sport to be understood as a series of power struggles between dominant and subordinate groups, the result of conflicting interests over unequal sports resources in specific social contexts (J. A. Hargreaves, 1994).

Hegemony as practised is, therefore, subtle, accommodating and able to account for, and potentially absorb, those ever-present alternative views. Viewed in this way, hegemony must be seen as a continually shifting process, where dominant ideas are always open to potential opposition that requires at least some degree of consent from the subordinate classes that has to be won and secured through a process of negotiation, concession and persuasion. Hargreaves (1982) describes the process of hegemony thus:

> *"...by making genuine concessions to other classes and groups; by accommodating imaginatively and positively to opposing pressures; by forming alliances with potential enemies; by being able to foresee and pre-empt alternatives to (class) hegemony; and by assessing what combination of coercion and persuasion to use."*
>
> (Hargreaves, 1982, p.115)

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Cultural studies and sport

Studies from the cultural studies tradition have been extremely influential in the development of a more theoretically rigorous understanding of the nature of sport in contemporary society (Willis, 1977; Clarke, Critcher and Johnson, 1979; Hargreaves, 1982, 1986a, 1987; J.A. Hargreaves, 1982, 1986, 1990; Whannel, 1983; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Horne and Jary, 1987; Sugden and Bairner, 1992), which have brought a "*necessary critical edge*" to the field of sport and leisure studies (Horne, 1996, p.108).

Cultural studies has always been a contested terrain, with no singular cultural studies approach (Horne, 1996). This is also true of cultural studies interventions in the context of sports scholarship, which Bramham (1991) described it as:

> *"...an ill-defined label to group together a number of writers who were influential in providing a theoretically informed academic critique of sports organisation and sports policy"*
>
> (Bramham 1991, p.146)

In general terms, cultural studies can be understood as an approach where several different disciplines (e.g. politics, sociology, feminist theory, literature and history) intersect in order to analyse cultural aspects of society. From a cultural studies perspective, sport is viewed as:

> *"a dynamic cultural product that is actively created and recreated and thus can be changed by humans ... cultural studies analysts examine how play, games and sports reproduce the dominant culture and in what ways they become transformed as persons and groups actively respond in the sporting context to the conditions of their social existence."*
>
> (Costa and Guthrie 1994, p.233)

Cultural studies theorists of sport challenged traditional mainstream modernist narratives by attempting to provide conceptual analyses that allowed one to make sense of the historical-material conditions that structure contemporary life and experience (Birrell and Cole, 1994):

> *"Sport does not stand outside the economic, cultural, political and theoretical conditions in which it takes form and reform; sport and the bodies that stand at its center are always made and remade within particular histories and places."*
>
> (Birrell and Cole, 1994, p.vi)

Counter-cultural analyses of sport

Although there have been some sporadic critiques of sport as a positive force in modernity throughout the twentieth century, it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s, that a systematic critique of sport began to appear (Gruneau, 1991). Counter-cultural criticisms of sports by writers such as Brohm (1978), Rigauer (1981), Vinnai (1973) and Hoch (1972) were critical of consumer culture, the politics of spectacle, and the politics of the body, and viewed modern sport both as:

> *"a symbolic representation and physical embodiment of capitalism's insatiable demands for 'performance' in the service of profit and the technocratic ideology of science and the machine."*
>
> (Gruneau, 1991, p.173)

These early critiques drew heavily from the critical theory of Adorno and Horkheimer[18] and Marcuse[19] from the Frankfurt School of German Marxism. According to Popkewitz (1984) this group of theorists refashioned and rethought Marxism by:

> *"... focusing upon the formation of consciousness, culture and everyday life, and how these formations maintain the legitimacy of existing political and social interests. The language and intent of such a theory is political – to consider moments of domination, ideology, hegemony, and emancipation in social life and social change"*
>
> (Popkewitz, 1984, pp.16-17)

The Frankfurt School scholars argued that modern times called for a new 'critical theory' of society as a foundation for human emancipation because the classic Marxist vision of class struggle resulting in the triumph of socialism had been pre-empted by the power of the modern culture industry[20] (Gruneau, 1991). Capitalist culture, it was argued, should be viewed as a 'mass culture' that created and reproduced 'false' needs and 'false' consciousness (Gruneau, 1988a; 1991). From this perspective, sport is viewed as an aspect of culture that is largely controlled by the dominant capitalist class and that its institutional and ideological framework developed in a way that related to, and helped to reproduce, the conditions on which the dominant class power is based.

In his controversial collection of essays "*Sport, a prison of measured time*" Jean-Marie Brohm (1978) attempted to illustrate the vital role played by various sporting ideologies in the legitimisation of the capitalist order. He argued that ideology hid the true nature of class relations by changing the relationship between individuals in sports institutions into material relations between scores, machines and records. Brohm's (1978) work was informed throughout by the theories of the French philosopher Louis Althusser (1971). Of crucial importance to Althusserian theory was

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[18] Adorno, T. and Horkheimer, M. (1972) "*Dialectic of Enlightenment*" , Seabury Press, New York

[19] Marcuse, H. (1964) "*One-dimensional man: studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society*", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London

[20] See Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) "Dialectic of Enlightenment" – According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the cultural industry is a significant factor in the reproduction of capitalism. They argue that the culture industries are a mechanism through which pro-capitalist ideologies are transmitted. Central to this process is the manufacture of superficial entertainment which allows the audience "*a flight from a wretched reality*" (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972: 144) and prevents resistance.

the idea that ideology contained two elements. Firstly, ideology had a material existence through which the rituals, practices and processes of sport are structured. Secondly, ideology functioned as a system of representations that carried meanings and ideas that structured, what Brohm (1978, pp.52-74) describes as, the false consciousness of athletes. These two ideological processes, Brohm (1978), argued, induced athletes into an imaginary relationship to the real material conditions of their existence. The conclusion that must be drawn from Brohm's (1978) analysis was that modern sports, like modern societies, were inherently totalitarian.

Critiques of counter-cultural analyses

If one accepts Brohm's (1978) position, one would have to accept that the capitalist cultural machine had somehow managed to trick the millions of people who either enjoying playing or watching sport. Brohm's analysis highlights the most substantial limitation of adopting an Althusserian position; namely that it fails to account for struggle, negotiation, agency and subjective experience (Anderson, 1980[21]). The classic Marxist theoretical framework simply could not accommodate all of the realities of modern oppression. Sexual and racial oppression, technocratic rationality, bureaucratic domination and scientism, all of which were fundamental to modern elite level sporting performances, appeared to exist independently of capital and class (Gruneau, 1991). However, there was a great deal of confusion about goals and strategies for effective opposition, and, as a result the counter-cultural critics found themselves in a "*theoretical and political halfway house*" (Gruneau, 1991 p.174) between a critique of capitalism and a critique of modernity. They failed to fully explain the massive popularity and positive characteristics of modern sports, or incorporate the oppositional and emancipatory possibilities of sport into their analyses (Gruneau, 1991; M.A. Hall, 1993). Hargreaves (1982) suggests this type of approach contained:

> *"... no sense in which people might consciously value sports as meaningful and beneficial aspects of their lives, while at the same time being aware that ruling groups attempt to use sport as an instrument of control"*
>
> (Hargreaves, 1982, p.43)

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[21]Chpt 2 (pp.16-28) of Anderson's *Arguments within English Marxism* contains a good summary of E.P. Thompson's appeal to agency in his classic critique of Althusser's early works.

Feminist theorists have also criticised the determinism of most counter-cultural analyses labelling them as biologically determinist (J.A. Hargreaves, 1990). Jennifer Hargreaves (1990) argues that most counter-cultural analyses suggest that modern sport was one of the contexts through which sexuality was mediated. Masculine characteristics, such as strength, competitiveness, aggression and violence are embodied in sport, and it is through these ideological processes that the macho ethos of sport is maintained and has become a symbol of male power and domination over women (J.A. Hargreaves, 1990). Such accounts, Jennifer Hargreaves argues, are biologically determinist because of the implication that such behaviour is 'normal'. Counter-cultural analyses also assume that gender relationships in sport are static and, as such, fail to account for the ways in which gender relations connect to economic and class issues in different and complex ways, and how these relationships have varied historically (M.A. Hall, 1985).

In a bid to escape from the *'radical pessimism and romantic antimodernism'* (Gruneau, 1991, p.175) implicit in early critical analyses of sport, some theorists sought to provide a more adequate understanding of human agency and to develop a new theory of power, social practice and cultural struggle (Hargreaves, 1982, 1986a; Gruneau, 1983, 1988a; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Allison, 1986; Holt, 1989). The extent to which sport and leisure could challenge or reproduce existing patterns of social organisation was a central question for Marxist-cultural accounts of sport and leisure, and they relied heavily on the Gramscian concepts of hegemony, culture and ideology (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994).

John Hargreaves' (1982) *"Sport and hegemony: some theoretical problems"* was the first serious attempt to use the ideas of Gramsci and Raymond Williams in the analysis of sport. This work was followed by *"Sport, power and culture"* (Hargreaves, 1986a) which Morgan (1994, p.61) identified as one of the *"canonical"* works of hegemony theory in sport, the other being Gruneau's (1983) *"Class, sports and social development"*. Gruneau laid out the theoretical foundations for research in this area, while Hargreaves chronicled the historical rise and fall of hegemonic processes in sport. Two other cultural analyses of sport and leisure in Great Britain that are important in terms of this study are Clarke and Critcher's (1985) *"The devil makes work: leisure in capitalist Britain"* and Stephen Jones (1988) *"Sport, politics*

and the working class". These texts were important theoretical influences on early feminist cultural analyses of sport because they exposed the failings of works which adopted a Gramscian approach, but focussed almost exclusively on class and failed to appreciate the implications of hegemony on other, non-class factors, such as gender.

Class, sports and social development

Gruneau's (1983, 1999[22]) stated aim in "*Class, sports and social development*" was to combine a critique of well-known arguments from the sociology of sport to develop a theory for analysing sport that addressed issues of power, social practice and cultural struggle. Gruneau's critique of voluntarism, reductionism and dualistic thinking in the sociological literature on sport provided the rational for his revisionist theoretical framework that was built upon the argument that:

> *"play, games and sporting activities can be usefully studied as distinctive fields of social practice whose structures are constituted within and through broader social structures that set limits and exert pressures on the range of powers available to human agents"*
>
> (Gruneau, 1999, p.115)

Gruneau formulates his theory by synthesising the 'structuration' theory of Giddens (1976,1977,1981) with Bourdieu's (1978) discussion of practices and rules, and Willis' (1977) analysis of local groups. However, Gruneau (1991) also insisted that he required a broader theory of social development to connect with what was "*abstract theorizing about agency, structure and social reproduction*" (Gruneau, 1991, p.175) and he did this by utilising Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony and Williams (1977) discussion of language and ideology.

Gruneau (1983) argues that the act of structuring sport was an exercise of power that both defined and drew upon different competencies and values in society. The specific structural features of sport represented recognised, established, and legitimised ways of pursuing a particular activity, and are treated by Gruneau as a function of its institutionalisation (Morgan, 1994). The institutionalisation of sport

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[22]"*Class, Sports and Social Development*" was re-issued in 1999 with a new forward by R.W. Connell and a postcript by Richard Gruneau.

involved the formalisation of a dominant "*way of playing*" (Gruneau, 1983, p.59) and the codification of rules which become widely accepted. As a result of this process, the structuring of sport and competition became increasingly systematised, formalised, removed from the control of individual players and transferred to the restricted corporate control of select and quasi-autonomous formal organisations (Morgan, 1994). Within the institutionalisation of modern, western sport, Gruneau (1983) also identified two formal limitations on the social practice of sport. The first limitation identified is technical and operates through the established rules of that sport. The second limitation identified is a moral one which functions in a proprietary sense where only certain practices and/or types of behaviour are deemed appropriate. Gruneau claims that these specific limitations to sport are neither '*innocent*' nor '*neutral*' (Gruneau, 1983, p.61) but are intimately bound up with the construction of sport as a social practice and, particularly with the dominant interpretations of sport. More importantly, the constitutive limits and interpretations of sport are intimately connected to, and implicated in, the constitutive limits and interpretations of society at large (Morgan, 1994).

In this way, Gruneau argues, sport cannot be divorced from the production and reproduction of social reality, as it a reflection of capitalist relations, but not in a simplistic or one-dimensional way. Sport is but one expression of culture that is dominated by the values and ideas of the dominant class and the classes aligned to it. However, this domination does not affect the ability of subordinate classes or groups to think critically about, and redefine, sport in a way that meets their own particular needs. In this way sport becomes an area of resistance (Messner and Sabo, 1990). Gruneau's (1983) adoption of the concept of hegemony, extends his interpretation of human agency in sport beyond that of both the liberal and classical Marxist views, and allows it to be measured in terms of personal and collective empowerment. When taken from a hegemonic perspective Gruneau argues, agency in sport focuses on social groups or classes and studies collective human agency in terms of the 'relational' rather than 'distributive' features of social class, so commonly used in liberal analyses. The 'relational' features of class are based on the differential capacity of social groups to employ and define rules and resources for their own benefit (Gruneau, 1983, p.65, 169, n.22). Gruneau then shifts the focus of analysis away from the material and symbolic features of class which, when applied to sport,

emphasises the apparent democratisation of opportunities for participation, in order to focus on control. He is more concerned with questions of who or what social groups have shaped and structured sport into its modern, institutionalised form, and what has been the meaning of this structuring for the production and reproduction of social relations of capitalism:

> *"...this whole issue of opportunities for participation is much less important than the question of opportunities for control, and the accompanying problems of the differential resources available to define and structure sport itself"*
>
> (Gruneau, 1983, p.129)

While theoretical analysis was the key to "*Class, sport and social development*", it also contained an extensive empirical element, documenting the historical development of sport in Canada. Any discussion of sport and social development Gruneau argues, must attempt to situate the whole notion of the '*structuring*' of sport within its historical context (Gruneau, 1983, p.93). This is clearly vital for this particular study because, as will be discussed in more detail in the section on Scottish sport, the review of literature indicates that no substantive historical study on the development of elite sport in Scotland has been undertaken. Gruneau's study of Canadian sport was a skilful analysis of how privileged groups in 19th century Canadian society were able, apparently with consent, to establish their own cultural practices as the most valued and legitimate. At the same time, subordinate classes fought against having their alternative sporting practices and activities incorporated into the dominant sporting culture. When viewed in this way, sport is seen as an aspect of culture where meanings and practices are constantly subject to contest and redefinition. In contrast to the pessimism of earlier accounts of sport, individuals in Gruneau's analysis retain the ability to act as historical agents who can think critically and have the potential at least to act transformatively (Messner and Sabo, 1990). From this perspective, sport can be viewed in a dialectic manner with emphasis on agency the positive, as well as constraining effects of power, and provides a framework through which the emancipatory potential of sport can be realised.

Much of Gruneau's later work (1988b, 1989) explores the ways in which sports' dominant structures and representational practices were part of the continuing negotiation of cultural and ideological hegemony in capitalist consumer cultures.

Hegemony worked best when it concedes to opposition on the margins in order to maintain the core principles on which particular forms of dominance are based (Gruneau, 1991, p.183). Certain class, gender and Western cultural and bodily practices continue to be represented as 'universal' and 'natural' in modern sport, thereby marginalising many of the 'alternative' conceptions of sport. There will always be continuing struggles on the margins to redefine the dominant structures of sport, yet, dominant interests often question the legitimacy of alternative conceptions either by labelling them 'unnatural' or frivolous or by incorporating them through compromise (Gruneau, 1991, 1993). Gruneau concludes that it was highly likely that the emancipatory potential of sport, as illustrated by the structures and beliefs of emergent sports, would continue to be distorted by, and incorporated into, market capitalism and consumerism in ways that would pose the least possible threat to those interests likely to define the nature of global capitalism in the twenty-first century (Gruneau, 1991, 1993).

This process of incorporation can be illustrated with contemporary examples from sports that emerged in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Sports such as mountain-biking, snowboarding and windsurfing, initially appeared to be more class-less and gender-less than traditional sports, and to reject the traditional masculine model of sports development (Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998; Anderson, 1999). Yet, all gradually began to adopt rules and regulations and organise themselves into national and international governing bodies to co-ordinate and supervise competition. Finally, these sports began to lobby for inclusion into the Olympic Games, and all were ultimately successful in that aim[23]. Research on gender relations in emerging sports provides another interesting insight into the process of incorporation. Unlike traditional sports, these sports emerged in a context of women's participation, and could not automatically be considered masculine practices (Anderson, 1999). Two separate studies; one on the sport of windsurfing (Wheaton and Tomlinson, 1998), the other on snowboarding (Anderson, 1999), noted the presence of independent and competitively successful women in these sports but concluded that the sports remained deeply masculinist. Evidence gathered from both studies revealed that

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[23]Mountain biking made its debut at the Atlanta Games in 1996; Snowboarding made its debut at the Nagano Games in 1998; Windsurfing made its debut at the Seoul Olympics in 1988 but it was not until the Barcelona Games in 1992 that a women's event was included

committed participants continued to be predominately young, middle-class, professional, able-bodied and highly competitive males. These findings suggest that emerging sports eventually develop structures and practices that continue to reinforce traditional notions of gender differences and masculine hegemony (Anderson, 1999).

A more detailed discussion of feminist analyses of sport is considered later, but it is important to note that Gruneau's (1983) work has had a significant influence on a number of sports feminists who recognised the importance of Gramsci's concept of hegemony to the study of gender relations in sport (M.A. Hall, 1985; Theberge, 1985; J.A. Hargreaves, 1986; Bryson, 1987; Messner, 1988). Although Gruneau's consideration of non-class issues such as gender was extremely limited, he did argue that issues such as racial and sexual oppression had been largely unsuccessful because they had failed to become incorporated into the forces of opposition (political parties or trade unions) that were linked with broader forms of class struggle (Gruneau, 1983, p.153). In a later work, Gruneau (1991) acknowledged that an over-riding concern with class continued to dominate work from the neo-Gramscian perspective. However, he concluded that that there was no reason why it could not be extended to include struggles over gender, race, ethnicity, although he cautioned against simply *'piggy-backing'* (Gruneau, 1991, p.178) non-class struggles into analyses of hegemony. Gruneau explored the notion that what was required was a view of power that could accommodate the analysis of interests other than those of capital or the state. The theorist most closely associated with these ideas is Foucault. For Foucault (1980a), power has little to do with class or any recognisable social group, it is wielded not by an agent but is a relation of force:

> *"...power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere"*
>
> (Foucault, 1980a, p.93)

However, Gruneau (1991) concludes that the abstract nature of power in Foucauldian analyses have the unintended consequence of displacing criticism away from the unequal powers of collective agents that can be named. In a final statement of preference, Gruneau returns to Gramsci:

> *"It is most useful to link sport and the body to a theory of power, structure and social development that operates with Gramsci in mind"*
>
> (Gruneau, 1991, p.183)

Like Gruneau (1983), many researchers in the 1980s turned to the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) and his concept of hegemony to explain the continuities and discontinuities in sport (Whitson, 1984; Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Hargreaves, 1986a; Donnelly, 1988). The adoption of a Gramscian framework allowed sport to be understood in an historical and cultural context. Attention was directed to the ways, and extent, to which sport was involved in the mediation of ideas and beliefs linked to the interests of dominant groups or classes. This, in turn, allowed questions to be asked about the nature of power in society and the relationship between domination and subordination (Hargreaves, 1982).

The devil makes work: leisure in capitalist Britain

In Britain, the works of Clarke and Critcher (1985) and Hargreaves (1986a) were considered to be among the most notable cultural studies contributions to research in the area of sport and leisure during the 1980s[24]. Clarke and Critcher's (1985) "*The devil makes work: leisure in capitalist Britain*" is notable because it provided the most systematic application of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies approach to leisure (Rojek, 2000). Clarke and Critcher (1985) argued that Gramsci's work provided a model for analysing culture from below and appropriation from above and concluded that:

> *"From this perspective, leisure is never wholly free nor totally determined activity. It is always potentially an arena for cultural contestation between dominant and subordinate groups"*
>
> (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, p.227)

They insisted that leisure and hegemony were closely linked, with leisure fundamental to the struggle for hegemony in Britain, an arena through which cultural conflict about meanings, and world-views were fought over. They also argued that continuing struggles over time and space for leisure were part of the process through which

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[24]Horne (1996) and others (Tomlinson, 1989; Andrews and Loy, 1993; Andrews, 2002) have all provided extensive reviews of the British cultural studies research in sport.

hegemony had been achieved in Britain since industrialisation (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). While sport is a major aspect of Clarke and Critcher's (1985) work, it is primarily an analysis of leisure. Although it is outwith the scope of this study to include a discussion of the considerable literature on leisure, Clarke and Critcher's study was a notable contribution to early cultural studies analyses of sport and leisure, and clearly an important theoretical influence on feminist cultural studies contributions to the leisure debate (Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987; Wimbush and Talbot, 1988; Tomlinson, 1989, 1990; Henry, 1993). Clarke and Critcher's study implied that the development of leisure in Britain was best understood when viewed as a cultural formation, a view also taken, in the context of sport more specifically, by John Hargreaves (1986a) in his study of the relationship between sport, power and culture in Britain.

Sport, power and culture

Hargreaves' (1986a) "*Sport, power and culture*" provided the most developed and theoretically sophisticated attempt at a neo-Marxist account of the relationship between sport and social relations to that date, and considerably advanced contemporary understanding of the development of modern sport (Bramham, 1991; Dunning, Maguire and Pearton, 1993; Gruneau, 1993). Indeed, Gruneau argued that "*Sport, power and culture*" was *"... perhaps the best book-length piece of sport and social criticism written in the 1980s"* (Gruneau, 1991, p.180). In relation to class domination and sport, Hargreaves (1986a) argued that sport was implicated in the process whereby the growing economic and political power of the British bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century was eventually transformed into that class's hegemony during the latter part of the century (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). Hargreaves adopted Gramsci's theory of hegemony to show that sport in Britain was a historically important cultural form which served to accommodate the working class within capitalism and its class power relations (Bramham, 1991). For Hargreaves, sport was an object of struggle, control and resistance, and an arena where power relations were played out:

> *"Sporting activity, we contend, can never be adequately explained purely as an instrument of social harmony, or as a means of self-expression, or as a vehicle for satisfying individual needs; for this ignores the divisions and conflicts, and the inequalities of power in societies, which if we care to look at more closely, register themselves*

> *in sports. Nor can their social role be explained simply as a means whereby the masses are manipulated into conformity with the social order, capitalist or otherwise, for to do so is to regard the people as passive dupes, and it ignores their capacity to resist control and to stamp sports with their own culture."*
>
> (Hargreaves, 1986a, p.3)

From Hargreaves' perspective, sport takes place within an increasingly contested arena with subordinate groups asserting their power and challenging the dominant hegemony. Despite the attention given by Hargreaves to the possibility of opposition, change and freedom, Jones (1988) argues that, ultimately he presents a deterministic view of the role of sport, characterised as perpetuating dominant class hegemony. The primacy of class analysis and the tendency to class reductionism in Hargreaves' (1986a, 1986b) work is a criticism levelled at many early analyses of sport from the cultural studies perspective (Deem, 1988; Messner and Sabo, 1990). Deem (1988) for example, acknowledges Hargreaves' inclusion of non-class factors such as gender and race, but argues that they are treated as "*bolt-on extras*" (Deem, 1988, p.347) which did not fundamentally challenge the argument that primacy must be given to the connections made between sport, class, the state and power. Deem is particularly critical of Hargreaves' failure to understand and incorporate the feminist perspective, suggesting that his reaction to feminist analyses of sport clearly indicates that he was not acquainted with most of the research done by feminists on both sides of the Atlantic (Deem, 1988). Hargreaves' (1986a) work is also criticised for its reliance on secondary research and failure to engage in empirical research (Deem, 1988; Jones, 1988; Dunning, Maguire and Pearton, 1993; Jarvie, 1993). Indeed, Deem (1988) suggests that Hargreaves (1986a) study could not be considered to be part of the cultural studies tradition, because of his failure to incorporate any of the "*small-scale ethnographic and historical research that is the hallmark of this tradition*" (Deem, 1988, p.347).

While studies like those of Gruneau (1983) and Hargreaves (1986a) considerably advanced contemporary understanding of the development of modern sport, it is clear that they are limited by the primacy given to class analysis. Reviewing the works of Hargreaves (1982a) and Gruneau (1983), Critcher (1986), notes that although both works had "*...the potential to transform academic study in this area*" both had failed to adequately consider gender, leisure and the institutional conservatism of sport

(Critcher, 1986, p.336). Gruneau accepts this criticism in the postscript to the re-issued edition of "*Class, sports and social development*":

> *"But the book overwhelmingly emphasized class, struggles, class identities, and class differences in the structuring of sport ... This primary emphasis on class dynamics occurred at the expense of analyzing other centrally-important structuring practices – other sets of rules and resources – pertaining, for example to race and gender. This limitation was significant enough when the book first came out, but it is even more notable today when so many of the older sites and forms of class politics and struggle seem to have dissolved in a sea of cultural and political heterogeneity."*
>
> (Gruneau, 1999, pp.119 – 120)

The primacy given to a class criticism is one that has been widely levied at analyses that adopted a Gramscian theoretical framework and many critics have claimed that hegemony theory is unable to deal with the complexity of modern sport.

Scholars within cultural studies have conceded to many of these claims (Jones, 1988; Sugden and Bairner, 1992, 1993a). Sugden and Bairner (1992), for example, agreed that many researchers who adopted a Gramscian approach applied it in a very narrow way, focusing almost exclusively on class and failing to appreciate the implications of hegemony on other, non-class issues such as nationalism, ethnicity, race and gender. As historian Richard Holt (1989) reminds us, the use of hegemony as an explanatory tool in its cruder forms leads only to the social control thesis in a new guise. Criticising the work of Hargreaves (1986a) directly, Jones (1988) claims that Hargreaves failed to adequately consider non-class issues and suggested that sport must be placed within a social formation stratified on many levels. Gender, ethnicity and nationalism, Jones argues, have a complex and ambiguous relationship to class that cannot simply be reduced to a side effect of capitalist exploitation (Jones, 1988).

Sport, politics and the working class

Drawing heavily on a theoretical approach influenced by neo-Marxist political economy and cultural studies, "*Sport, politics and the working class*" had much in common with that taken by Richard Gruneau (1983). Like Gruneau, Jones set his historical study within a theoretical framework that was sensitive to the relationship between structure and social agency, and extends the argument that sport in capitalist societies was bounded by a "*dialectical relationship between socio-economic*

structures and human agency" (Jones, 1988, p.10). For Gruneau, class was the fundamental influence on sport, and he argued that sport was influenced by the differential resources that people could bring to bear on their life situation, as a result of class differences in social life (Gruneau, 1983). Jones (1988) also argued that any historical analysis of sport must be sensitive to the role played by class inequality, and in turn, its influence on political power, state influence and intervention. Like Gruneau, Jones argued that dominant groups may have greater collective strength and influence, but subordinate groups have nonetheless been able to "*make their own history*" though not perhaps "*under conditions of their own choosing*" (Gruneau, 1983, p.55). During the inter-war period Jones argues, the British working-class movement (socialist political and cultural bodies, trade unions and co-operative societies) were not "*sacrificial lambs to capitalist enterprise and domination*" and had indeed helped to "*modify the nature and character of the British sporting tradition*" (Jones, 1988, p.11).

Despite being constrained by capitalist economic and political structures of the inter-war period and not in a position to threaten the dominant traditions of British sport, Jones (1988) skilfully demonstrates how elements of the British labour movement were, nonetheless, actively and successfully involved in the negotiation process with gains being made. Hargreaves' claim that the British labour movement "*had little influence on sports overall*" (Hargreaves, 1986a, p.213) was, according to Jones (1988), overly simplistic, for the intervention of the organised labour movement in the politics of sport at local, national and international levels, meant that sections of the working class had the opportunity to challenge dominant views about the relationship between sport and society. Sport, as part of the wider socialist cultural agenda which also included drama, film, literature and music, provided organised labour with the opportunity to oppose the dominant capitalist structures, and as such, Jones (1988, p.199) argued, it approximated what Gramsci meant by cultural struggle.

Jones continues to be an important influence in the work of contemporary social historians. Hill's study of sport, leisure and culture in 20th century Britain states that the theoretical framework "*owes something to Gramsci's notions of civil society and state, and much to the work of Stephen G. Jones...*" (Hill, 2002, p.5). Hill (2002) argues that Jones 'model' first drew attention to the principle 'sectors' (commercial,

voluntary, and state) through which sport and leisure provision is created and provides an analytical framework which distinguishes the main pathways for sport and leisure development. Jones discusses the role played by the state in this process at length in "*Sport, politics and the working class*" (1988, pp.129-158). Once again, he was at odds with Hargreaves and others who claimed that during the 1920s and 1930s, sport "*remained remarkably free from state intervention*" (Hargreaves, 1986b, pp.247-248). Jones (1988) argued that although state intervention in sport was neither as systematic or politically motivated as in the Soviet Union, Italy or Nazi Germany, it was apparent that state interest in sport, at both central and local levels, had widened during the inter-war period. Such studies reveal the extent and importance of the state/sport relationship in the United Kingdom. This relationship has continued to increase in importance, on both sides, throughout the twentieth century and is reflected in the increased academic interest in the relationship.

Theoretical perspectives on sport and the state

Lincoln Allison argued that political science had lagged behind other social science disciplines in its attempts to get to grips with sport, viewing the politics of sport, as peripheral to the 'real' politics of class and class conflict (Allison, 1993, p.4). However, in the latter decades of the twentieth century there has been a substantial increase in the scholarly attention paid to the increasingly complex association between politics and sport and the relationship between sport and the state. Allison (1998) attempted to trace the contribution of politics to the study of an area that has been dominated by sociology, and where a complex relationship exists between the two approaches. He concludes that while theories and methodologies overlap, the assumptions about their importance are very different. Political scientists, Allison argues, tend to be '*more tightly positivist*' in their use of concepts, particularly with relation to the concept of power (Allison, 1998, p.711). While sociology accepts a broad explanatory concept of cultural power, political science assumes that the question of how and by whom we are governed has to be "*treated more particularly, carefully and sceptically*" (Allison, 1998, p.711).

Much of the early work in this field has been criticised for being descriptive and theoretically deficient, and for failing to situate sport within the context of any coherent theory of the state (Cantelon and Gruneau, 1982; Gruneau, 1983; Jarvie,

1993). In their extensive review of this literature, Cantelon and Gruneau argued that most had a tendency to reduce sport to an independent object of study rather than viewing it as "*a mediated cultural form located in an ensemble of social relations*" (Cantelon and Gruneau, 1982, p.xi). As a result these studies failed to fully engage with issues that are central to political theory such as power and domination. Over a decade later, Houlihan's comparative analyses of sport, policy and politics, identifies a small, but "*rapidly expanding*" literature, mostly single-country studies, which explores the interconnections between politics, policy and sport (Houlihan, 1997, p.2).

Sugden and Barnier (1993a) note that the principle debate in most discussions of the politics of sport and the state has been between the pluralist and Marxist theoretical traditions, and that the main division between them has centred around the importance of consent and coercion in the political process. Scholars from the classic Marxist perspective attempted to provide a materialist analysis of the development of sport and leisure in modern capitalist society and viewed the state as a coercive instrument of the dominant class. The classic pluralist view fundamentally rejected Marxist arguments about the concentration of power within the state, arguing that power was dispersed among all interests and associations within civil society (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). More recently, the classic Marxist view has been challenged by scholars from a Gramscian inspired neo-Marxist perspective where political power is viewed as the product of a balance between force and consent.

Pluralist perspectives

When viewed from the conventional pluralist perspective, sport is generally seen as a voluntary set of social and cultural practices, with organisational structures, a rules system, and collective meanings shared by the majority of society (Gruneau, 1982). Individuals are seen as having little or no direct control over the political decision-making processes in sport, although tendencies towards the centralisation of power are limited by the presence of multiple interest groups. From this perspective, no one group or class can exert a dominant influence on sport and leisure development because power in western liberal democracies is divided among competing interest groups (Roberts, 1978). Sport is considered to be separate from, and outside of, the state system. Although the state may have cause to regulate some aspects of sporting practice, sport is not recognised to be part of the state apparatus. Some pluralists have

attempted to explain increasing state intervention in sport in the latter half of the twentieth century in the context of the post-war welfare orientated order. Increasing social rights, associated with citizenship, required the extension of the responsibilities traditionally managed by the state (Marshall, 1950). State involvement in sport is viewed as part of the state's expanded mandate to act on behalf of its citizens, although always in concert with the plurality of interest groups in sport, in a way that was mutually beneficial (Gruneau, 1982).

There have been widespread and well-documented criticisms of conventional pluralist accounts of sport and state, particularly, the '*myth of the autonomy' of sport'* where sport is seen as something separate from society and peripheral to politics (Allison, 1998, p.709). It has been extensively argued that the conceptual separation of the state and social structures is not borne out by historical experience (Gruneau, 1979, Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). From their extensive analysis of sport in Northern Ireland, Sugden and Bairner (1993a) concluded that:

> *"...despite the idealism of certain sports practitioners and administrators, who cling to the cherished belief that sport is or should be free from politics, historical evidence reveals that this is rarely the case."*
>
> (Sugden and Bairner, 1993a, p.10)

The view of Lincoln Allison (1986, 1993), who suggests that modern sport has seldom been free of politics because it creates politically usable resources is representative of most contemporary analyses of sport and politics. This has relevance for this study because the state/sport relationship in the United Kingdom has steadily grown in the latter decades of the twentieth century. The twin pressures of increasing commercialisation and concerns about the standard of achievement in elite sport has increased government intervention in sport and made sporting organisations more dependent on government funding and less able to flout or ignore government policy. The clearest expression of this relationship is the elite sport support system, which began to develop in the early 1990s when money from the National Lottery became available as a new source of funding (Holt and Mason, 2000). Another major criticism of conventional pluralist analyses was the failure to fully explain structural social reality and the inherent inequalities that exist between interest groups. Conventional pluralist analyses presented a view of sport that ignored the ways in which the state

organised power. As a result, they failed to acknowledge that the state actually represented the interests of certain, socially and economically advantaged interest groups rather than operating in a neutral or universally beneficial way for the general interest of society (Gruneau, 1982).

Many of these criticisms have been responded to from within the pluralist tradition, and some of the underlying assumptions and values of conventional pluralism have been revised by 'neo' or 'critical' pluralists, such as Lindblom (1977) and Dahl (1985). Jarvie and Maguire (1994) argue that there are three forms of liberal, pluralist revisionism. Firstly, an enhanced awareness of the distinction among and between social groups, an increasing awareness of social division and competing interests and overlapping commonalties (Dahl, 1985). Secondly, in a major concession to Marxist critiques of pluralism, an acceptance that not all interest groups in society are equal in terms of power and some interests groups are more powerful, structurally well-connected and more influential than others. Finally, an awareness that underdevelopment in some social formation was the result of Western greed and the need for Western advancement. This was coupled with a growing realisation that global resources were indeed finite and that the continual economic growth thought to be a necessary foundation for democracy was in fact a matter of careful moral consideration (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). In the context of sport, both Houlihan (1991) and Henry (1993) acknowledged the methodological deficiencies in conventional pluralist accounts, and accepted that the focus on obvious behaviour and political decision-making (which ignored the underlying structural social reality) had led to a form of "*descriptivism*" (Mclennan, 1995, p.37). Houlihan (1991) argued that neo-pluralism described the political process more accurately and accounted for the ambiguous nature of the sports policy process better than any other accounts.

Marxist perspectives

From the classic perspective, the state is viewed as an instrument of class rule which governs on behalf of the capitalist interests (Miliband, 1973). In the context of sport, the state would develop policies that create opportunities for profit and which aim to 'control' the working class, particularly, young men (Houlihan, 1991). This view was tempered somewhat by the structuralist Marxist perspective, which developed from a critique of the instrumental approach, that questioned the relationship between the

state and the capitalist elite. Poulantzas (1973) argued that although the aim of the state was to maintain the unity of the ruling class and its politically dominant position, it was independent and had the autonomy to negotiate between class factions. Policy-making was not always clearly in the interests of the ruling class, but the product of negotiation and a balance of class forces (Horne, Tomlinson and Whannel, 1999). From the structuralist perspective though sport remains an instrument of bourgeois hegemony. Brohm (1978), whose work is particularly identified with this position, attempted to show the role played by sport in the legitimation of the capitalist order. He argued that sport, like education, the media and organised religion, was an instrument of the capitalist bourgeois hegemony through which the state exercised control. This is a very determinist position in which culture is viewed as a site of dominant ideology (Jarvie, 1993).

The limitations of the classic and structuralist Marxist perspectives of state power have been widely recognised. Horne, Tomlinson and Whannel (1999) argue that the existence of divisions within the ruling class that compete with each other, suggests that the state cannot be understood simply as an instrument of a single ruling class which can act in the interests of the ruling class as a whole. State power within a capitalist system, they argue, is restricted by the conflicting demands made upon it. The failure to make space for the possibility of opposition, struggle and agency is severely limiting. Scholars influenced by the ideas of Gramsci have suggested that political power is best understood as a product of the balance between force and consent. From this perspective, the state must develop alliances with, and make concessions to certain groups in order to maintain its political dominance or hegemony (Coates, 1984). Gramsci (1971) argued that the 'struggle' to secure consent or hegemony was a vital part of the political process which required the support of civil society. Within his theoretical framework, the recognition that culture is a fundamental site of conflict where ideological hegemony is contested, and how that relates to political struggle, is, according to Jarvie "*what sets Gramsci apart from his counterparts...*" (Jarvie, 1993, p.268).

From the early 1980s, sports scholars also began to turn to Gramsci in an attempt to understand sport and its relationship to class and culture. Hargreaves (1982, 1986a) and Gruneau (1983) approached this relationship from the perspective of a 'problem',

where structures of power are understood as maintaining or advancing their status by building consensus in areas of socio-cultural activity (Cavanagh, 1988). Sugden and Bairner (1993a) argue that Gramsci's distinction between the state and civil society provides a more "*subtle theory of politics*" (Sugden and Bairner, 1993a, p.13). The recognition that the state and its key institutions were not the only mechanisms of political activity and that cultural organisations played an important role in the articulation of a variety of political positions, provided a useful framework to explain the complex political role played by sport in advanced social formations (Sugden and Bairner, 1993a). Allison (1993) argues that the adoption of Gramscian explanations of culture and cultural hegemony helped to establish the "*autonomy of cultural symbolism*" through which "*the cultural significance of sport is revealed and undeniable*" (Allison, 1993, p.4).

Sport in Northern Ireland

In their analyses of the role of the state in sport in Northern Ireland, Sugden and Bairner (1988, 1992, 1993a, 1993b) employed hegemony theory, with its conceptual distinction between political and civil society, to explain the development of sport and leisure. The adoption of this theoretical framework allowed Sugden and Bairner to accommodate fragmentation outside of social class into their analyses both within the state and within civil society. Specifically, it takes into account the existence of two civil societies in Northern Ireland and a recognition that hegemonic struggle takes place not only between social classes, but more fundamentally between communities divided by sectarianism and between each of these communities and the British state (Sugden and Bairner, 1993a). From their various analyses of sport in Northern Ireland (1988, 1992, 1993a, 1993b), Sugden and Bairner claim that sport's capacity to become politicised had been exaggerated because of the role it plays in the socialisation process and the fact that it has certain intrinsic qualities that make it "*particularly susceptible to political manipulation*" (Sugden and Bairner, 1993a, p.7). Significantly, they concluded that at times of civil unrest, sport and leisure is revealed as an area of culture that is the focus for political/hegemonic struggle (Sugden and Bairner, 1988, 1992, 1993a, 1993b).

Critics of cultural analyses of sport would, however, single out the work of Sugden and Barnier as an exception to what they perceive as the largely 'parochial' nature of

the majority of work from this perspective (Jarvie, 1992; Rojek, 1992; Hill, 2002). Rojek (1992) argues that it is rare to find examples of studies from outside the 'English' cultural experience in the published work from the cultural studies perspective in Britain. Indeed, he accused cultural studies of having a *"little Englander mentality"* (Rojek, 1992, p.10). Jarvie and Maguire (1994, p.123) were also critical of the failure of cultural analyses of sport in Britain to consider the part that sport had played at the local and regional levels of Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales. Hill (2002) argues that with the obvious exception of Sudgen and Barnier (1992), there has been little attempt to understand the role of sport in Britain where politically, the identities of Scotland, Ireland and Wales have been subsumed within an English-based polity.

In his study of Highland gatherings, Jarvie (1992) considered the usefulness of adopting a Gramscian framework in the discussion of Scottish sport. Jarvie (1992) was critical of much of the cultural studies work on sport in Britain, arguing that their particular interpretation of Gramsci's concept of hegemony was flawed. Marxist cultural readings of sport in Britain have been dominated, Jarvie (1992) argued, by a cultural, humanist reading of Gramsci as articulated by Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson in which nationalist-popular struggles are notably absent. Gramsci (1971) recognised that the nationalist contribution to any national-popular struggle was critical to the theory of hegemony and he argued that linkages between a dominant class and popular democratic struggles that were not confined solely to class were necessary to achieve hegemony. Jarvie suggested that the works of Nairn (1964, 1970, 1980, 1988, 1989) and Anderson (1965, 1968, 1979, 1980) and their interpretation of Gramsci incorporating a nationalist approach, lent themselves better to the study of sport in a distinctly Scottish context. The relationship between sport, power and culture in Scotland must, Jarvie (1992) argued, examine:

> *"... the historically structured relations and conflict between Scottish society and the British state, and in particular the ways in which a distinct civil society and a distinct cultural identity have developed alongside political control through Westminster"*
>
> (Jarvie, 1992, p.174)

Polley (1998) argues that the maintenance of distinctive and separate sports cultures and structures in the 'submerged' nations of the Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland

has meant that sport in the United Kingdom has "*historically provided a key focus for the constituent parts to emphasise 'separateness and distinctiveness'*", concluding that in post-war British politics, "*sport has offered a popular cultural forum for the power relations between the centre and the margins...*"(Polley, 1998, p.54). While sport in Scotland is not unique in having a quasi-political role, it undoubtedly plays an important part in Scottish identity and the relative absence of discussions of Scottish sport within the academic literature is somewhat surprising and disappointing.

Scottish sport

Two recent literature reviews examining the availability of works on Scottish sport within mainstream academic literature come to quite different conclusions. Polley, (1998) in his historical analysis of British sport since 1945, concludes that a significant body of work on Scottish sport now exists within mainstream academic accounts of Scotland. This view was disputed somewhat by leading Scottish sports academic Grant Jarvie, who accused some of Scotland's leading historical and sociological academics of expressing: "*...an ambivalent attitude towards the place of sport in Scottish culture*" (Jarvie and Reid, 1999). Shortly before the inauguration of the Parliament in June 1999, Jarvie and Thomson (1999) did produce a paper which briefly examined the historical relationship between sport and nationalism and speculated on what the relationship between the Parliament, Executive and Scottish sports organisations might be. Surprisingly, this is the only substantive paper published on the relationship between sport and the new Scottish Parliament in the post-devolution period. A review of the literature on post-devolution Scotland confirms Jarvie's scepticism of the mainstream academic community, because it reveals a very little consideration of the sports policy agenda. This is disappointing when one considers that sport is a devolved policy area for the Parliament and the Executive.

In spite of Jarvie's criticism of the mainstream Scottish academic literature, it is clear that a growing body of work exists which has extended existing knowledge and understanding of the role of sport in Scottish culture. Indeed, Jarvie's own contribution to that literature must be recognised. In the past two decades Jarvie has produced a number of works that have examined the relationship between sport, nationalism and culture in Scotland (Jarvie, 1986a; 1986b; 1991; 1992; 1993; 2000).

This work complements and adds to related research by Kellas (1989; 1991); Blain and Boyle (1994); Harvie (1994) and Smout (1994).

Scottish sport in the making of the nation

Hill (1996, p.16) suggests that Jarvie and Walker's (1994) "*Scottish sport in the making of the nation: ninety-minute patriots?*" is "*one of the most imaginative studies of recent studies of British sport*". This collection brings together studies on a variety of Scottish sports to demonstrate how sport is an important force in contemporary Scotland, reflecting the complexity of political, cultural and social influences of Scotland's diverse communities and nationalisms (Hill, 1996). Jarvie also edited two other collections of critical essays, "*Sport in the making of Celtic cultures*" (Jarvie, 1999) and "*Sport, Scotland and the Scots*" (2000) which along with "*Scottish sport in the making of the nation*" (Jarvie and Walker, 1994) consolidated much of the critical work on Scottish sport produced during the 1990s. Jarvie was also a regular editor and contributor to a short-lived research papers series[25] from The Scottish Centre, Moray House Institute, Heriot-Watt University. The main objective of this series was to provide an outlet for original contributions to the study of sport, leisure and society in Scotland, and they undoubtedly provide a wide-ranging and eclectic contribution to the academic literature. The wide-ranging nature of the work and the variety of sports discussed in these works is in marked contrast to the majority of academic analyses of sport in Scotland which tends to focus on football (Reid, 1997). Reid (1997) argues that more of this type of research must be developed if the contribution of sport to Scottish culture is to be more fully understood

Apart from Moorehouse's (1984; 1986; 1987; 1989; 1995) extensive body of work which has demonstrated the distinctiveness of the Scottish game; other notable works would include Bradley (1995; 1998, 2002), Finn (1991a; 1991b; 1994), Dimeo and Finn (1998, 2001) and Murray (1984). Bradley's (2002, p.195) research on Scottish international football supporters' shows that the Scots identity is contested and continually being constructed from a contest that is as historical as it is contemporary. In this way, he argues, a range of numerous 'other' identities which exist are excluded from a range of "... *acceptable manifestations of Scottishness*" (Bradley, 2002,

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[25]Scottish Centre research papers in sport, leisure and society

p.195). Jarvie and Reid argue that Bradley's research shows that sport "*should not be used as a fallacious guide to undifferentiated Scottishness but rather as a subtle reflection of social, cultural and political diversity*" (1999, p.22). These research findings appear to substantiate Blaine and Boyle's (1994) idea that the complex nature of collective identity formations associated with Scottish sport paralleled the complexity of Scotland as a political and cultural entity.

Religious and cultural influences on Scottish football have been an area of active interest for contemporary Scottish sports scholars. Dimeo and Finn (1998, 2001) focused on racism in Scottish football, documenting the involvement of black, Asian and Arab players. The authors provide clear evidence of the presence of racism in Scottish football, despite denials in both academic and more popular media discourses. Dimeo and Finn (2001) argue that this misunderstanding of racism is intimately bound up with the "*equally misunderstood notion of 'sectarianism'*" (Dimeo and Finn, 2001, p.29). They call for a clearer analytical distinction between racism and sectarianism in academic research and argue that a more rigorous examination of beliefs about Scottish identity is necessary if racism is to be challenged successfully (Dimeo and Finn, 2001, p.43). Dimeo and Finn's study makes effective use of examples from the Scottish sports media to demonstrate the existence of racism in football. The role played by the Scottish sports media in the formation of a Scottish national identity is another related area of academic interest in the last decade (Blain and Boyle, 1994; Boyle and Haynes, 1996).

More recently, the potential role of sport in the making of Scottish communities has been the subject of academic interest (Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000; Pringle, 2001; Jarvie, 2003). Social inclusion, improved public health and increased educational opportunities formed the basis of the Scottish Executive's policy agenda during the first Scottish Parliamentary session and, as a result, the notion of community has become an important aspect of contemporary Scottish sports policy (Jarvie, 2003). A study originally commissioned by the Scottish Office Development Department and **sport**scotland, describes the role played by sport in the regeneration of urban areas, "*The role of sport in regenerating deprived urban areas*" (Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000). Despite noting a lack of empirical evidence on the impact of sport-related projects, this extensive study concluded that sport can play a positive

role in a range of initiatives under the social inclusion agenda (Coalter, Alison and Taylor, 2000). While Jarvie (2003) concurs with this finding, he highlights some structural problems in Scottish sport that could impact on the ability of sport to make a valuable contribution to Scotland's communities. Citing a recent report (Pringle, 2001) on sport and local government which found that sport in many parts of Scotland was facing a crisis, Jarvie (2003) argues that part of that crisis has been brought about by "*the lack of trust which permeates the partnerships responsible for delivering Scottish sport*" (Jarvie, 2003, p.145). Jarvie (2003) concludes that it is unrealistic to expect sport's contribution to this agenda without addressing issues such as ownership, obligations and stakeholding in Scottish sport.

Women in Scottish sport

In contrast to the obvious academic interest in Scottish football, there is a distinct lack of research about women's experiences of sport in Scotland (Reid, 1997). Reid argues that this lack of research disguises the tradition of women's participation and interest in sport suggested in the limited work that does exist. The 'limited' work on women and Scottish sport has come primarily from the historical perspective (Tranter, 1989, 1994; Walker, 1994; Jarvie and Burnett, 2000[26]). One study that stands out from this perspective is Callum Brown's (1999) "*Sport and the Scottish Office in the twentieth century: the promotion of a social and gender policy*". This study examines the emergence, in the late 1930s, of sport as a policy for social and gender equality and the role and influence of female sports administrators such as May Brown, Winnie Taylor and Doris Robertson on this policy. Indeed Brown argues that for almost thirty years (1940 – 1968), May Brown was the "*pivotal figure in Scottish sports development, male and female*" (Brown, 1999, p.188). Most significantly, Brown demonstrates how these women pursued a deliberate policy of gender separatism in both Scottish governing bodies of sport and in competition between 1937 and 1972, which created a rate of progress in women's sports that has been unmatched since (Brown, 1999). Brown's work is an important contribution to the academic literature

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[26]"*Sport, Scotland and the Scots*", G. Jarvie and J. Burnett (eds.) presents a collection of studies on different sports that have contributed to and are constitutive of Scottish culture. The collection includes chapter on athletics, boxing, bowling, cricket, curling, football, golf, highland games, hockey, swimming, quoiting, shinty, rugby, motor sports and horse-racing. Several chapters document women's involvement and participation in that particular sport.

on Scottish sport, and to women's sport more generally. However, Brown's work is clearly an exception and the general lack of research about women's participation and experiences of sport represents a major gap in our understanding of sport in Scotland. Unfortunately, this gap in the literature does not appear to be restricted to Scotland. Tess Kay's (1995) extensive review of academic literature published on the subject of women's participation in sport also concluded that is under researched generally. Kay's study provides an excellent review of the academic literature published on the subject of women's participation in sport to that date. The review had three main aims: to review the main social science studies of women and sport; to identify gaps evident in the existing research base; and to make recommendations for future research priorities. In the context of this particular study, it is important to note that Kay recommended that one area of priority for future research should be women's participation at the elite level of sport where an obvious gap in the literature was identified (1995).

Sports feminism

The history of sports scholarship in the social sciences, like the history of modern sport itself, reflects dominant ideas about sexual difference. Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) argues that this research showed a disregard for women's sport and sporting experiences by the use of the term sport '*unproblematically*' (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.8). Feminists have challenged the androcentrism of sports scholarship by demonstrating that most mainstream research failed to appreciate or acknowledge that what was being examined was male sport and that it was from this model that all generalisations about sport were being made (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Feminist researchers such as Ann Hall (1988, 1996) and Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) have provided comprehensive critiques of the malestream of sports scholarship and documented the contribution of feminist contributions in the field.

Much of the early empirical feminist research on sport in the 1970s focused on sex-role differentiation that was characterised as 'categoric' and not adequately theorised (M.A. Hall, 1981, 1996; Dewar, 1993). Ann Hall's study on sport and gender was undoubtedly a marker for the theoretically based feminist study of sport that informed research in the 1980s (Hall, 1978). Hall's (1978) monograph is significant in various ways – as the first work to attempt a definition of feminism; to understand the

feminist critique of the social sciences; to bring feminist paradigms into the study of sport; and most importantly, to outline a feminist agenda for the future study of sport (Birrell, 1988). The influence of Ann Hall's work can be clearly seen in a number of studies published in the early 1980s (Willis, 1982; Boutilier and San Giovanni, 1983; Birrell, 1984; Theberge, 1985; J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). These studies criticised the methodological, theoretical and political limitations of traditions that had dominated sports research in the 1970s, and called for the adoption of methodological approaches grounded in new feminist epistemological assumptions. For example, Birrell (1984), drawing on mainstream feminist critiques of the social sciences (Smith, 1974; Millman and Kantor, 1975; Hartsock, 1983), questioned the standard practice of adding gender to sports research as a variable found in most sports research and called for a commitment to academic feminism. Throughout the 1980s there was clearly a shared desire among sports feminist researchers to challenge the dominant theoretical and methodological assumptions that informed practice in mainstream social science research on sport and expose the general neglect of adequate treatments of gender relations. There was however, controversy among feminists about how to achieve this, both theoretically and in practice (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). Although the issues are complex, generally speaking, the controversy centred on the much-discussed feminist analyses of incorporation and autonomy.

In feminist political theory, Squires (1999, p.3) identifies three distinct approaches to gender which she labels 'inclusive', 'reversal' and 'displacement'. Feminists pursuing a strategy of inclusion, call for an equality politics which aspires to impartiality and seeks gender-neutrality. Those who pursue the reversal strategy aim to '*reconfigure*' politics as it is currently conceived and talk of a difference politics that is more open to a specifically, female gendered identity. Those pursuing the third strategy of displacement aim to "*destabilize the apparent opposition between the strategies of inclusion and reversal*" (Squires, 1999, p.3) and talk of diversity politics. In the area of sport this debate has centred on whether women should be incorporated into a male-defined paradigm of sport, or should seek an alternative, qualitatively different model of sport (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986).

Feminist theoretical frameworks

There are many forms of feminist theory on sport and they can be categorised in many ways (Parratt, 1994). However, all put women at the centre of research and provide "*an important challenge to the way in which male standards have become generalised standards in sport theory*" (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.3). The various theoretical perspectives adopted by sports feminist scholars suggest different ways of understanding the position of women and different strategies for changing the existing power relations between women and men in society (Muller, 1999). Boutilier and San Giovanni (1994) argue that each theoretical perspective embodies a specific image of women that explains their oppression in different ways and offer specific challenges this oppression. They sum this up metaphorically:

> *"Feminism as an overarching ideological tree has many branches, each with a special origin, leading in a different direction, with divergent policy implications for the liberation of women, and bearing a message for revamping all sexist institutions and cultural dynamics – including those found in sport"*
>
> (Boutilier and San Giovanni, 1994, p.98)

In the 1980s distributive analyses became the dominant force in feminist sports studies with patriarchy and masculine privilege providing the major theoretical themes (Ingham and Donnelly, 1997). These studies pursued a distinctly liberal democratic agenda concentrating on social inequality.

Liberal sports feminism

Liberal sports feminism challenged historically acquired inequalities in sports between women and men (Gerber *et al.*, 1974; Klafs and Lyon, 1978; Twin, 1979; Parkhouse and Lapin, 1980; Dyer, 1982) and has exercised considerable influence on feminist sports scholarship and practice. Liberal sports feminists have focused on equality of opportunity in sports and have looked for "*strategies for incorporating women into the mainstream of public life which includes politics, the workplace and sport*" (Costa and Guthrie, 1994, p.237). Accordingly, they have targeted legislation and more specific government strategies aimed at sport. Legislation such as the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 in the United Kingdom, and Title IX of the Education

Amendment Act 1972[27] in the United States, were intended to outlaw discrimination against girls and women in public and educational contexts. Specific policies such 'Sport for All' campaigns in the United Kingdom were direct attempts to equalise opportunities between the sexes and to address the lack of participation by women. Essentially, liberal feminists are committed to translating the theory of equality of opportunity into practice. The goal is to achieve full equality of opportunity in all areas of life, including sport, within the existing social and political system. In the context of sport, that translates to equal opportunities for women in terms of access to facilities, improved funding and rewards, and an equal voice in administrative and decision-making procedures (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986).

Early feminist critiques from the liberal perspective are important because they reject biological explanations of women's subordination in sport and document inequalities between women and men's sport (Scraton and Flintoff, 2001). Certainly, improvements in the legal status of women and the rapid expansion of sporting opportunities for women in the latter decades of the twentieth century are primarily the result of the political activism of liberal feminists (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Through the application of theory to practice, liberal feminist activists, working in organisations such as the Women's Sports Foundation and Women's Sport International, ensured that issues of equity and equality have been placed on the mainstream sports agenda (United Kingdom Sports Council, 1998). Despite these improvements, the reality for many women involved in sport can still be frustratingly different from that of some men, and it is clear that women are still struggling for equal support and recognition (J.A. Hargreaves, 2000).

The liberal sports feminist approach has been criticised as "*piece-meal reform*", concerned more with equal opportunities and quantitative change, than presenting a challenge to the conventional masculine character of modern sports or the essential nature of modern capitalism and patriarchy (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986, p.118). It is argued that the liberal agenda is flawed in two specific ways. Firstly, that the liberal

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[27]A Federal Act that states "*No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational programme or activity receiving federal financial assistance*". This legislation significantly affected the growth of girl's high school, and women's collegiate athletics.

conception of equality for women tends to embrace a notion of women as a homogenous group that is measured in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Improvements in participation rates as a result of programmes such as 'Sport for All', for example, are accepted as an improvement for women in general, failing to acknowledge the differences existing between women that impact directly on the ability to participate. Ingham and Donnelly (1997) highlight the primacy of patriarchy in many distributive accounts, and suggest that the articulation between patriarchy, class and race is too often overlooked. Pointing out the usefulness of the term 'patriarchal relations', feminist theorist Avtar Brah (1996) demonstrates the importance of recognising how patriarchal relations engage with other forms of social relation, analyses of race, class and gender as interlocking systems of power:

> *"Patriarchal relations are a specific form of gender relation in which women inhabit a subordinated postion"*
>
> (Brah, 1996, p.109)

The second 'flaw' identified is that liberal sports feminism takes for granted, and accepts, a sporting structure for women that embodies masculine modes of thought and practices (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986, 1994, M.A. Hall, 1996). Talbot (1988, p.33) suggests that this strategy is an "*add women and stir*" approach, which recognises the existence of women and their lack of participation, but merely adds them to pre-existing structures and systems. There is an inherent assumption within the liberal agenda that the structure for women's sport should be modelled on the same traditional male model, characterised by hierarchy, competitiveness and aggression (Ruane, 1997). This approach fails to question or challenge the underpinning structures of society and the broader structural power relations of sport as an institution (Scraton and Flintoff, 2001). The failure to recognise and examine the complexities of gender relations of power in sport has been identified as a fundamental failure of liberal sport feminist theory and practice. Radical feminists have been particularly critical of the liberal feminist emphasis on individual equal rights and acceptance of existing social structures, arguing that there needs to be a more fundamental challenge to structural power relations in sport (Muller, 1999).

Radical sports feminist analyses

Theoretically, radical feminism has focused on the underlying structural power relations that result from the systematic maintenance of male power though patriarchy whereby men, as a group, dominate women, as a group (Scraton and Flintoff, 2001). The emphasis is on revolutionising social relations of power, to reconfigure the political as it is currently conceived with less focus on the state and its overly narrow institutional and instrumental conceptions of politics (Squires, 1999). Radical sports feminists focus on the role of sport in the social construction of male sexual dominance and female submission (Llenskyj, 1986, 1994). The masculine characteristics associated with sport, such as strength, competitiveness and aggression, are rejected with calls for an alternative model of sport that is qualitatively different from the aggressively competitive model historically dominated by men (Twin, 1979). There have been many attempts to develop alternative sports for women based on radical or separatist models that incorporate alternative organisational models, although few have become integrated into the mainstream (Birrell and Richter, 1987; Clarke, 1988; Llenskyj, 1991).

Highlighting the strong link between gender and sexuality, radical feminist researchers argue that women's participation in sport has been controlled and restricted by heterosexual notions of an acceptable heterosexual 'femininity' (Lenskyj, 1994). As a result, radical feminist research has contributed to our understandings of homophobia in sport by showing how lesbians are constructed as deviant and abnormal (Scraton and Flintoff, 2001). Research shows that the threat of being labelled 'masculine' or 'lesbian' is a significant deterrent for females participating in sport (Birrell and Theberge, 1994). This point was re-enforced by Griffin (1993) who argued that:

> *"Sexism and homophobia combine to marginalise and intimidate women in sport by imposing societal expectations of what is appropriate and acceptable sports participation for women."*
>
> (Griffin, 1993, p.195)

Importantly, research in this area has also shown how, through negotiation and resistance, lesbians have maintained a presence in sport (Lenskyj, 1991; Griffin, 1998). This area of research has been extended to an analysis of gay men's

experiences through the work of pro-feminist male researchers such as Messner and Sabo (1990) and Pronger (1990). Research on male violence against women has also been applied to sport by radical researchers highlighting the continuum of violence from sexually derogative comments through to sexual abuse and rape (Fasting, Brackenridge and Sundgot Borgen, 2000; Brackenridge, 2001).

Radical feminist sports research has certainly helped to raise awareness of the power of patriarchy in women's sporting lives, yet the centrality of patriarchy to radical analyses has been widely criticised. Jennifer Hargreaves identifies radical feminist accounts of sport as '*problematic*' because of the focus on perceived differences between women and men, rather than on the relations of power between them (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.8). Firstly, the suggestion that women have uniquely different characteristics from men, is an example of biological determinism that implicitly supports the image of power in the male body (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). A tendency to universalise women's oppression under patriarchy results in a failure to identify differences between women and ignores the fact that women might also belong to a dominant group that oppress others, including women. In the context of sport, this leads to an inherently exaggerated view of male domination in sport that fails to recognise that there are different relationships between men and women in different sports. In some sports women are undoubtedly subordinated, in others, women collude with men to subordinate other women, while in other sports women do indeed share power with men (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). Once again, the centrality of patriarchy rather than patriarchal relations of power and the underestimation of other important variables associated with oppression leads to a failure to address the complexities of exploitation that occur in sport for both men and women.

The separatist proposals of some radical feminist analyses have also attracted criticism. If, as Clarke and Critcher (1985, p.24) argue, sport remains an area where existing gender roles are re-established and confirmed, then segregation must be its ultimate form. However, it must also be noted that there are strong historical and cultural dimensions that support the argument for separate development (J.A. Hargreaves, 1990). The long history of single-sex physical education in schools and separate sports for men and women provides a theoretical and ideological basis for continuing calls for separate sports. Contemporary evidence, from Britain and the

United States, also appears to suggest that in the areas of administration and coaching, women's prospects are better in single-sex organisations (White and Brackenridge, 1985; Hult, 1989; White, 1991; Sports Council, 1992). White (1991) argues that strong women's sporting organisations can lobby effectively on behalf of its members in the distribution of scarce resources. When viewed in this way, separatism would appear to confer power. It can also be argued, however that because separatism institutionalises gender divisions, rather than strengthening women's position, it actually excludes women from power, status and decision-making about access to resources (Pronger, 1990; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Grant and Darley have argued that separatism has limited utility for changing prevailing conceptions about gender and sport and also fails to address the ways in which men and women are oppressed together in sport (Grant and Darley, 1993, p.258).

Marxist sports feminist perceptions

The alternatives to liberal and radical feminist views on sport generally speaking, fall within the many and varied approaches of the Marxist tradition (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). All Marxist feminists are critical of the nature of sport under capitalism. Unlike the universalist assumptions found in some liberal and radical feminist perspectives, Marxist feminists argue that women are not a homogenous group and their experiences of sport are affected by their economic or class position (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986).

From the economist Marxist feminist position, class is seen to be the major cause of women's oppression in society. Women's oppression in sport is always viewed in a capitalist context and is perceived to be a part of the bourgeois ideology that supports the sexual division of labour (Hoch, 1972; Brohm, 1978; Boutilier and San Giovanni, 1983). Yet, Marxist views were also deemed to be 'problematic' because of their inability to explain fully the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism or the ways in which patriarchal structures are independent of capitalism (J.A. Hargreaves, 1986). Ann Hall (1996) is critical of any feminist analyses that fail to incorporate other factors such as race, ethnicity and the state, and address how these differences result in differing experiences of sport among women. Socialist feminists are critical of the economic determinist approach of Marxist feminism, and call for research to

explore the more complex relationships between class, gender and race located within capitalism, patriarchy and neo-colonialism (Scraton and Flintoff, 2001).

Socialist feminists agree that women's oppression cannot be explained solely by capitalism and the sexual division of labour or by male dominance, and have attempted to develop a multidimensional theory that synthesises insights from both Marxist and radical feminist approaches while avoiding the determinism of either (Costa and Guthrie, 1994; Muller, 1999). Significantly, the socialist feminist research agenda resulted in a major shift in emphasis from a concentration solely on the experiences of women towards a more critical consideration of gender. Socialist feminist research in sport highlights the ways in which the sexual division of labour has extended into sport and recreation. For example, Green, Hebron and Woodward (1987) show how women's dual role in the public and domestic labour force impacts on their ability to participate in sport and recreation. In terms of elite sport, socialist researchers have been critical of the disparities that exist between women and men in sponsorship, prize money and sporting careers (M.A. Hall, 1996). Socialist feminists have called for an elite sports environment where women have equal access to training, technological assistance and facilities as well as equal opportunity to participate, and an acknowledgement that this would require extensive financial support (Muller, 1999).

Although feminist socialist sports researchers have addressed the differences between women and provide a theoretical framework that recognises the important links between class, gender and race, the approach has been criticised by both radical and Black feminists, who argue that it still gives primacy to class and economic issues. Black feminists have challenged dominant White feminist theory, which it is argued, has largely ignored or marginalized issues of race and ethnicity.

Race/ethnicity/difference

There is little evidence that sports feminist theorists have attempted to articulate gender and race relations with sport. Almost two decades ago Cole and Birrell (1986) noted that:

> *"The greatest flaw in the new scholarship on gender relations and sport is the almost total absence of women of color in our studies and in our theories"*
>
> (Cole and Birrell, 1986 quoted in Birrell, 1988))

It appears that Cole and Birrell's (1986) concerns have gone unheeded because feminist discourse on sport remains ethnocentric. Indeed in a recent essay on the contribution of feminism to the study of gender and sport, Scraton (2001, p.172) points out that it is "*glaringly obvious that there is little to review*" when it comes to black women, culture, racism and sport[28]. Scraton identifies several works from British researchers (Raval, 1989; Lovell, 1991; Benn, 1996; Zaman, 1997) which have looked at the social and cultural contexts of women's sporting experiences and provide an adequate acknowledgement of the complex relationships between race, ethnicity and class. Also singled out is the work of Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) which provides some insights into the sporting lives of Afro-Caribbean and Asian women in Britain. She persuasively argues that British sport policies reflect the dominant 'white' cultural traditions, values and practices which are inappropriate for a multiracial and multicultural society (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994).

Post-modern feminist analysis

Highlighting the significance of difference and diversity, and influenced by the post-modern discourse, Black feminist thinkers, such as hooks (1982, 1989), have shown the inadequacy of 'grand' theory and rejected its inherent dualities such as public/private, mind/body. Crucially, postmodern thinking allows us to see competing discourses, such as racism, ethnicity and Black resistance as intrinsic to the exercise of power in society. Drawing on the work of Foucault (1980b, 1983), who considers power as plural and productive in a multiplicity of sites, post-modern feminist research emphasises deconstruction, subjectivity, the significance of language, semiotics, diversity and difference. Corrin (1999, p.113) argues that the eclectic nature of postmodern thinking has proved useful in deconstucting some of the ways in

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[28]It should be noted until recently, there was very little research at all into the effects of racism in British sport, male or female experiences. In the introductory essay to their collection of works on race in British sport, Carrington and McDonald (2001: 7) conclude that the majority of British scholars have either neglected sport and race or have produced material that is contextually weak. Carrington and McDonald's (2001) work is an attempt to address this gap in the literature and present a challenge to racism in British sport

which questions have been posed about women's agency and diversity among women. Theories that generalise the experiences of white, Western, middle-class, heterosexual men and women are fundamentally rejected. Within the feminist post-modern discourse, sport must be understood in the context of the new conditions of postmodernity in which the old structures are no longer relevant to the new world of fragmentation, dedifferentiation, and hyperreality (Baudrillard, 1988). Scraton and Flintoff (2001) note that although analyses of sport from this discourse are, as yet relatively underdeveloped, they shift the focus from structural constraints on women and sport to an emphasis on the social construction of gender and sexuality which demonstrate how 'false' binaries could be challenged and transgressed. Many feminist researchers have pointed out that simply deconstructing discourse about binary categories does not challenge the material basis of master categories to which subordinate categories of people stand in binary opposition: the capitalist class, men and heterosexuals (Dworkin and Messner, 1999, p.356). Rather than the shift towards radical deconstruction, Dworkin and Messner (1999) have called for a materialist analysis of the study of sport. This would, they argue, reveal how differential access to resources and opportunities and the varieties of structured constraints shape the contexts in which people think, interact and construct political practices and discourse (Dworkin and Messner, 1999).

By the mid-1980s, a new critical agenda began to emerge that was informed by the theories of feminism, Marxism, and cultural studies (Birrell, 1988). In North America, the work of Boutillier and San Giovanni (1983), Lenskyj (1986) and Birrell (1988) would be regarded as the '*crucial*' texts because they began to consolidate both a distributive and gender-relational perspective (Ingham and Donnelly, 1997, p.380). The work of Jennifer Hargreaves still stands out as the exceptional theoretical contribution from feminist sports scholarship in the 1980s. Hargreaves' (J.A. Hargreaves, 1982, 1986) work was clearly influenced by the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham and of cultural theory generally. Ingham and Donnelly regard Hargreaves paper "*Culture on the sports agenda*" (1986) as the "*landmark piece of scholarship*" from the feminist cultural studies perspective (Ingham and Donnelly, 1997, p.380).

The first discussion of the female experience of sport by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) appeared in the fifth of its "*Working Papers in Cultural Studies*" series. In the introduction to this issue Critcher and Willis (1974, p.1) stated that their work offered a "*basic 'cultural studies' approach to a new topic*". The two papers, one by Critcher (1974), who focussed on the practices of women and sport, and another by Willis (1974) which considered ideologies of women and sport, presented sophisticated analyses of sport as a cultural practice[29]. Willis' (1974, 1982) observes that sport is a particularly significant arena of gender relations because differences between the sexes are seen to be 'natural' and men are 'naturally dominant'. Sport, he argues is an essential ideological tool for the production and reproduction of men's domination of men over women. The significance of Willis' (1974, 1982) contribution has been widely recognised by sports feminists (Theberge, 1985; Birrell, 1988), indeed Birrell argues that "*It is a most concise and significant statement on the meaning of women's exclusion from sport*" (Birrell, 1988, p.482).

Feminist cultural analyses

In "*Feminism and Sporting Bodies*" (M.A. Hall, 1996), Ann Hall traced the theoretical and methodological development of sports feminism since the 1970s[30]. She concluded that with the turn to the cultural studies tradition, sports feminism had entered a new theoretical era that required contemporary research to:

> "*...focus on sport as a site for relations of domination and subordination (gender, race, class, sexuality and other forms) and on how sport serves as site of resistance and transformation.*"
>
> (M.A. Hall, 1996, p.31)

Ann Hall (1996) reported that there was a general consensus among those calling for more theoretically rigorous analyses of sport and gender for the adoption of a feminist cultural studies approach (Birrell, 1990; Cole, 1994). Cole (1994), for example, proposed a viable feminist cultural studies agenda for the future study of sport, as a response to what she considered the "*crisis of sports studies*" (Cole, 1994, p.6).

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[29]Willis' paper was published with slight revisions under the title "*Women in Sport and Ideology*" in J.A. Hargreaves (ed.) (1982) "Sport, culture and ideology" which brought the paper's attention to a wider audience and is the more commonly cited version of this work.

[30]Other notable reviews of trends in the feminist analyses of sport can be found in Birrell (1988); Hargreaves (1990), Dewar (1993) and Cole (1994)

Conceptualising sport as a set of practices, knowledge and disciplines, Cole (1994) argued that feminist cultural studies, provided the theoretical and political space to redefine scholarship in this area.

Sport feminists and hegemony theory

Sports feminists enthusiastically appropriated the Gramscian inspired theoretical framework favoured by cultural studies scholars (J.A. Hargreaves, 1982; M.A. Hall, 1985; Theberge, 1985). Ingham and Donnelly (1997) suggest that the concept of hegemony enabled the articulation of Marxist and feminist theory:

> "*'Patriarchy' was now seen as a hegemonic process and for the Marxists, hegemony permitted the recentering of culture as a dominant category of determination.*"
>
> (Ingham and Donnelly, 1997, p.387)

Ann Hall (1985) argued that work from the hegemonic perspective represented a real alternative to "*the abstracted empiricism, functionalism and positivism*" that had characterised so much of sports sociology to that date (M.A. Hall, 1985, p.110). However, sports feminist researchers were critical of the primacy given to class within most mainstream accounts of hegemony in relation to sport. More specifically, they were critical of the failure to acknowledge, beyond the superficial, that society was, not only capitalist, but also highly patriarchal (M.A. Hall, 1985; Deem, 1988; Birrell, 1990; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Birrell (1990), arguing for a cultural studies approach warned that:

> *"...cultural studies needs to be decentered from class relations and broadened to take into account gender and racial relations"*
>
> (Birrell, 1990, p.195)

While the limitations of the work of Gruneau (1983) and Hargreaves (1986a) in relation to non-class issues had been widely recognised, they did provide the most sophisticated accounts of the relationship between sport and social relations to that date. From this perspective, sport could be understood as series of power struggles between dominant and subordinate groups, where inherited meanings and interests are constantly contested and defended but where new meanings and interests are continually evolving and struggled over (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Gruneau's (1983)

work in particular was noted by many feminist scholars as having considerable relevance for the study of gender relations (M.A. Hall, 1985; Theberge, 1985). His study had revealed the emancipatory potential of sport to create resistance within a given hegemony and provided the theoretical basis to explain how subordinate groups were sometimes able to negotiate and to win space through the use of a range of counter-hegemonies and opposition practices (Donnelly, 1988). Cole and Birrell (1986) note that the gendering of sport and the persistent presence of women in sport can be understood as part of a process where the dominant group attempt to maintain sport as a male preserve, and the active resistance of women as a subordinate group. The continuing presence of women in sport, they argue is "*evidence of leaky hegemony*" (Cole and Birrell, 1986, p.24).

Gender as a fundamental category of analysis

Dominant debates in political theory rarely address the issue of gender because it is presumed rather than absent. Feminist political theorists have challenged this view and Squires (1999) argues that a real achievement of gender in political theory has been to focus attention on the ontological presumptions underpinning existing political debates. Using gender as fundamental category of analysis, sports feminists have applied the concept of hegemony to sport in order to explore the ways in which sport functions as a male preserve and to examine how that contributes to the maintenance of male power (J.A. Hargreaves, 1982, 1986; Boutillier and San Giovanni, 1983; Theberge, 1985, Lenskyj, 1986). In her recent overview of women in sport in the United States, Costa (2003) argues that Gramsci's hegemony theory provides the best explanation for the stratification of sports in society. Male hegemony in sport, she argues, maintains its status through the subtle influence of ideology, which manifests itself in terms of body, gender, class, power, representation and subjectivity (Costa. 2003). It is the articulation of these ideological components that create the barriers to equality of opportunities for women and girls. Dewar (1991) argues that sporting practices are historically produced, socially constructed and culturally defined to serve the needs and interests of powerful groups in society. In this sense sport is seen as a cultural representation of social relations. A set of selected and selective social practices that embody dominant meanings, values and practices which are implicated in the creation and maintenance of hegemonic social relationships. While sports culture remains a bastion of male domination that

reinforces gender stereotypes, it is also an area where women and other groups (homosexuals, minority ethnic groups) can challenge, resist and bring about change (Bordo, 1993). In this way, sports culture both reinforces and subverts common stereotypes of gender, sexuality and race.

Through her work, Jennifer Hargreaves has pioneered the way for a sports feminism that challenges, through exploring and understanding male hegemony, and centralises gender relations. In what is arguably the most important British text on sport written from a feminist perspective, Jennifer Hargreaves' described her work "*Sporting Females*" as a "*political intervention into the world of sports scholarship*" (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.1). The aim was to raise the profile of women's sport and to show the importance of using gender as a fundamental category for analysis. Placing women at the centre of the analysis, she argued, provided an important challenge to the way in which male standards had become the generalised standards in sports theory, and 'politicised' women's sporting experience by drawing connections between ideas and practice. In "*Sporting Females*", Jennifer Hargreaves provides a historical, sociological and political account of the development of women's sport in Britain from the 19th century until the present day. The historical perspective is important, according to Balsamo (1994), because it illuminates the process whereby one set of beliefs is articulated against another discursive system. Historical studies such as Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) and others (Lenskyi 1983; Vertinsky, 1990; Fletcher, 1994) allow us to understand how women were discouraged from participating in sport through culturally-defined 'facts' of the female body (Balsamo, 1994).

Traditional beliefs about femininity and masculinity are, according to Jennifer Hargreaves (1994), linked to Victorian conceptions of the body. The body, she argued was a "*fundamental symbol of power relations between men and women...*" and she skilfully demonstrates how 'scientific' evidence became intimately linked to the development of organised sport in the 19th century (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.44). Biological differences between the sexes were used to construct social ideas about gender and provided Victorian's with the major justification for restricting women's involvement in sports (Vertinsky, 1990). Sports feminists have identified gender differences as a social construct and have focused on the ways in which sport still

constructs an ideology of natural gender difference and women's inferiority (M.A. Hall, 1996).

Hegemonic masculinity

Contemporary feminist analyses argue that sport is a prime site of gender inequality, and a major cultural mechanism through which patriarchal social relations is reproduced and reinforced (Sage, 1998). Research has shown the importance of sport in creating and maintaining male dominance and difference from women (Theberge, 1981; M. A. Hall, 1985; Sabo, 1985; J.A. Hargreaves, 1986; Ogelsby, 1989; Messner, 1992). Sport, as a hegemonic social institution, naturalises men's power and privilege over women (Sabo and Jansen, 1992). The concept of hegemony has also been an important theoretical influence on research into men and masculinity (Connell, 1987). Research on masculinity and sport has increased dramatically in the last two decades (Connell, 1990; Klein, 1990; Messner and Sabo, 1990; Messner, 1992) and this work has provided significant insights into issues surrounding sport and masculine hegemony. Studies of elite sportsmen confirm the patriarchal nature of sports culture, by demonstrating attitudes and values that sustain masculine hegemony and how this reproduces unequal gender relations. In an early evaluation of work on masculinity in sport, Messner (1990) argued that male researchers' experiences as men and their access to masculine worlds gave them the potential to "*...construct a powerful critique of masculinity*" (Messner, 1990, p.148). However, Messner (1990) insisted that such analyses must come from an explicitly feminist standpoint to avoid universalising the male experience.

'Hegemonic masculinity' is a key concept that underpins many contemporary studies of sport (Connell, 1990; Davis, 1997; Dworkin and Wachs, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is the taken for granted ideal of what a man should be. It is a particular, idealised form of masculine character that is often equated with a white, middle-class heterosexual definition. However, this definition is not fixed and each culture and ethnicity has its masculine ideal. According to Connell (1995) hegemonic masculinity is:

> *"... not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies a hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable"*
>
> (Connell, 1995, p.76)

Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that is "*inherently relational*" (Connell, 1995, p.68) because it exists only in contrast with femininity. This dominant form of masculinity is presented in opposition to femininity and renders it inferior. The resulting 'gender order' is a structure of power and privilege that, systematically, favours men over women (Connell, 1987). However, Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987) have shown that power relations exist not only between masculinity and femininity but also among different forms of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity therefore operates to subordinate women and marginalize other subordinated masculinities, such as gay and Black men. Sport has always played a major role in the formation and perpetuation of masculine hegemonic ideology and as such is an important source for the reproduction of heterosexualism in the forms of homophobia and misogyny (Ingham and Donnelly, 1997). In sport, the popular notion that men are just 'naturally' stronger, more aggressive and tougher than women is reinforced by and celebrated in patriarchal sporting culture (Theberge, 1998).

While sport is undoubtedly imbued with patriarchal values, scholars working within the discipline of cultural studies have argued that sport is not irredeemably reproductive of hegemonic masculinity, but is rather a site where the values and structures are contested (McKay, 1991). Brookes (2002, p.131) argues that just as the concept of hegemony is used within cultural studies to avoid reductive formulations of ideology, hegemonic masculinity refers to a constantly contested definition and in accommodating consent from subordinate groups. Kane (1995) for example, challenges the division of men and women in sport based on sex by proposing the conception of sport as a continuum, where the performances and abilities of individual men and women vary and overlap.

Connell's concept of the gender order is a useful theoretical framework for examining the meaning of sport and its constantly shifting relationship to other systems of domination (Messner and Sabo, 1990). The academic study of sport has shown that complex and multilayered systems of inequality linked to race, class, gender, sexuality and age are present and Connell's (1995) theory of gender order is useful because it stresses the interaction of gender with other social identities:

"Because gender is a way of structuring social practice in general, not a special type of practice, it is unavoidably involved with other social structures. It is now common to say that gender 'intersects' – better, interacts – with race and class. We might add that it constantly interacts with nationality or position in the world order...to understand gender, then, we must constantly go beyond gender. The same applies in reverse. We cannot understand class, race or global inequality without constantly moving towards gender "

(Connell, 1995, pp.75-76)

Sport as a sex segregated institution

Sport remains a sex segregated institution, where the separation of sports into male and female on biological grounds is underpinned and reinforced by powerful ideological and political mechanisms (Brackenridge, 2001). Gruneau (1983) argues that the 19th century origins and voluntary sector organisation of sport has left a legacy of entrenched ideological conservatism that is stubbornly resistant to change. This explains, in part, why sport has been slow to embrace the social reforms for equal rights that have transformed other cultural institutions such as education and business (Brackenridge, 2001). The power structures of most sports are still heavily weighted in favour of men (M.A. Hall and Richardson, 1982; Dunning, 1986, Birrell and Richter, 1987) and, in general, female sports have an inferior status (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994). Jennifer Hargreaves maintains that sport "*is a system of power based on gender*", that continues to disadvantage women:

> *"Women experience similar problems in struggling for recognition in all sports and events from which they have traditionally been excluded. In the early stages there is no history to draw upon; no role models or networking arrangements exist for interested participants; there are no female organizations of coaches; there is always resistance and a certain amount of ridicule; and it is impossible to secure financial backing. The longer men practically and ideologically appropriate an activity, the more difficult it is for women to take part."*
>
> (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994, p.222)

This is particularly evident at the elite levels of sport where female athletes have a lower profile, fewer opportunities to pursue a career in professional sport, and those who do earn less money than men. Men also continue to dominate the senior administrative and coaching positions (White and Brackenridge, 1985; M.A. Hall,

Cullen and Slack, 1989; White, Mayglothling, and Carr, 1989; Acosta and Carpenter, 1996, 2000; Shaw and Slack, 2000).

Much of the contemporary research from the sports feminist perspective has looked at particular aspects of women's sporting experience, either as participants or as coaches and administrators or how they are represented in the media. The next section provides an overview of that literature, with focus on studies that have considered the elite rather than participation level of women's sport. A recent, but very significant contribution to that literature is Hartmann-Tews and Pfister's (2003) "*Sport and women: social issues in international perspective*", which provides a systematic, cross-cultural analysis of the participation and situation of women in sport. Opportunities for, and constraints on, women's participation in sixteen countries are examined, taking into account the influence of different structural and cultural factors.

Women's participation in sport

Sport is one area of society where historically, women have been kept out or their participation limited through an emphasis on masculinity and affirmation of men's power and control (Theberge, 1987). Colley, Nash, O'Donnell and Restorick (1987) argue that there has been a tendency for sport to be 'sex-typed' which reflects the continuing influence of traditional notions about what is appropriate 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. Since the beginning of the 20th century, women's sport has developed differently from men's. Sport is structured along a gender divide where men compete against men and women compete against women. Different rules, different clothing and different time and spatial dimensions for women's sport has, Cahn (1990) suggests *"...preserved the masculine identity of sport and made women's continued presence a marginal and contradictory phenomenon"* (Cahn, 1990, p.393). This bipolar division in sport is justified by what Kane (1995, p.197) calls a '*muscle gap*', an ideological construct based on gender differences in athletic performance. These 'common sense' views have been be widely challenged by feminist sports scholars.

Women as athletes

Kay (1995) found that the participation of women at the elite level of sport was under-researched. The main focus for analysis of elite participation identified by Kay was the summer Olympic Games (Boutilier and SanGiovanni, 1990; Theberge, 1991;

Hargreaves, 1994; Welch and Costa, 1994). While most studies identified a steady increase in the participation of women, demonstrating the substantial advances made at the highest levels of elite sport, it was also demonstrated that substantial inequality persists. Data from the Sydney Games shows that women represented less than half of the total number of athletes and that only forty-one percent of Olympic medals were available to women (National Sport Information Centre, 2001). Much of the research conducted to date on the participation of women at the elite level has been North American in origin and has focused on Title IX[31] legislation and the struggle for athletic resources. Since Title IX was enacted in 1972, women's participation has increased dramatically in schools and colleges[32], although women's participation in professional and college sports still pales when compared to men's (Lapchick, 2001). Recent data from Suggs (2000) reveals that in 1998-99, women made up forty-two percent of Division 1 athletes, received forty-two percent of scholarship monies, thirty-one percent of recruiting budgets, thirty-four percent of the coaching-salary budget and a third (33%) of the total collegiate sport budgets (quoted in Washington and Karen, 2001).

In 1995, Kay reported that there were no published sources that provided information about participation levels at the elite level in the United Kingdom, and very few published studies about the experiences of women who participate at the highest levels in the United Kingdom. This gap in the literature makes it difficult to examine the influences of personal or provision factors on women's competitive participation (Kay, 1995). This situation has improved somewhat since the introduction of direct Lottery funding to athletes in 1997. The five Sports Councils in the United Kingdom regularly produce information about the numbers of athletes receiving Lottery funding through their various programmes. While useful and a welcome addition to the literature, it is important to note that these statistics have usually been collected for administrative purposes and are not designed for research use.

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[31]A 1972 Federal Act that states "*No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational programme or activity receiving federal financial assistance*". This legislation significantly affected the growth of girl's high school, and women's collegiate athletics.

[32]For a longitudinal overview of women's participation in collegiate sport see Acosta and Carpenter (2000)

Studies on Lottery-funded athletes

Since 1977 a few studies on the elite sport sector have been undertaken in the United Kingdom which provide quantitative and qualitative data on elite performers, broken down by gender. All Lottery distributors are required to regularly evaluate the programs which they administer and these studies are commissioned by the various sports councils as part of that obligation. UK Sport for example has commissioned several studies[33] that have increased the quantitative and qualitative data available on the elite sport sector in Britain. In Scotland, "*The Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) applicant feedback survey 1998*" (Martin and McGregor, 1999), commissioned by the Scottish Sports Council Lottery Fund in 1998, to monitor and evaluate the Talented Athlete Programme (TAP), provides some useful qualitative data on elite performers. However, the main purpose of the study was to gather opinions about the TAP application process and did not provide any information about characteristics of athletes or details of variations by sport. Despite the limitations, these studies are a welcome addition to the literature because there are very few empirically based accounts that attempt to examine the experiences of elite male and female athletes. The United Kingdom contribution to a recent cross-cultural analysis of women in sport provides an independent evaluation of the World Class Performance programme administered by UK Sport. White (2003) found that funding by UK Sport favoured men, reflecting their medal winning potential:

> *"The reasons for more male athletes receiving support than female athletes can be explained by the greater number of sports, events and competitions available to men, and the better development opportunities for boys and men to put them in the 'potential medal winner category'. So while the funding criteria are the same for men and women, when these criteria are applied, the outcome is that more men than women access funding for top-level sport at UK level."*
>
> (White, 2003, pp.41-42)

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[33]BMRB Social Research (2000) "*A survey of athletes on the World Class Performance Programme*", UK Sport, London ;
UK Sport (2000b) "*WCCP leavers: a survey of the experiences and opinions of athletes who have left the World Class Performance Programme*", UK Sport, London;
UK Sport (2001a) "*Athletes lifestyles and ACE UK: a survey of athletes' experiences of sport, education and work, and the role of the ACE UK programme*" (2001), UK Sport, London;
UK Sport (2001b) "*Athlete personal awards (APA's): a survey of WCPP athletes' experiences of, and opinions on, APA's*, UK Sport, London

This gender imbalance in elite sport funding was evident in many of the contributions to this comparative study. Editors, Hartmann-Tews and Pfister (2003) observe that talented males are more likely to be identified as potential elite athletes than talented females, and are as a result, more likely to have access to public funding and support than female elite athletes. Research has shown that the lack of media recognition for elite female athletes and the continuing marginalization of women's contribution is a significant factor in the continuing gender imbalance in elite sport funding (Birrell and Theberge, 1994). The ideological role of sport in the maintenance of unequal power relations is inextricably linked to the disparity in the media attention given to male and female sport (Brookes, 2002).

Media representations of women athletes

The media is one of the principle sites for the promotion of sexual difference and is a major player in the construction of the ideology of women's sport (M.A. Hall, 1996). A considerable body of feminist research exists that has examined how gender differences and gender relations are constructed in the print media (Birrell and Theberge, 1994; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; M.A. Hall, 1996; Kane, 1996; Pirinen, 1997; Jefferson Lenskyj, 1998; Jones, Murrell and Jackson, 1999). Birrell and Theberge (1994, pp.346-356) provide an extensive survey of feminist sports media research in North America which demonstrates the under-representation of female athletes, and also provides evidence of what has been termed the "*symbolic annihilation*" (Tuchman, 1978) of the female athlete in the sports media. This results, they argue, in the trivialisation and marginalisation of women athletes; the heterosexualisation of women athletes; the hidden discourse of homophobia in sport; the depiction of women's involvement in sport as tragic; and the construction of women as unnatural athletes and female athletes as unnatural women (Birrell and Theberge quoted in M.A. Hall (1996, p.41).

Media representations of sport are particularly powerful in naturalising and normalising hegemonic meanings about the body and social relations (Wright and Clarke, 1999). In their respective studies of the sports media in Britain and Australia, Jennifer Hargreaves (1993) and McKay and Huber (1992) observed that women are inextricably linked with traditional heterosexist and maternal narratives. Kolnes (1995) argues that the construction of heterosexuality is an organising principle in

women's sport and clearly influence perceptions of sportswomen. The association of athletic strength and power with masculinity leads to the constant surveillance of female athlete's sexuality and the denial of a lesbian presence in sport (Griffin, 1992). Griffin (1992) and others (Lenskyj, 1986; 1991 Burton Nelson, 1994) have made a significant contribution to the ways in which sport contributes to sexism and homophobia. Griffin (1992, p.253) suggests that "*...silence is the most consistent and enduring manifestation of homophobia in sport*" and draws attention to the contribution of the media to silences about and stigmatisation of lesbians in sport (J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Kane, 1996). Griffin and Jennifer Hargreaves found that lesbian athletes are forced to hide their sexuality and present themselves as models of heterosexual femininity. Sports that are perceived to be 'traditionally male' are particularly vulnerable to heterosexist scrutiny (Wright and Clarke, 1999).

A number of sophisticated studies of the balance of media coverage given to men's and women's sports (McKay and Huber, 1992; Alexander, 1994a, 1994b; Duncan, Messner, Williams, and Jensen, 1994; Eastman and Billings, 2000) show that media coverage of sport is still overwhelmingly about men and underpinned by assumptions about gender. Two studies by Sue Alexander (1994a, 1994b) focus on the 1992 summer Olympic Games; one on British newspaper coverage, the other on BBC television coverage; show that women's events received significantly less coverage than men's in both media. She notes that these findings cannot be explained by the fact that more men competed or male athletes received success because the amount of coverage was not proportional (1994a, 1994b). Similar findings have been reported in studies from the United States which found that while the coverage of particular events such as the Olympic Games can demonstrate a more balanced, if not equal representation, in general, coverage overall remains unbalanced (Andrews, 1998; Chisholm, 1999; Eastman and Billings, 1999, 2000; Tuggle and Owen, 1999; Borcila, 2000; Heywood, 2000).

Brookes (2002) argues that the sports media's marginalisation of the extent of the participation of women in sport has important financial and promotional implications for women's sport. Financially, a lack of media presence affects the ability of sports organisations to generate revenue and sponsorship. On the promotional side, the under-exposure of female athletes reinforces the belief that women in sport are

'unusual' and marginalises and trivialises women's sporting achievements (Pirinen, 1997; Jefferson Lenskyj, 1998; Brookes, 2002).

Women as coaches and administrators

Despite the fact that there has been a narrowing of the gender gap in sports participation at all levels, West and Brackenridge (1990) argue that "*no commensurate increase has been registered in the numbers of women in positions of power*" (West and Brackenridge, 1990, p.10). One of the most obvious differences between women and men in sport is the unequal representation of women in coaching and management and decision-making positions (Fasting, Scraton, Pfister and Bunuel, 1999). Feminist research shows that power structures of most sports organisations continue to be dominated by men, masculinity and traditional masculine values (M.A. Hall and Richardson, 1982; White and Brackenridge, 1985; Dunning, 1986; Birrell and Richter, 1987; M.A. Hall, Cullen and Slack, 1989; White, Mayglothling, and Carr, 1989; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Acosta and Carpenter, 1996, 2000; Talbot, 1990; Shaw and Slack, 2000). At the high performance level, sport is often viewed as a male activity and designed according to the interests, conditions and needs of men, rather then both genders (Deem and Gilroy, 1998).

Recent research shows that women remain under-represented in sports coaching roles, particularly at the elite level in the United Kingdom (West, Green, Brackenridge and Woodward, 2001). Data from the Women's Sports Foundation (2003), the main women's sports advocacy body in Britain, shows that the number of elite female coaches is in fact dropping. Analysis of data from the summer Olympic Games from 1980 to 2000, revealed that since the Moscow games of 1980, where nine percent of coaches were women, the number of female coaches had declined to just under eight percent (7.6%) at the Sydney games in 2000 (Women's Sports Foundation, 2003). While these findings are disappointing, they reflect a pattern of declining female influence in the senior coaching ranks that is found not only in Britain but in all other Western nations with elite sport systems. Reviewing the available literature on the gender of coaches at national elite level, Fasting and Pfister (2000) conclude that the higher the performance level of athletes the more likely it is that they will have a male coach. They noted, however, that most of the data on which they based this conclusion was over ten years old and that therefore validity of the data could be

questioned. Fasting and Pfister (2000) concluded that the lack of up-to-date research and statistics on this topic made comparative analysis problematic (Fasting and Pfister, 2000). Yet, a new cross-cultural study of women in sport does support Fasting and Pfister's (2000) conclusion. This study reported that only in a very few countries is the proportion of female coaches in high performance sport more than ten percent (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003). In the United States, for example, before the introduction of the Title IX legislation, women held over ninety percent of coaching positions for women's collegiate sport, but by 2000 that number had dropped to forty-five percent (45.6%) (Acosta and Carpenter, 2000).

The reasons for the under-representation of women in high performance coaching are complex, as a recent study (West, Green, Brackenrige and Woodward, 2001) from the United Kingdom has shown. West *et al.* show that the articulation of exclusionary and demarcationary mechanisms shape specific patterns of women's involvement in coaching. These mechanisms include the gendering of the coaching role as masculine and closing access to informal coaching networks. This finding supports earlier work by Knoppers (1987) who argued that the increasing presence of women as participants challenged male hegemony in sport which meant that men had to reconstruct their identities in other sporting areas such as coaching. Encouragingly, analysis of in-depth interview data with female coaches from West *et al.* shows that women are challenging these exclusionary and demarcationary strategies by drawing on their coaching qualifications, experiences as competitive athletes and the successes of the athletes who they coach (West, Green, Brackenridge and Woodward, 2001). Another common explanation for the under-representation of women at the highest levels of coaching is that women may not aspire to, or apply for these jobs (Fasting and Pfister, 2000). However, Everhart and Challadurai refute this 'female deficit' explanation and claim that their empirical data shows that "*the reasons for the underrepresentation of women in coaching ranks do not reside in the women themselves*" (Everhart and Challadurai, 1998, p.197). West *et al.* provide another, more plausible, explanation for this continuing problem of under-representation. Quite simply, they found that the majority of individuals occupying positions of influence in the appointment of coaches are disproportionately male (West, Green, Brackenridge and Woodward. 2001). Clearly, the under-representation of women in senior positions in sports

governing bodies has a direct and continuing impact on the under-representation of women in sport generally.

Gender relations of power in sports organisations

Several feminist studies have shown that the organisation of sport does not attract and empower females to assume leadership and leading positions in sports organisations (Acosta and Carpenter, 1992; Pastore and Inglis, 1996; Wilkerson, 1996; Hovden, 2000). Talbot (2001) argues that gender analysis of the distribution of power in sports organisations reveals how gender hegemonies affect the position of women within them. White and Brackenridge's (1985) ground breaking study in Britain found that the low number of women in sports organisations could be explained by a number of factors: the inappropriateness of the male model of sport; women's lack of access to the political system; and the recruitment procedures in place in sports organisations (White and Brackenridge, 1985). Two Canadian studies (M.A. Hall, Cullen and Slack, 1989; Whitson and MacIntosh, 1989), conducted a few years later, came to similar conclusions. M.A. Hall, Cullen and Slack's (1989) study focused on gender relations and the gender power structure in Canadian sports organisations in order to explain how male organisational elite's retained their power and how women colluded in that process. From the analysis of the data collected, they found that elite personnel (including women) believed that the low percentage of women within their organisations was not a problem of organisational structure but was explained by personal deficiencies or social factors, such as family situation (M.A. Hall, Cullen and Slack, 1989). Whitson and MacIntosh's (1989) study of fifty-six senior officers in six national sports organisations, of whom one third were women, showed that the lack of women in sports organisations was not perceived as a problem and 'family responsibilities' was mentioned as a reason for the lack of women. Several other studies have also noted that sports organisations commonly fail to 'own' the issue of under-representation of women (McKay, 1992, 1998; Abrams and Talbot, 1995; Talbot, 2001). Evidence suggests a widespread failure within sports organisations to recognise how long-established procedures and practices created by all-male bodies for all-male sports actually prevent women from making the contribution that their participation in sport merits (Talbot, 2001).

Jennifer Hargreaves (1994) reminds us that the question of how to overcome uneven gender structures and practices is linked to the issue of separatism. White (1991) for example, has argued that strong women's organisations can lobby effectively on behalf of their members. More importantly perhaps, women-only organisations can also be an effective form of positive discrimination when there is an overall gender bias in favour of males in the distribution of scarce sports resources. When looked at from this perspective it would appear that separatism can confer power. Evidence presented in Brown's (1999) insightful study of Scottish sport policy-making in the period between the end of World War II and the creation of the Scottish Sports Council in the early 1970s would appear to substantiate this view. Brown argues that in Scotland:

> *"... post suffrage, pre-feminist, middle class activists carved out a policy of gender separatism in both governing bodies and competition which created a rate of progress in women's sports that, if anything, seems to have slowed with the gender-integration in the 1980s and 1990s"*
>
> (Brown, 1999, p.201)

On the other hand, it has been argued that separatism institutionalises gender divisions. Pronger (1990) for example, describes separatism as a:

> *"... technique for maintaining a socially constructed difference between men and women, symbolically preserving through sports the power of men over women."*
>
> (Pronger, 1990, p.18)

The major alternative solution to inequalities between women and men is the assimilation of women into male-constructed sports organisations. However, research has shown that assimilation often leads to a situation where women lose power. Evidence suggests that women seldom hold positions of power in these mixed organisations. According to Dyer (1982), when sex-separated organisations merge, men take over the leadership positions. Hult (1989) argues that evidence from the United States about the 'unexpected' effect produced by the Title IX legislation clearly illustrates this point:

> *"The success of Title IX has led to male governance power in all amateur sports from school competitions through college, nonschool agencies, and the Olympic movement. Title IX has left untouched*

> *pervasive fundamental inequities in leadership, decision-making authority, coaching systems and role models for girls in all athletic situations."*
>
> (Hult, 1989 quoted in Fasting, 2000, p.441)

Despite this evidence, it is clear from Hartmann-Tews and Pfister's (2003, p.270) recent cross-cultural analysis of women and sport, that the trend towards mixed provision and organisational structures is continuing and that very few sports still have gender-separate associations or governing bodies. From the evidence collected in the study, Hartmann-Tews and Pfister conclude that:

> *"...women have sacrificed autonomy and control over their sport, but have gained financial advantages and access to facilities, coaching and sponsorship"*
>
> (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003, p.270)

Shaw and Slack's (2000) analysis of 'taken for granted' assumptions about gender relations in English sports organisations reveals how power relationships develop and are maintained. Data drawn from organisational documents and interviews with staff from three English national governing bodies of sport (NGB's) showed how the language, practices and policies used within sports organisations create gender relations that favour masculinities over femininities. They conclude that given their historical roots, such discourses become very influential and therefore, difficult to challenge (Shaw and Slack, 2000). Shaw and Slack's (2000) findings are not unique to Britain, very similar findings have been reported in a recent comparative analysis (Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, 2003). Hartmann-Tews and Pfister also report that women are grossly under-represented in the management of sport, as paid executive officers, as board members and elected chairs. This finding was certainly confirmed by the British contribution to the study where White (2003) claimed that women's involvement in top-level sport was still limited and that their influence in sports leadership was actually diminishing. Shaw and Slack (2000) remind us that because power relationships are always potentially unstable and open to challenge, the findings from feminist studies of gender relations in sports organisations can be used to challenge existing relationships and power structures.

Clearly, feminist critiques of sport have exposed the institutionalised sexism in sport and have challenged the hierarchical gender-power relations that are characteristic of

sport, and through which women have been systematically excluded and marginalised (Brackenridge, 2001). However, despite over three decades of research and increased public awareness of sexism in sport, policy responses and improvements have been limited (Brackenridge, 2001). M.A. Hall (1997) has argued that the progress of the women's sport movement has been characterised by liberal accommodation rather than radical change. Sports feminist researchers have called for the transformation of sport (Birrell and Theberge, 1994; J.A. Hargreaves, 1994; Lenskyj, 1994). They call for changes to institutional practices and values in order to make sport safer, less socially divisive and welcoming for all, not only for women (Brackenridge, 2001). Brackenridge (2001) suggests that such a project will have to be a long-term one because of the numerical and symbolic dominance of men in positions of authority in sport. Many sporting organisations, she argues have yet to come to terms with simple liberal concepts such as equality, let alone engage with agenda's that would require the sharing of power and a transformation of relations between men and women (Brackenridge, 2001).

Conclusion

Marshall and Rossman (1999) argue that a careful reading of the related literature has served two purposes. Firstly, it establishes evidence for the significance of this study for practice and policy, and as a contribution to the ongoing discourse of the topic. Secondly, it identifies the intellectual and theoretical traditions that guide the study and lead to the development of a conceptual framework and refining of the research question. In reviewing the many perspectives on sports studies, it is evident that a feminist cultural studies approach to the topic makes it possible to identify the underlying social and cultural structures that shape sport in society, and the role that it plays in reproducing patterns of class, gender, racial and other social divisions in society. It reveals that sport is part of the process of the on-going struggle over the dominance of particular structures, ideologies and social and cultural practices (Nixon, 1991).

The critical agenda of sports theory from the feminist cultural studies perspective is defined by its broadly based criticism of established social theories of sport and its call for critical, interpretative and empirical analyses of sport (Morgan, 1994). This approach to the study of sport requires a wide-ranging, flexible methodological and

theoretical perspective that necessitates a critical engagement with theory to see what is useful and appropriate within a specific empirical context (Andrews, 2002), a process which Hall describes "*wrestling with angels*" (Hall, 1992, p.280). Andrews (2002) set out the central theoretical and methodological tenants of cultural studies, concluding that:

> *"sports-oriented research demands a truly contextual sensibility premised on, and seeking to excavate and theorize, the contingent relations, structure, and effects that link sport forms with prevailing determinate forces"*
>
> (Andrews, 2002, p.116)

But feminist cultural studies is not only an intellectual project, it is also a pedagogical and political project. It is guided by an adherence to an underlying political agenda centred on the production and dissemination of knowledge that can intervene in a "*world in which it would make some difference*" (Hall, 1992, p.286).

A significant finding from the recent organisational review of **sport**scotland, carried out on behalf of the organisation by the management consultants KPMG (2001), was the lack of quality academic research on sport and physical activity in Scotland. This review would appear to substantiate those findings. There are few empirically based accounts of sport in Scotland, and a noticeable gap in the social sciences literature on sport at the elite level. Political analyses of Scottish sport are also rare and none examining the role of the state in post-devolution Scotland have yet been undertaken. Similarly, there are no substantive studies that attempt to locate the Scottish experience of sport within the comparative context of the other countries that make up the United Kingdom. This is vital for a study of the elite sport sector in the devolved context where the framework for the funding, organisation and delivery of sport in post-devolution Britain is extremely complex and reflects the constitutional arrangements of the country as a whole. Most significantly, there are very few studies that examine women's experiences of sport in Scotland, which, as Reid (1997) reminds us, has disguised the tradition of women's participation and interest in sport and represents a gap in our understanding of Scottish sport. However, the review also has highlighted the lack of empirical studies which include an examination of men's experiences of sport as well as women's. This is a worrying omission in the knowledge base when one considers that sports feminist and pro-feminist researchers

such as Messner and Sabo (1990) have shown that the implications of the social transformation of sport are much wider than only improving sport for women.

From the literature it is clear that historical and contemporary cultural contexts affect meanings and definitions and that sport cannot be separated from the political and economic context in which gender relations are articulated, experienced and structured (Scraton, 1997). It is vital, therefore, that the following research is located both culturally and historically and within the institutional framework of sport in Scotland and the other Home Countries. The aim of the research is to examine the present system of elite sport support in Scotland and consider whether or not that system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes, and assess the extent to which it was fair and equitable in terms of outcomes. An analysis is undertaken of the policies and priorities for the distribution of Lottery monies in the light of the needs of elite sport in Scotland, government directions and the funds available. Based on a distinctively Scottish cultural and historical experience of the nature of sport (Jarvie, 1992), the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted are underpinned by a commitment to a feminist cultural studies analyses of sport, influenced by the ideas of Gramsci (1971) and his central concept of hegemony.

Study One – An investigation of the historical and policy context for the development of an elite sport system in Scotland

Background to the study

The aim of this research is to examine the elite sport support system in Scotland and consider whether or not that system is effective in terms of delivery to athletes and coaches. Study one sets the historical and policy context in which the main focus of the study can be understood. Chapter three provides a historical account of the development of state involvement in the elite sport sector in the past three decades, up until the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, from a distinctly Scottish perspective. Chapter four provides a critical evaluation of elite sports policy agenda during the historic first session[34] of the Scottish Parliament that seeks to identify and review the institutional and financial frameworks set up to guide the decision-making process for the delivery of the Scottish elite sport agenda. The impact of decisions made at the United Kingdom level and relations with the other Home Country Sports Councils on Scottish sport policy-making and provision to elite performers are also examined.

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[34] Parliamentary sessions in the Scottish Parliament last four years. Session 1 covers the period from the first meeting of the Parliament in June 1999 until it's dissolution in March 2003.

Chapter 3: Elite Sport Policy Development Prior to National Lottery Funding

Introduction

Most historical accounts of sport and sport policy-making in Britain (Hargreaves, 1986; Allison, 1986; Collins, 1991; Houlihan, 1991; Roche 1993; J. A. Hargreaves, 1994; Holt and Mason, 2000) fail to incorporate the Home Country dimension of sports policy-making into their accounts. The Sports Councils and Executive Government agencies in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland are often ignored in publications, which purport to be comprehensive accounts of sport policy-making in Britain. Even where some acknowledgement is made, it rarely goes beyond tokenism and no attempt is made to examine in any detail what is distinctive about Scotland. Breitenbach, Brown and Myers (1998), in their exploration of the contemporary experiences of women in Scotland, argue that the frequent confusion of concepts such 'British' or 'Britishness' with 'English' serves to obscure the Scottish experience. This confusion, they argue, means that the Scottish experience is often completely ignored. From an examination of the literature, it would appear that this is also a factor that exists in relation to sport. This chapter is an attempt to redress that balance somewhat by incorporating an extensive account of developments in Scotland.

Historical overview of state involvement in sport in the United Kingdom

Apart from a few sporadic successes by individual sports men and women, the latter decades of the twentieth century were characterised by a lack of international sporting success in the United Kingdom. Gardiner *et al.* (1998) argue that this lack of success put increased pressure on the state to play a more effective role in elite sport and to provide it with greater financial and material assistance. Compared to some other Western nations, the state's involvement in sport in the United Kingdom has been fairly minimal. Indeed, until the second half of the century there was virtually no direct state involvement in the framework and organisation of sport. Most sport historians are in agreement that it was not until the late 1950s and 1960s that governments' began to view sport as a legitimate governmental responsibility (Anthony, 1980, Coghlan, 1990, Hargreaves, 1986, Houlihan, 1991, Polley, 1998, Roche, 1993).

In his seminal analysis of the links between sport and power in Britain, Hargreaves (1986a) argues that increased state intervention in sport was the result of the interplay

of a number of social forces. Firstly, the profound social change of the post World War II era was manifested by the so-called "*problem of leisure*" (Hargreaves, 1986a, p.82) and the state's continuing concern over the potential for urban disorder, particularly by young men. Several official reports[35] in the late 1950s voiced these concerns and suggested that sport and physical recreation might help secure social order. Secondly, and most importantly in terms of this study, was the state's realisation that in a more competitive sporting world, British international sporting prestige was likely to suffer unless sport was state-aided to some extent (Hargreaves, 1986a). Norman Baker's (1996) study of the popular press's reaction to continued sporting decline in the immediate post-war period confirms the importance of sport to British national prestige. Baker's (1994) earlier study of Cabinet and Home Office papers between 1945 and 1948 substantiates this view and confirms that the Labour Government viewed sport and sporting success as critical to public morale and thus to the efforts of workers, which in turn was critical to economic recovery. Thirdly, Hargreaves argues that the maturation of the welfare state and the ideological pre-eminence of corporatism put increased pressure on the state to intervene in the everyday lives of its citizens. Finally, he highlights the role of organised interests in sport who, against a background of rising costs, falling incomes, increased demand brought about by changing patterns of leisure, and increasing international competition, were skilfully putting increased pressure on government to provide financial assistance (Hargreaves, 1986a).

The role of the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR) was crucial to developments in this period. From its founding, on the personal initiative of Phyllis Colson[36] in 1935 as the Central Council of Physical Recreation and Training (CCPRT), until the establishment of the Advisory Sports Council in 1965, the CCPR was the pre-eminent sports body in Britain. The CCPR was established, grant-aided by the Ministry of Education, and attempted to provide a national stimulus for sport and recreation (Roche, 1993). It developed elite facilities and coaching for a wide range of sports and acted as an umbrella organisation for the ever-growing number of

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[35]Albermarle Report, 1960 - Great Britain. Parliament (1960) *The Youth Centre in England and Wales* (Chairman : Lord Albermarle) (Cmnd 729), HMSO, London
Wolfenden Report, 1960 - Wolfenden, J. (1960) *Sport and the community, report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport*, Central Council of Physical Recreation, London

governing bodies of sport (Evans, 1974). It successfully lobbied successive governments not only for financial assistance for its own operation but for sport in general.

The CCPR was originally established as an English body, although from its earliest days, Wales was involved, primarily because the Ministry of Education also had responsibility for Welsh education. In Scotland however, there was a great deal of resistance to the notion that the CCPR should become the *de facto* sports quango for Britain and early offers of grant-aid from the CCPRT to operate in Scotland were refused (Brown, 1999). May Brown, secretary of the Royal Country-Dance Society and founder of the Scottish Women's Keep Fit Association, a well-known and respected figure in Scotland, successfully orchestrated a campaign to create a distinctly Scottish sports quango (Brown, 1999). In 1945, the Secretary of State for Scotland established a Scottish section of the CCPR, with Brown as its secretary. Northern Ireland, at the request of its Ministry of Education, came into the organisation in 1947 and for a short period the CCPR did become the voice of sport for the whole country (Coghlan, 1990). However, in 1953 the Scottish Education Department announced that it was taking over the Scottish section of the CCPR and it was renamed as the Scottish Council for Physical Recreation (SCPR) with May Brown as its general secretary, a post she would hold until 1968 (Brown, 1997).

The SCPR became the main vehicle for the implementation of Scottish Office sports policy from 1953 until 1972 when the Scottish Sports Council was established. It had similar aims to those of the CCPR which were to encourage participant amateur sports and the promotion of sporting excellence through the creation of elite facilities at Glenmore Lodge and Inverclyde and the development of national coaching schemes (Brown, 1997).

Wolfenden Committee and the establishment of the Sports Councils

Perhaps the single most influential development in this period occurred in 1957 when the CCPR commissioned a Committee, chaired by Sir John Wolfenden, to report on

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[36] Colson was General Secretary of the CCPR from 1935 to 1963

the ways in which sport could play a part in promoting the general welfare of the community. The Committee was charged with the following terms of reference:

> *"To examine the factors affecting the development of games, sports and outdoor activities in the United Kingdom and to make recommendations to the Central Council of Physical Recreation as to any practical measures which should be taken by statutory or voluntary bodies in order that these activities may play their full part in promoting the general welfare of the community."*
>
> Quoted in Coghlan (1990, p.8)

The Wolfenden Committee is significant to the history and development of British sport, because it was set up to examine the relationship between sport and welfare (Holt and Mason, 2000). The subsequent Wolfenden Report[37], published in 1960, contained fifty-seven paragraphs of conclusions and recommendations. Among the many and varied recommendations, one clearly stands out, namely that there should be a National Sports Development Council which would be an independent, centrally funded body, that would invest in, and develop, both elite and mass sport (Polley, 1998). Although it was initially agreed that the Wolfenden Committee enquiry would extend to the whole of the United Kingdom, the SCPR later requested specific representation. This request was denied, although advisors for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were permitted, and Wolfenden devoted a chapter to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. However, the Report concluded that apart from some minor points of detail:

> *"The essential factors affecting the development of sport are the same in all four countries; the need for facilities and for better coaching and administration, and the shortage of money for these things are common to all"*
>
> (Wolfenden, 1960, p.89)

The report offered a way forward for British sport and its publication generated debate both in and out of Parliament. At issue was whether or not it was necessary, or indeed desirable, for the state to have a greater role in the financing and organisation

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[37]Wolfenden, J. (1960) "*Sport and the community, report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport*", Central Council of Physical Recreation, London

of British sport. In general, the Wolfenden recommendations were compatible with the policies being developed by both the Conservative government and the Labour opposition (Anthony, 1980; Hargreaves, 1986a). During the general election campaign of 1959 both parties indicated their support for a Sports Council along the lines of the Arts Council (Whannel, 1983). The victorious Conservative government responded by appointing Lord Hailsham as Minister with special responsibility for sport in 1962[38]. His brief was to co-ordinate government sports policies through the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Housing and the Scottish Office (which retained executive responsibility in Scotland) (Theakston, 1987). However, sport was only one part of Hailsham's ministerial portfolio[39] and his views about the importance of his sport brief was made clear when he spoke of:

> *"... a need, not for a Ministry, but for a focal point under a Minister, for a correct body of doctrine perhaps even a philosophy of Government encouragement"*
>
> (Quoted in Central Council of Physical Recreation, 1991)

Whannel (1983) argues that Hailsham's performance as Sports Minister was somewhat mixed. Although government expenditure on sport rose under Hailsham's stewardship he dragged his feet over the proposed Sports Council (Whannel, 1983). Indeed, it would not be until 1965, under a Labour government, that a Sports Council would be established.

After their 1964 General Election victory, the Labour government immediately acted upon their manifesto commitment to establish a Sports Council. In February 1965 the government established the Advisory Sports Council with Dennis Howell, the Minister of Sport, as its first chairman (Polley, 1998). This was something of a political masterstroke because Howell was extremely well respected within sport and so the transition from purely voluntary control, under CCPR, to state intervention was much better than might have been expected. It is important to note, that the establishment of the Sports Council caused anger in Scotland, because no one in the

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[38]The appointment of Lord Hailsham is significant because it meant that for the first time sport not only had a voice in government, but also in the Cabinet. No Minister of Sport since that time has enjoyed Cabinet status.

[39] Hailsham was also Lord President of the Council and Minister for Science

Scottish Office or the SCPR had been consulted (Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, 1965). The resultant protest led to the creation of an Advisory Scottish Sports Council in 1968 on which the SCPR dominated. These developments introduced planning and co-ordination to the provision of sports facilities and provided a focus for the campaign to extend participation in sport in Britain (Houlihan, 1991). However, the Advisory Councils were not independent and had no responsibility for the distribution of funding to sport. This authority remained with the Department of Education and the Scottish Office. It would be another eight years before the original Wolfenden vision of an executive body, free from direct ministerial control, would finally be realised.

In England and Wales, the intervening years were characterised by a series of uncomfortable negotiations between the Advisory Sports Council and the CCPR while the relationship between the two bodies was worked out. In June 1971, in a written answer to a parliamentary question[40], the Conservative government revealed its plans for the future structure of sport in Britain. The Minister of Sport announced the government's intention to establish an independent Sports Council with executive powers, as well as two other independent Sports Councils in Scotland and Wales that would replace the existing advisory bodies. The die was cast for both the CCPR and the SCPR, for it was clear that the government would not continue to fund these bodies as well as the Sports Councils.

In Scotland, the SCPR was voluntarily wound-up on April 1st 1972 and the Scottish Sports Council took its place, a move which was in reality "*little more than a change of name*" (Brown, 1997, p.13). In England, the government also attempted to persuade the CCPR to voluntarily wind up its affairs and merge with the Sports Council. The CCPR were reluctant to do so, arguing that a consultative forum for the national governing bodies would be lost. However, the CCPR did eventually agree to voluntarily hand over its full-time staff and resources to the Sports Council. The CCPR then re-structured itself into an independent forum for national governing bodies of sport that remains in existence today. Interestingly, however, the history of

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[40] House of Commons Hansard, 1971 vol. 818 cols. W365-7

their relationship is extremely troubled and the legacy of tension between the CCPR and the Sports Councils still remains today.

On February 4th 1972, The Sports Council was formally established and constituted by Royal Charter and a new era in British sport began (Coghlan, 1990; Cashmore, 1996). The Sports Council was given specific responsibility for matters affecting England as well as overall responsibility for those affecting Great Britain. Responsibility for sport in the other Home Countries was devolved. Separate councils for Scotland and Wales were established by Royal Charter on January 21st 1972 and February 4th 1972 respectively. The Councils were responsible for their own national domestic matters but also had representation on The Sports Council, through their Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, for matters affecting Great Britain (Coghlan, 1990). The role of Northern Ireland was complicated by its troubled political situation, although legislation was promised[41]. While the aims of the Home Country Sports Councils, as enshrined in their Royal Charters, were largely identical, from the outset it was considered necessary to define more specifically the aims and objectives to which they would all work (Coghlan, 1990). It was deemed crucial that all of the constituted elements in the United Kingdom worked together constructively. The 1975 Government white paper on Sport and Recreation reported that a United Kingdom Affairs Committee of the four Sports Councils had been established in order to achieve a co-ordinated approach to common problems (Great Britain. Department of the Environment, 1975). That there was a need for such an explicit statement of common intent reflects the fact that historically, sport, like politics and society, sometimes organises itself as separate states and at other times as a single national entity.

Organisation of sport in the United Kingdom

Coghlan (1990) provides a comprehensive account of the uniquely complex and often bewildering way in which sport in pre-devolution Britain organised itself. The organisation of sport reflected the political and human structure of the United Kingdom. Sometimes sport, like the state, presents itself as one sovereign body - the

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[41]The Sports Council of Northern Ireland was finally established, by Order in Council, two years later in April 1974

United Kingdom. At other times, it presents itself as wholly separate - as Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland. This is further complicated by the status of Great Britain, which excludes Northern Ireland. In Northern Ireland the 'all-island' dimension - Eire and the four Ulster counties, complicates the situation even more.

Generally speaking, sports historians would agree that explanations for such complex development lie in the fact that Britain has a long-established tradition of sporting self-government (Allison, 1986; Hargreaves, 1986a; Houlihan, 1991; Jarvie and Walker, 1994; Roche, 1993, Whannel, 1983). Historically, organised sport developed in the home nations in broadly similar ways to the voluntary sector (Hargreaves, 1986a; Coghlan, 1990). It emerged in the public schools and universities during the nineteenth century, but quickly extended and developed a broader base across the country and across classes. As the scale and complexity of organisation increased, ruling bodies emerged to codify rules and procedures, and co-ordinate individual sports (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Garthone-Hardy, 1997; Hargreaves, 1986a; Hargreaves, J.A., 1994). These largely voluntary organisations, which became known as national governing bodies, established themselves as autonomous. Among national governing bodies of sport there is a wide variety of organisation: some are established on a UK basis, some on a British basis, while others have separate organisations for each Home Country level.

Coghlan (1990) argues that the establishment of The Sports Council in 1972 finally gave Britain a national body responsible for British affairs, in addition to those of England, with the Scottish and Welsh bodies responsible for matters specifically Scottish and Welsh. However, the Sports Councils do not constitute the only bodies with responsibility for sport and sport policy-making in Britain. Complex webs of independent administrative structures exist within sport and a very large number of public, voluntary and commercial bodies are involved in both the provision of sport and sport policy-making. Theodoraki (1996) argues that in order to evaluate the development of sports policy in contemporary Britain it is important to identify the sports policy authorities and their interrelationship. Such a task is undoubtedly made more difficult by the ad-hoc and devolved nature of the organisation of sport, in both the voluntary and public sectors.

'Main players' in sport policy-making in the United Kingdom

Roche (1993) identifies six 'main players' in sport policy-making in Britain. Two sporting organisations: the British Olympic Association (BOA) and the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR), both multi-sport organisations that have high prestige but little financial resources because they are self-governing and non-governmental. However, it is important to note that Roche (1993) fails to incorporate the Home Countries dimension into his analysis. For, while the BOA has always been assumed to be representative of Great Britain, the same cannot be said of the CCPR. Since its re-structuring in 1972, the CCPR has tended to assume a British mantle arguing that its membership includes some British bodies. The Scottish Sports Association (SSA)[42], the Welsh Sports Association and the Northern Ireland Council of Physical Recreation would no doubt dispute the claims of both the CCPR and Roche's analysis.

Roche (1993) also identifies three government agencies of which the Minister for Sport and his/her support staff are the most important. At the time of Roche's (1993) paper, they were part of the Department of National Heritage, which subsequently became the Department of Culture, Media and Sport under the current Labour administration. In addition, Roche (1993) highlights the Department of Education, which has responsibility for school sport, and at local government level, local authority recreation and leisure departments, who are responsible for public-sector sport facilities. The first report of the House of Lords Select Committee on Sport and Leisure (Cobham Report) also identified the fragmentary nature of governmental responsibility for sport:

> *"The multiplicity of organisations involved with recreation nationally is reflected in the fragmentary nature of Government responsibility. The organisations report to different Ministers, and nowhere can one say that Governmental interest in recreation is centred"*
>
> (First Report House of Lords Select Committee on Sport and Leisure, 1973, par 114)

This obviously creates formidable problems for policy development and co-ordination, which is, according to Houlihan (1991), exacerbated by the fact that the

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[42] The SSA was formed in 1983 as the Confederation of National Governing Bodies of Scottish Sport

Minister of Sport is a junior appointment and holds no cabinet status. However, Houlihan's (1991) analysis, like that of Roche's (1993), once again appears insufficient because of its failure to address the wider issues surrounding the devolved nature of Government responsibility for sport. Neither author makes any attempt to explore how the fragmentary nature of policy-making, being replicated in the Executive Agencies of the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland Offices, further complicates the process of sport policy making in Britain.

The sixth, and most visible agency, identified by Roche (1993), is The Sports Council. Like the other policy 'quangos'[43] set up in the 1960s and 1970s, The Sports Council was given the right to public finance, and by virtue of its Royal Charter status, was supposed to operate at 'arms length' of government. However, Polley (1998) argues, that it is difficult to see how a body which is constituted and funded by government, its members appointed by government and who, under the terms of its Royal Charter, has to "... *have regard to any general statements on the policy of our Government*" can possibly be truly independent. Roche (1993) also argued that the Sports Councils' real powers to finance and deliver policies were severely limited in comparison with some of the other five players identified above. For example, the funds made available to the Sports Councils for distribution to sport, through government grant-in-aid, is minimal when compared to that spent by local authorities. In 1998/99 (the last funding year before devolution), the English Sports Council received just over thirty-three million pounds (£33.5m) and the UK Sports Council eleven million pounds (£11.6m) from the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS)[44]. In contrast, local authority spending on sport in England and Wales in the same year was estimated to be almost £1,704 million (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 1999).

While Roche (1993) once again, fails to incorporate the other Home Country Sports Councils into his analysis, similar arguments have been put forward about the independence and effectiveness of the Scottish Sports Council as a policy-making body (Thomson, 1998; Thomson and Jarvie, 1999). This point is considered more

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[43]The Arts Council and The Countryside Commission
[44]Total DCMS spending on sport in 1998/99 (excluding Lottery monies) was estimated to be £49.5 million

generally by Allison (1998), who argues that many British sporting organisations are no longer as capable of independent action as they might have been in the past. The commercialisation of sport[45] and the increasing dependence on government finance, especially since the introduction of the National Lottery, means that few sporting bodies can afford to flout or ignore government policy. From Roche's (1993) analysis it is evident that the potential for disorganised, rather than organised, policy-making in sport is considerable, even without the additional complications brought about by the devolved nature of sport organisation in Britain. Coghlan suggests that the Wolfenden Committee's failure to specifically address the question of whether or not there should be individual sports councils in each of the Home Countries was perhaps "*where the fundamental mistake was made...*" (Coghlan, 1990, p.162). He argues that this resulted in an overlapping and duplication of administration and organisation as well as resources, and that ultimately the voice of sport was less clear (Coghlan, 1990). On the other hand, Jarvie and Walker (1994, p.3) argue, equally forcibly, that Scotland's unique constitutional position, with its own systems of law, education, religion and local government, gave Scottish sport a '*strongly national character*' that required a distinctly Scottish Sports Council to take full account of national aspirations.

Generally, sport policy has developed in similar ways in all the Home Countries since 1972. Successive Secretaries of State in Scotland have acted in accord with their colleagues who have responsibility for sport in England, and all four Sports Councils have implemented similar programmes, such as 'Sport for All'[46]. However, there have been some areas of activity where Scotland has taken the lead, as with sponsorship promotion and the development of sports science and sports medicine[47]. In terms of elite sport performance, the most significant development was the publication of "*Achieving excellence: co-ordinated action: developing performance and excellence in Scotland*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1994), the first document produced in the

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[45]The estimated size of the UK sports sponsorship market is £320 million per annum (DCMS, 1999)
[46]The Sport for All campaign, based on the Council of Europe slogan, was based on the idea that access to sport was a citizenship right, influenced government sport policy for two decades in the 1970s and 1980s. See McIntosh & Charlton (1985) for an evaluation of the policy.
[47]The Scottish Institute of Sports Medicine and Sports Science (SISMSS), a partnership set up in 1993 by the Universities of Aberdeen and Strathclyde and the Scottish Sports Council.

United Kingdom which specifically addressed the issues surrounding the development of elite level performance (Thomson, 1996).

Elite sport policy development in 1990s Scotland/ the United Kingdom

"Sport 2000: A strategic approach to the development of sport in Scotland" (Scottish Sports Council, 1989), identified the development of elite sport as a strategic aim of the Scottish Sports Council in the 1990s. *"Sport 2000"* was the first extensive sports strategy document produced in Scotland, and provided the strategic outline for Scottish sport to the end of the twentieth century. The report raised concerns about the standards of high-level performers in Scotland and noted the relative lack of improvement in relation to other countries. It recognised the importance and benefits of international sporting success and identified the mechanisms required to provide athletes with the assistance they needed to facilitate the attainment of international success. *"Sport 2000"* was not intended to be a detailed guide to the development of high-level performance and excellence and noted only that additional work was required to establish a plan of action. That plan was delivered by *"Achieving excellence"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1994), which was the result of an extensive two-year consultation process by the Scottish Sports Council's Consultative Group on Coaching. This report identified the people, structures and resources necessary to achieve higher performance standards in Scottish sport, and provided the rationale for the massive funding of the Scottish Commonwealth Games team of 1994[48].

The Commonwealth Games is the only multi-sport games in which Scottish athletes are able to compete for Scotland. The performance of the 1994 team was respectable[49], but when compared with previous Commonwealth team performances, ranked only fifth and was clear evidence of Scotland's failing performance standard relative to other countries. Disappointing international performances prompted a significant change of policy direction by the Scottish Sports Council. In 1995, the Council reported that it was going to focus its resources on youth sport and the

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[48]*"Overall, the Scottish Sports Council invested the equivalent of £1m in supporting the 1994 Commonwealth Games effort."* Taken from "Commonwealth Games 1994 debrief report...", Scottish Sports Council, 1994

[49]The team won a total of twenty medals, including six gold and a substantial range of Scottish records and personal bests (Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland, 1994).

development of sporting excellence (Scottish Sports Council, 1995a). The decision to target its limited resources was in sharp contrast to the policy pursued in the first two decades of the Council's existence when it developed a wide range of programmes consistent with its remit to develop sport in Scotland. This decision was not unique to Scotland and was mirrored in the policy statements from the other Home Country Sports Councils. Theodoraki (1996) argues that several policy developments in the early 1990s were a sign of the Conservative government's intention to shift the policy focus towards sporting excellence and leave 'Sport for All' and the development of mass recreation to market forces, the voluntary sector and local government.

From their inception in the 1970s, all of the sports councils attempted to extend to every section of society the beneficial effects of sport on social, educational cultural and health development (Coghlan, 1990). Influenced by the European Sport for All Charter[50], the main emphasis of this policy was to provide the best possible opportunities to the greatest number of people, although latterly they had attempted to target specific groups, such as women and the over fifties. Unlike Germany, for example, where 'elite' and 'mass' sport were dealt with as two separate entities, United Kingdom sports policy never divorced excellence from mass participation. Indeed, the Royal Charter of the Sports Council clearly states the aims were '*interlocked*':

> *" ... to encourage mass participation in sport and to promote excellence in sporting achievement. These aims are interlocked. The greater the number of people participating in sport the more chance of excellence emerging. The higher the achievements of the top performers, the greater the number of those who will be inspired to emulate them."*
>
> (Sports Council Royal Charter 1972)

Sports Minister, Iain Sproat, signalled this policy change in a ministerial statement to the House of Commons in July 1994[51]. He re-affirmed the conclusion of a 1991 government policy review, which had recommended that there should be a restructuring of sport in the United Kingdom. The Sports Council was to be replaced by two new bodies: a United Kingdom Sports Council, which would be responsible

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[50]European Sport for All Charter - set out the principles for a policy for sport for all.
[51]House of Commons Hansard, 1994 vol. 246 col. 584

for the achievement of excellence and the provision of sporting facilities at a United Kingdom level; and an English Sports Council which would have similar responsibilities to those of the Sports Councils' in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The Minister also announced a substantial change of focus for the new English Sports Council that would require resources to be re-deployed accordingly:

> *"In particular, the new body will withdraw from the promotion of mass participation, informal recreation and leisure pursuits and from health promotion. Those are laudable aims, but they are secondary to the pursuit of high standards of sporting achievement."*
>
> (House of Commons Hansard, 1994, vol. 246 col. 585)

There was a great deal of controversy over this policy shift by the government. The debate centred on the appropriate balance between the more general support of 'Sport for All' and the selective support of sporting excellence (*The Guardian*, September 29th 1994). The focus on sporting excellence was further reiterated in March 1995, when the Secretary of State for National Heritage, Stephen Dorrell, in a speech to the Recreation Management Conference, identified the government's objectives for sport:

> *"to ensure that talented competitors have the support necessary to allow them to exploit their talents to the full, because the success of the talented will encourage others to improve and because sport at the highest level will engage the wider community"*
>
> (Quoted in Theodoraki, 1996 Chpt.2)

The Secretary of State also announced that a white paper, outlining the government's plans for sport, would be issued later in the year. He noted that this document would reflect the Prime Minister's intention to use Lottery funding to ensure the achievement of the above-mentioned goals. Clearly, the introduction of the National Lottery offered sport its greatest ever opportunity to redress the effects of decades of under-investment.

National Lottery developments

The government set out its proposals for a national lottery in its white paper: *"A National Lottery Raising Money for Good Causes"* (HMSO, 1992). This report recommended that sport should be one of the five 'good causes' to benefit from the

Lottery[52]. The subsequent National Lottery Act, 1993 c.39 established that sport, like the other four good causes, would qualify for twenty percent of the available proceeds from the Lottery. The money for sport, known as the Lottery Sports Fund, would be distributed by all four Home Country Sports Councils, split according to their population as a percentage of the UK as a whole. Eighty-three percent for England, eight point nine percent for Scotland, five percent for Wales and two point eight percent for Northern Ireland. The money for sport from the National Lottery was in addition to the core grant-in-aid funding from the Exchequer.

When the Lottery Sports Fund began, only capital awards to build new sports centres, swimming pools or upgrade existing facilities could be made, although, very quickly, there were calls to extend Lottery Sports Fund provision to fund individual competitors (see House of Commons Hansard, 1995, vol. 267, col. 524W). Indeed, calls for state funding of elite athletes had been part of a ongoing debate about the organisation and funding of elite sport in the United Kingdom since the publication of the British Olympic Association's Competitors' Council report on the Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona (British Olympic Association, 1994). The report recommended that elite athletes should receive direct government funding to help them achieve and maintain international status. Such views were actually very much in tune with the government's thinking on sports policy which were laid out in their 1995 white paper *"Sport - raising the game"* (Department of National Heritage, 1995).

"Sport - Raising the Game"

With the publication of *"Sport - raising the game"* (Department of National Heritage, 1995) the government offered sport its greatest ever political profile. In a country where sport had rarely been perceived as an important political issue, the Prime Minister's enthusiastic recognition of sport's importance was a rare event. The document supported a more specific role for sport in schools in England and Wales, but is memorable primarily for its emphasis on the development of sporting excellence. It contained proposals for the funding and support of elite athletes and the establishment of a British Academy of Sport. The 'Academy of Sport' concept was

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[52] The other good causes being the arts, charities, heritage and projects to mark the year 2000.

modelled on the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS), which had been established by the Australian government in 1981 in response to the country's poor performance at the 1976 summer Olympic Games. The AIS was set up to recruit and prepare the best athletes in the country using the most up-to-date facilities and informed by sports science (Holt and Mason, 2000). Throughout the 1990s, the spectacular successes of Australian athletes and teams, in a whole range of sports, suggested that long-term planning and investment in elite athletes delivered results. Indeed, the 1994 Annual Report of the Australian Sports Council (ASC) identified a direct causal relationship between the level of funding for a sports and its competitive success (Holt and Mason, 2000). The Prime Minister, John Major, argued that a British Academy with world class facilities, funded through the National Lottery, would effect a '*seachange*' in the development of excellence in UK sport (Department of National Heritage, 1995). The recognition of the importance of sport was echoed in Scotland with the simultaneous publication of the Scottish Office policy paper, "*Scotland's sporting future: a new start*" (Scottish Office, 1995). Thomson (1996, p.42) argues that this was "... *a very complacent document*" which did not provide Scottish sport with a vision for the future. However, in common with the English document, it did outline the government's policy for excellence and specified the consultation process to consider a British Academy of Sport.

In response to the government's consultation paper, The Sports Council, with the guidance of the other Home Country Sports Councils, the Department of National Heritage and other key sporting bodies, produced "*The British Academy of Sport: a consultation paper*" (The Sports Council, 1995). It initiated an intensive and wide ranging consultation process which sought the views of the sporting community on the structure and content of the Academy. In the preface of this document, it was stated that:

> "*The Government itself does not wish to set up and run the Academy itself: instead it is laying down a challenge to the sports world to do so*"
>
> (The Sports Council, 1995, p.1)

Even before the Sports Council had begun its consultation period, the government had clearly stated what its preferred option for the new Academy would be. In an

interview published in the *Daily Telegraph*, Iain Sproat, the Minister of Sport, had made it clear that the government's preferred option was for a single Academy, located on a greenfield site somewhere near the geographical centre of the country (*Daily Telegraph* 5th December 1995). This view however, appeared to be out of step with that favoured by the sporting community. The Labour Party's response to the consultation paper, *"Creating excellence in British sport: Labour's proposal for a British Academy of Sport"* (Labour Party, 1996), reported that discussions with the major interested organisations indicated that the single greenfield location site appeared to be the least favoured option. This view was later substantiated by a government document *"Sport: raising the game- the first year report" (Department of National Heritage, 1996)* where the responses of sport's major governing bodies to the original Academy prospectus are re-printed (see Appendix 1). The single-site option also received little support from athletes themselves. A survey by the Top 100 Club, whose membership consisted of those ranked in the top six in the world in their sports, indicated that only eighteen percent of their members supported the government's favoured option. The Labour Party advocated the overwhelming view of sport, namely a multi-layered structure which built on the centres of excellence that currently exist and fed into a central headquarters (Labour Party, 1996). In July 1996, a prospectus was issued inviting bids from organisations and consortia to own and manage the British Academy of Sport. By the deadline of October 31st 1996, twenty-six bids had been received, which, by the time of the general election in May 1997, had been shortlisted to three bids.

Scottish Sport - World Class / Scottish Institute of Sport

In Scotland, the view of the Scottish Sports Council was very much in tune with the apparent majority view of sport. In their 1995 Annual Report, *"Investing in the Future"*, they argued that Scotland needed a number of centres of excellence, each covering one or more sports, drawn together under an umbrella body such as a Scottish Institute of Sport and linked to a British Academy network (Scottish Sports Council, 1995b). The idea of a Scottish Institute of Sport network was crucial to proposals that were beginning to emerge from an external advisory team 'Scottish Sport - World Class' set up by the Scottish Sports Council in response to a specific recommendation from "*Achieving excellence*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1994).

The advisory team, 'Scottish Sport - World Class', was set up to provide a strategic role in developing appropriate structures for the achievement of excellence and to play a part in its implementation. The team included top athletes, coaches, academics, representatives of the governing bodies of sport, local authorities and the Scottish Sport Council. In 1996, this team set out its proposals for developing high performance sport in Scotland in the plan *"Scottish Sport - World Class: A strategy for achieving excellence in Scottish Sport"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1996a). The plan identified the need for a better planning process by the many partner organisations involved in the production of elite athletes and elite performances, and the targeting of the limited resources available to key results and selected sports. The focus was on a Scottish Institute or Academy of Sport that would provide top Scottish athletes with the support they required, which would link with the British Academy of Sport. Also highlighted was the need for an integrated athlete support system which included financial, employment and educational resources to allow athletes to train and compete at the highest level (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b). It is important to note that women's sport is not mentioned in this strategy. The failure to acknowledge or indeed directly address issues of gender, or indeed other known equity issues in relation to elite sport, was clearly a missed opportunity for the Scottish Sports Council to make clear its commitment to addressing inequalities in elite sport via a mainstreaming approach.

In their 1996 Annual Report, *"Taking the lead"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1996b) the Scottish Sports Council acknowledged that direct financial support for Scotland's top athletes was essential if they were to compete with the world's best. Subsequently, and implemented in partnership with governing bodies, the Council introduced a pilot athlete assistance programme which offered grants between three thousand to ten thousand pounds to support top athletes.

Introduction of revenue funding

In 1996 Virginia Bottomley, the Secretary of State for National Heritage, announced changes to policy directions under Sections 26 (1) and (2) of the National Lottery Act:

> *"They will allow the Sports Councils likewise to consider applications for revenue funding to help develop sporting talent and skills,*

particularly of young people; and to consider applications for the funding of one-off major international sporting events."

(House of Commons Hansard, 1996 vol.275, cols. 69-70)

This allowed the four Home Country Sports Council's to develop revenue-funding programmes to assist with both athlete support and the bidding for and staging international sporting events. The Sports Council, and its successor body, the English Sports Council, whose lottery remit applied only to England, introduced a two-strand programme called 'World Class Performance' (WCPP). This programme supported awards to elite athletes, which were a contribution to their living costs, and also the funding of governing bodies to provide their athletes with top-class coaching, preparation and training, testing, sports science and sports medicine facilities (UK Sport, 1998). In Scotland, the Scottish Sports Council introduced the 'Talented Athlete Programme' (TAP). In contrast to the programme introduced in England where, apart from small awards to individual athletes for personal costs, funding is administered and delivered by Governing Bodies, in Scotland the system is administered directly to athletes. Individual athletes apply for support in two categories; Sports Costs - which provide support with competition, training and coaching, sports science and medicine, clothing and equipment, and in exceptional circumstances Subsistence Costs - which cover costs associated with general living experiences (Scottish Sports Council, 1998a). The system for funding athletes from sports that compete internationally for the United Kingdom or Great Britain (rather than for England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland) was more complicated. Under the provisions of the Lottery Sports Fund legislation, the cost of making Lottery awards available to these athletes was to be shared[53] by the Home Country Sports Councils, on the basis of advice given by the UK Sports Council. The first revenue awards to talented athletes were made in May 1997.

Developments under the Labour Government - May 1997 - July 1999

Government support of sport at the highest level continued after the General Election of 1997 and the establishment of the first Labour government since 1979. The Labour Party's proposals for sport had been set out in their pre-election policy paper

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[53]Funding was allocated, from home country funds, on the same pro rata basis that Lottery Sports Fund provision was divided up.

"*Labour's sporting nation*" (Labour Party, 1997). In a wide-ranging document, a national strategy for sport, a more strategic approach to sports funding, and a commitment to the development of a British Academy of Sport were promised. However, the most significant proposal was the plan to re-introduce the 'Sport for All' concept into sports policy. While the importance of excellence was acknowledged, and a commitment that funding and support of elite sport would continue under a Labour government, the document stated that:

> *"There is no point in focusing solely on excellence. The need to provide sporting opportunities for children and young people is the most crucial aspect of our strategy of sport for all. If they are given more access to sport at the foundation level then more children will continue to enjoy sport into adulthood, creating a greater pool of people from which talent can be developed."*
>
> (Labour Party, 1997, p.6)

The Labour government's commitment to 'Sport for All' was clearly spelt out by the new Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Chris Smith, in his first major policy statement on sport in the House of Commons in June 1997[54]:

> *"The concept of sport for all will govern and permeate all that the Government do for sport..."*
>
> (House of Commons Hansard, 1997 vol. 296 c. 1061)

However, he argued that rather than having to choose between aiming for sporting excellence or aiming for sport for all, the government believed that: *"the two concepts are complimentary and reinforce each other. They are not opposites."* (House of Commons Hansard, 1997 vol. 296 c. 1060). The most commonly used model to describe the sports system envisaged by the Labour government is the '*sports development pyramid*' (British Council, 1999). The model has four levels:

Foundation: Physical education and sport for young people. Main providers are schools, youth groups and sports clubs.
Participation: Health-related and community sport. Main providers are local authorities and private health clubs.

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[54] House of Commons Hansard, 1997 vol. 296 c. 1061

Performance: Organised Competition for smaller numbers of people. Main providers are voluntary sports clubs with support from the public and private sectors.

Excellence: Competition at national and international level for very small minority of people. Main providers are Sports Governing Bodies, Sports Council's, and Private Sponsors

(British Council, 1999)

The Secretary of State also confirmed the government's commitment to the development of a British Academy of Sport, although he announced that the concept of a single Academy was to be reviewed. In November 1997, it was announced that the United Kingdom Sports Institute network would replace the Academy of Sport concept[55]. The Institute structure would consist of a network of facilities throughout the United Kingdom, approximately eight locations in England, several in Scotland, and one each in Wales and Northern Ireland, with a small headquarters to co-ordinate. £160 million pounds of National Lottery funds were to be made available by the Home Country Sports Councils to finance the capital cost of the project. This structure was, according to Chris Smith, the preferred option of sportsmen and women who had made it clear that they required "... *a network of the best facilities with strong direction and leadership from the centre*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, Press Release 123/97). In December 1997[56] it was announced that Sheffield had been chosen as the site for the headquarters of the Institute.

In its pre-election sports policy paper[57] the Labour Party had promised to give the recently established UK Sports Council a much more prominent role:

> *"Labour believes the new UK Sports Council is the appropriate body to bring together all the major interests in British sport, to produce this national strategy."*
>
> (Labour Party, 1997, p.11)

This enhanced role was confirmed a year later with the announcement that it was to become a National Lottery distributor for the first time. In a written reply to a parliamentary question, Culture Secretary Chris Smith announced:

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[55] £160 million sports institute gets the go ahead, (Dept. Culture, Media and Sport 123/97)
[56] House of Commons Hansard, 1997, vol. 303 col. 77W
[57] Labour Party (1997) *"Labour's sporting nation"*, Labour Party, London

"I have agreed with my colleagues that we will radically change the United Kingdom Sports Council. The strengthened UK Sports Council will co-ordinate: support to sports which compete internationally as the UK. ... The Council will continue to operate at arms length from Government. It will receive public funding from me and that funding will be subject to an agreement about key priorities... The Council will, for the first time, have direct control over Lottery funding"

(House of Commons Hansard, 1998, vol. 313 col. 613)

This proposed change was not the only amendment to the National Lottery legislation planned by the new Labour government, and not the only one to affect sport. In 1998, the Government introduced a sixth 'good cause'[58], the New Opportunities Fund, which was introduced to allow Lottery money to be used to fund initiatives in health, education and the environment, such as healthy living centres, and out-of-school-hours activities. The introduction of the New Opportunities Fund was controversial, and many argued that Lottery funding was being used to pursue political agendas through the provision of additional funding for health and education. The Secretary of State, in the second major House of Commons debate on sport under the Labour government, argued that money from this Fund would be beneficial to sport in that it:

"...will enable people to gain greater access to sport, with leisure centres working with healthy-living centres, and sport as one of the activities in after-school clubs"

(House of Commons Hansard 1998, vol. 313 col. 613)

The net effect of the introduction of this new fund was that sport's share of income from the National Lottery dropped from twenty percent to sixteen percent (16.6%). A move, which a senior Scottish Sports Council official stated, would result in "*the capital programme just about wiped out*" (Elite Interview D1, Section 0, Par 101)[59].

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[58] The original five good causes were sports, the arts, charities, heritage and projects to mark the year 2000

[59]It should be noted that the proportion of Lottery funding received by the arts, national heritage and charities also dropped from twenty percent to sixteen point six percent (16.6%). Funding for Millennium projects remained at twenty percent, leaving thirteen percent (13.33%) for the New Opportunities Fund (Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations, 1998).

Sports cabinet

In the same statement to the Commons[60], the Secretary of State made another important announcement that would have a substantial impact on sport policy-making in Britain. Chris Smith announced the establishment of a Sports Cabinet:

> *"The Sports Cabinet will meet several times a year and will give the joint political direction which is lacking in the current arrangements. The group will bring together the Ministers responsible for sport in the four parts of the UK under my Chairmanship.As the Scottish Parliament and the Assemblies in Wales and Northern Ireland come into being the foremost member responsible for sport in each will take the place of the Government Minister for that part of the UK. The arms length principle which we continue to important will be preserved, but the Cabinet will fill the policy vacuum which would exist if there were no opportunity for a collective political discussion of the most strategic priorities for UK sport."*
>
> (House of Commons Hansard, 1998, vol. 313 col. 613)

The creation of a Sports Cabinet was part of a general government policy initiative to create joint ministerial committees that would co-ordinate policy-making with the devolved assemblies of Wales and Northern Ireland and the Scottish Parliament, Finance Committee (2002). Chris Smith's statement clearly indicates that the Westminster government intended to impose greater central control on sport policy-making in the post devolution period. Jarvie and Thomson (1999, p.90) argued that the idea of a British strategy sounded like a federal structure and could mean for example, that any specifically Scottish policies would have to be "... *policed through a British joint committee*". Policies approved by the Sports Cabinet would, according to Jarvie and Thomson (1999, p.90), exercise considerable influence in the Home Countries that could threaten the autonomy of individual Sports Councils. The response of the Home Country Sports Councils was, perhaps predictably, to emphasise their separate and autonomous status and the year following the 1997 General Election saw the publication of separate sports strategy documents from each of the Home Sports Councils[61], including the Scottish Sports Council's *"Sport 21:*

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[60] (House of Commons Hansard 1998, vol. 313 col. 613)

[61]The English Sports Council produced "*England, the sporting nation: a strategy*" (English Sports Council, 1997); In Wales, "*A strategy for Welsh sport: young people first*", (Sports Council for Wales, 1997); and in Northern Ireland, "*Starting well, staying involved and Striving for excellence: strategy for the development of sport in Northern Ireland 1997-2005"* (Sports Council for Northern Ireland, 1997)

nothing left to chance" (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b).

Sport 21

"Sport 21" (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b), produced after a massive consultation exercise, set out a strategy for Scottish sport in the twenty-first century. Significantly, *"Sport 21"* can be viewed as a patriotic document because of it's emphasis on nationhood and what it means to be Scottish, as expressed through sport. It was also a distinctly political document which attempted to capitalise on political developments occurring at the time which were about the deliver devolved government to Scotland. Indeed, in the foreword to the report the chairman of the Scottish Sports Council, Graeme Simmers, recommended that *"Sport 21"* should form the basis of any discussions informing the focus for sport in the Scottish Parliament (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b).

Brooks (2002) argues that the importance of national sporting success has been constantly and aggressively promoted by the media, and increasingly by governments, and is reinforced through a sense of national identity. *"Sport 21"* also adopted this strategy, highlighting throughout sport's contribution to Scottish culture, communities, and sense of national pride. Although *"Sport 21"* offered a distinctly Scottish approach to sport policy-making that was tailored to wider government philosophies of equity, social inclusion and empowerment (Thomson, 1998), the emphasis on national identity is somewhat problematic. Sport has always played an important role in the maintenance of hegemonic representations of national identity and the selection of particular sports as symbols of national identity is related to the struggles over national identity which are often highly gendered and ethnocentric (Brookes, 2002). Popular sport in Scotland is predominately male, which raises questions about attempts to present sport as a key factor in the construction of Scottish national identity (Bairner, 1996). This is clearly evident in the approach to resource prioritisation advocated by *"Sport 21"*. The eleven[62] 'Level 1' targeted sports, identified as "*producing the greatest overall benefit*", include five (bowling, cricket, football, golf and rugby) of the most entrenched sex-segregated sports in Scotland (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, p.20). In the specific context of elite sport, *"Sport*

[62]Athletics, badminton, bowling, cricket, curling, football, golf, hockey, rugby, squash and swimming

21" identified the work already done by the Scottish Sport - World Class Advisory Group, and noted that the detailed proposals for developing high performance sport in Scotland in the next century were those already set out in *"Scottish Sport - World Class: a strategy for achieving excellence in Scottish sport"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1996a). However, as was previously noted, because this document had failed to directly address issues of gender or race in relation to elite sport, these issues were therefore also '*missing*' from the *"Sport 21"* strategy. Integral to the elite sport strategy, and the ambitions of *"Sport 21"*, was the development of the Scottish Institute of Sport. Major developments in this area had taken place since the publication of the *"World Class strategy"* in 1996, most significantly the publication *"The Scottish Institute of Sport: a document outlining proposals for establishing a Scottish Institute of Sport"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1997).

Scottish Institute of Sport

"The Scottish Institute of Sport" (1997) document set out both the structure and the aims of the Scottish Institute of Sport (SIS). The SIS was to be '*athlete-centred and coach led*' and based on a delivery network of six 'Area Institutes of Sport' and a co-ordinating hub[63]. It was not envisaged that the Area Institutes would be single sites but rather networks of people, facilities and resources, that would provide athletes and their coaches with the services and programmes they required for quality preparation and top class performance. The SIS was officially launched in October 1998 by the Scottish Secretary of State Donald Dewar, who announced that twenty million pounds of Lottery funding would be provided by the Scottish Sports Council for the development of the SIS over five years[64]. Developments in Scotland were some way in advance of those in the rest of the United Kingdom, a point reiterated by Scottish Sports Council Chief Executive Allan Alstead in evidence given to the House of Commons Scottish Affairs Committee in May 1998:

> *"The aim of the institute in Scotland is to aim to be leading the field, as we are at the moment in fact, in the development of this concept. We*

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[63]During the implementation phase, the co-ordinating hub of the SIS was located at the Scottish Sports Council headquarters in Edinburgh. It later moved to a Lottery-funded (£1.1m) purpose-built headquarters Stirling in May 2002.

[64]Dewar announces team to put Scottish sport on the winning track, Scottish Office News Release: 2084/98, Scottish Office, Edinburgh

have gone a long way down the road and we are perhaps ahead of our friends in England and the other Home Countries…"

(Scottish Affairs Committee. Minutes of Evidence Wed 6th May 1998, p.9: 19)

Indeed it would be almost a year later before the launch of the English network by Secretary of State Chris Smith on March 1st 1999. In a written reply to a Parliamentary question[65] in the House of Commons, Smith announced an 'in-principle' commitment by the English Sports Council of £100 million to support the United Kingdom Sports Institute (UKSI's) network (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 1999). It is interesting to note that in the same statement the Minister made it clear that while funding of the network was a matter for the English Sports Council, decisions must be:

"… in line with the policy and financial directions I have given them, and in line with advice from the UK Sports Council and the UK Sports Institute when operational"

(House of Commons Hansard, 1999, vol. 326 col. 535-537)

Concerns about the enhanced role for the UK Sports Council and the UK Sports Institute and the effect on the autonomy of Home Country Sports Councils over their regional networks, had been expressed a year earlier by senior Scottish Sports Council executives during evidence given to the Scottish Affairs Committee. When asked by a member of the Committee (John McAllion) if the management of the Scottish network would be controlled by the Scottish Institute of Sport Graeme Simmers, chairman of the Scottish Sports Council, replied:

"The UK Sports Institute will, in fact, control ultimately all the regional centres in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. They will, to a certain extent, dictate policies, but equally sitting on the policy board of the UK Sports Council will be representatives of the four countries"

(Scottish Affairs Committee. Mins of Evidence 6th May 1998, p.9: 17)

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[65] House of Commons Hansard, 1999, vol. 326

When pressed by Mr McAllion about how the Scottish Parliament could control the policies of the Scottish Institute of Sport if policy is controlled at the UK level, Mr Simmers replied:

> *"Hopefully the Scottish representatives will be able to input their policies"*
>
> (Scottish Affairs Committee. Mins of Evidence 6th May 1998, p.9: 18)

The Government's determination to enhance the role of the UK Sports Council was further evidenced by an announcement made after the second meeting of the Sports Cabinet in March 1999. The Secretary of State, Chris Smith, announced that the Sports Cabinet had decided that the UK Sports Council would become a '*one stop shop*' for athletes that represent the UK in competition and belong to UK governing bodies[66]. Accordingly, he announced the government's intention to place a Parliamentary Order to make the UK Sports Council a Lottery distributor and earmarked £20.5 million for them to distribute under the World Class Performance and Events Programmes.

In July 1999, the government's re-structuring of the Sports Councils in the United Kingdom was completed with the passing of the National Lottery Order 1563, 1999, which amended the National Lottery Act, 1993, c.39, and gave the UK Sports Council distributor status. The UK Sports Council received 9.2% of Lottery Sports Fund income, and consequently, **sport**scotland's share declined from 8.9% to 8.1%. The expectation was that this arrangement would allow for a more streamlined application process for governing bodies of sport with a UK and GB remit, give UK Sport a stronger co-ordinating role when bidding for and staging world class events, and fund the headquarters of the proposed UK Sports Institute (UK Sport, 1999). It is interesting, and perhaps somewhat ironic, to note that on the very day that UK Sport became a Lottery Sports Fund distributor, July 1st 1999, the Scottish Parliament was officially opened and constituted by the Queen. As a result of both of these developments, sport and sport policy-making in Britain entered a new and fascinating phase.

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[66]Funding for medal prospects receives boost (Dept. Culture, Media and Sport Press Release 69/99)

Conclusion

Initiatives, such as the development of the "*Achieving excellence*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1994) strategy and the successful implementation of the Scottish Institute of Sport network, were considerably in advance of those in the rest of the United Kingdom, and clearly put Scotland at the forefront of the development of an UK elite sport system. Under the new devolved political arrangements, one might expect the capacity for this type of innovation to increase, as sport becomes a devolved function of the new Scottish Parliament. Increasing political autonomy in the United Kingdom, combined with the historically autonomous organisation of sport in this country, presents a considerable challenge for an elite sport system that is Olympic focussed. Sustained international sporting success requires initiatives to be set within an UK wide context and the plethora of interests, both political and sporting, is likely to hinder the development of that system. Extensions to the powers of the UK Sports Council and the establishment of the Sports Cabinet are developments designed to allow for greater central control of sports policy and to 'deal' with the Scottish Parliament and the devolved assemblies in Wales and Northern Ireland.

Despite these attempts by the Westminster government to centralise and regulate sports policy development in the post-devolution context, Jarvie and Thomson (1999) speculate that members of the Scottish Parliament might wish to retain a controlling interest in sport for three reasons. Firstly, because sport is perceived as an essential part of the fabric of Scottish life. Secondly, because of the substantial contribution sport makes to the economy. And finally, because any policy and financial directives made to the Scottish Sports Council by the newly empowered Scottish Executive will need to be seen to be both accountable, and in accord with, Executive social objectives, such as equity, social inclusion, empowerment and local decision-making. The Labour Party in its Scottish Parliament election manifesto[67] set out its commitment to a social policy agenda in Scotland. This document recognised the potential for sport to "*bring out the best in our people*" and to play a key role in the delivery of their social justice agenda (Scottish Labour Party, 1999).

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[67]Scottish Labour Party (1999) Building Scotland's future: manifesto for the Scottish Parliament elections, Scottish Labour Party, Glasgow

The implications of these major constitutional changes on sport policy-making in the United Kingdom will be explored in the next chapter. More specifically, it will examine how constitutional and institutional change impacts on elite sport policy-making and funding, and how those affect the development of the fledgling elite sport system in the Scotland. The impact of decisions made at the United Kingdom level and relations with the other Home Country Sports Councils are also assessed.

Chapter 4: Elite sport policy developments in the post devolution period (1999 - 2003)

Introduction and general overview

The significance of a study for policy can be developed by discussing formal policy initiatives (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). This chapter considers the development of the Scottish Executive's policy agenda for elite sport since devolution in 1999, reviewing the institutional and financial frameworks that guide the decision-making process for Scottish sport. Sport is a devolved matter, and this study concentrates primarily on sport policy and delivery in Scotland. However, because of the complex nature of the elite sport support system in the United Kingdom, any review of the policy-making and delivery mechanisms for elite sport in Scotland must give consideration to the wider United Kingdom position.

The framework for the funding, organisation and delivery of sport in post-devolution Britain is extremely complex and reflects the constitutional arrangements of the country as a whole. Central government is responsible for the overall development of sports policy in each of the devolved administrations. In England, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) is the lead body, although the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (OPDM) and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) also have roles to play because of their responsibilities for local government and education respectively. In the devolved administrations, policy is co-ordinated through the appropriate Executive departments[68]. These departments oversee the work of the Home Country Sports Councils (Sport England, **sport**scotland, Sports Council for Wales and the Sports Council for Northern Ireland) who are responsible for the co-ordination of sport at all levels and the distribution of exchequer and lottery funding. At the political level, discussion of elite sport and the strategic priorities for UK Sport, the Sports Council with responsibility for high performance sport at the United Kingdom level is set by collective discussion at the Sports Cabinet. Set up in 1998, before the establishment of the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the Sports Cabinet was one of a number of joint ministerial committees set up to co-ordinate policy-making with the devolved assemblies. The

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[68]The Sports Policy Unit, Education Department, Scottish Executive; The Sports and Lottery Branch, National Assembly for Wales; The Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure, Northern Ireland Assembly

Sports Cabinet, which meets twice a year, brings together the ministers with responsibility for sport in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. This group is charged with providing the direction, monitoring, reporting and accountability required to ensure the delivery of the elite sport support system in the United Kingdom (Elite Sport Funding Review, 2001). At both national and local authority levels the Sports Council's are an important link between government policy-makers and the numerous independent sports organisations. The Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR), the Scottish Sports Association (SSA), The Welsh Sports Association (WSA) and the Northern Ireland Sports Forum (NISF) represent the multitude of National Governing Bodies of Sport (NGBs) who administer the vast network of sports clubs in the United Kingdom. At the elite level, NGB's also work closely with specialist sporting organisations such as the British Olympic and Paralympic Associations and the Commonwealth Games Associations, who co-ordinate team selection, preparations and administration for major international competitions.

In terms of funding and delivery, local authorities are the main providers of sporting opportunities, particularly at the recreational and grassroots levels. It is difficult to provide an authoritative figure for government expenditure on sport because precise figures are not consistently identified in central and local government budgets. However, a recent study by the Leisure Industries Research Centre estimated that eighty-seven percent of the total government and lottery expenditure[69] in England in 2002 was distributed through local authorities (Great Britain, Department of Media, Culture and Sport and Great Britain, Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.32). The position in Scotland is similar. Local authority expenditure in the year 2001-02 was estimated to be £357 million[70] (**sport**scotland, 2002a) compared with the £32 million[71] distributed by **sport**scotland (**sport**scotland, 2002c).

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[69] Total expenditure on sport in 2000 was estimated to be £2.2 billion.
[70] 2001/02 data are provisional and subject to change
[71] 2001/02 **sport**scotland National Lottery Fund income: £26,189,501 Exchequer Funding: £13,534.3

Sports Councils

UK Sport funded by and responsible to, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has overall responsibility for the co-ordination and delivery of policy in support of elite sport in the United Kingdom. UK Sport takes the lead role among the Sports Council's for all aspects of high performance sport that require strategic planning, administration, and co-ordination at the United Kingdom level (UK Sport, 2002b). To ensure Home Country representation on this body, each Home Country Sports Council chair is a member of the UK Sports Council. UK Sport has specific responsibilities for:

- co-ordinated support to sports in the UK that compete internationally
- tackling drug misuse in sport
- co-ordinating policy for bringing major international sports events to the UK
- representing UK sporting interests at international level
- supporting governing bodies of sport that have a GB or UK remit

(**sport**scotland, 2002a, p.03.01)

As well as these policy and co-ordinating roles, UK Sport also distributes exchequer and lottery funding to national governing bodies and athletes at the very highest level of performance (see Table 4.1). UK Sport invests approximately £25 million[72] of Lottery funding each year through its World Class Performance and World Class Events Programmes[73]. It distributes Lottery funding to governing bodies and athletes in sports administered at a United Kingdom or Great Britain level with the potential to win medals at Olympic and Paralympic level within the current four-year Olympic cycle. Athletes not presently competing at the level of performance required by the UK Sport WCPP, but who have the potential to do so in the future, are funded and supported the four Home Country Council's. The situation is complicated by the fact that Home Country Council's also provide funding and support to elite athletes from sports that compete at Home Country rather than UK or GB level.

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[72]Which represents 1.533% of total UK Lottery income and 9.2% of Lottery Sports Fund income

[73] World Class Events Programme awards funding makes Lottery money available to organisations wishing to bid for major sporting events and typically meet up to one third of the total cost of staging the event

Table 4.1: UK Sport Funding

Year	Grant in Aid	Lottery Sports Fund
1997/98	£11,791,000	N/A
1998/99	£11,549,000	N/A
199/00	£12,327,000	£18,778,000
2000/01	£12,452,000	£23,735,000
2001/02	£16,381,000	£25,442,000
2002/03	£15,513,000	£21,100,000
2003/04	£19,600,000*	£19,985,000**
2004/05	£25,800,000*	£18,991,000**

Figures taken from UK Sport Annual Reports 1998/99 – 2002/03
* Figures taken from DCMS Press Release 209/2002
** Figures taken from UK Sport Lottery Strategy 2002-2005 – based on a low income scenario supplied by DCMS in June 2001 and reconfirmed in Jan 2002

All four Home Country Sports Councils also distribute lottery funding and support to elite level athletes and have their own performance programmes. Somewhat confusingly, Sport England's performance level funding programme is also called World Class Performance Programme (WCPP), which is organised and administered in exactly the same way as the UK Sport WCPP, but is aimed at sports that are organised at, and compete as, England. **sport**scotland and the Sports Council for Northern Ireland administer Talented Athlete Programmes (TAP) while the Sports Council for Wales has its Elite Cymru Programme. All three programmes distribute Lottery funds directly to athletes to enable them to buy the services they require. All athletes on Home Country high performance programmes who reach world class standards (except for those athletes from sports that are organised, and compete at, Home Country level) leave these programmes and progress to the World Class Performance programmes, operated by UK Sport. In 2002 there were fifty-five[74] Scottish athletes on UK Sport administered WCPP's (**sport**scotland, 2002a).

United Kingdom Institute of Sport

The establishment of the United Kingdom Sports Institute (UKSI) network further complicates the elite sport support system in the UK. The UKSI is a network of high performance centres that provide elite athletes and coaches with access to a range of sports science, sports medicine and education and IT services. The UKSI network is

[74]This number represents the total number of Scottish athletes on WCPPs in 2002. Athlete numbers on WCPPs are fluid and constantly changing. In contrast to the Talented Athlete Programme where athletes are reviewed and re-assessed annually, WCPPs review athlete numbers and performance standards regularly with athletes added and removed as determined by the Performance Director.

made of the four Home Country Institutes, along with a Central Services Team[75], which is part of UK Sport. UKSI centres in Scotland and Wales are already operational, and the English Institute of Sport is now established on all nine sites and will be fully operational by the end of 2003. Work on the UKSI network centre in Northern Ireland has yet to commence. The funding of the UKSI is complicated. The Central Services Team is a division of UK Sport which is supported by UK Sport exchequer funding. The Home Country Institutes (with the exception of the UKSI Cymru, which is an integral part of the Sports Council for Wales) are Lottery funded through individual Home Country Sports Council programmes (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.143).

The organisation, funding and service delivery to elite sport in the United Kingdom has undoubtedly been complicated by devolution. This has led to the development of a number of initiatives set within the UK-wide context, determined primarily by UK Sport, under the direction of the Sports Cabinet. However, it is important to recognise the right of devolved administrations and Home Country Sports Councils to develop and set their own sports policies and programmes. It is necessary therefore, to examine the development of elite sports policy in Scotland since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in July 1999, and to set that examination within the wider policy agenda of the Scottish Executive, which addresses distinctly Scottish problems and priorities and reflects Scottish values and aspirations.

Scottish sports policy (1999-2003)

While a lot has being written about post-devolution Scottish politics, Mitchell (2001) has questioned its value as a serious effort to understand contemporary Scotland and argues that too much of it has *"resembled the work of Scottish sports journalists ... fans with typewriters"* (Mitchell, 2001, p.222). This is a view shared by McGarvey (2001) who claimed that most of the recent works on the impact of devolution had focused almost exclusively on institutions to the neglect of more policy-focused concerns. McGarvey (2001) went on to argue that new political science work should

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[75]In December 1999 (DCMS 257/99) after a period of extensive consultation, the government announced that the original Sheffield hub or headquarters concept had been revised and that the network would now be administered by a smaller, more focused Central Services Team which should become a division of UK Sport, based in London

"... address the impact the new institutions have had on substantive policy-outputs and outcomes" (McGarvey, 2001, p.437). A review of the academic literature on post-devolution Scottish politics not only confirms the lack of policy-focused research generally but also revealed an almost complete lack of any consideration of the sports policy agenda. This gap in the literature means that it is necessary to map out the development of the elite sports policy agenda during the first session of the Scottish Parliament. It is important to identify and review the institutional and financial frameworks set up to guide the decision-making process for the delivery of the Scottish elite sport agenda, and to set that within a comparative UK context.

In July 1999, Scotland entered a new phase in its political, social and cultural development with the opening of the Scottish Parliament. Scottish sport, as a devolved function of that Parliament, also entered a new phase in its own development. Despite calls from both the Scottish sporting community and the media[76] for the Scottish Executive to establish a Minister of Sport with Cabinet status and a strong Scottish Parliament Sports Committee, sport was in fact relegated to junior ministerial status in the first Scottish Executive. The first Scottish sports minister was Rhona Brankin, former chairman of the Labour Party in Scotland. Brankin's appointment was especially notable because she was the first woman to hold the position of Sports Minister in the United Kingdom. In "*Working together for Scotland: Programme for Government*" (2001d), the Scottish Executive outlined their priorities for sport:

> *"Sporting and artistic excellence can inspire; participation can support the development of essential skills in Scotland's people while bringing them and their communities together. Participation in sport links with our priority objective of improving our health and sport is also important to our local and national sense of identity"*
>
> (Scottish Executive, 2001d, Section 2.14)

The development of Scottish Executive policy on sport is the responsibility of the Sports Policy Unit. However, since 1999, that policy has been guided by "*Sport 21*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b) the national strategy for sport produced by the

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[76] *The Herald* 15th April 1999 – Editorial – "Sporting Independence: national wellbeing would benefit"

Scottish Sports Council. The leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats endorsed the *"Sport 21"* strategy in *"Partnership for Scotland: an agreement for the First Scottish Parliament"* (1999). This document set out the policy principles and initiatives for the partnership Executive that would lead the Scottish Parliament during the first session (1999-2003).

The role of sportscotland

The Scottish Sports Council, or **sport**scotland as it became in 1999, is a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB)[77], and is the national strategic body for sport in Scotland. The Scottish Executive's commitment to operate an 'at arms length' policy with **sport**scotland was reiterated in a statement to the Scottish Parliament by the Minister for Education and Children, Sam Galbraith:

> *"I would like to think, however that we could take things forward in a non-political manner. That is one of the reasons why we have* ***sport****scotland: to try to keep politics out of the business of the distribution of funds. Once money is distributed to individuals and groups on a political basis, we will get it wrong. Decisions have to be based on what is best for sport, not what is best for our vote. People who would mix politics and sport do sport a great disservice"*
>
> (Scottish Parliament Official Report, Session 1 (2000) Vol. 06 No. 04 Col. 372)

There have been widespread and well-documented criticisms of the *'myth of the autonomy' of sport'* where sport is seen as something separate from society and peripheral to politics (Allison, 1998, p.709). It has been extensively argued that the conceptual separation of the state and social structures is not borne out by historical experience (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994) as has already been demonstrated in the previous chapter and will become apparent in this one.

sportscotland's mandate as set out in it's *"Corporate Plan 2000-2003"* (**sport**scotland, 2001a) and in accordance with it's Royal Charter, is to:

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[77]A Non-Departmental Public Body has been formally defined as "a body which has a role in the processes of national Government, but is not a Government department or part of one, and which accordingly operates to a greater or lesser extent at arm's length from Ministers" (Scottish Executive, 2001b, p.17)

- Play a leading role in partnership with the public, voluntary and commercial sectors, to drive forward "Sport 21" to develop sport in Scotland
- Advise Scottish Ministers on sport and physical recreation
- Implement Scottish Executive policy for sport and physical recreation
- Provide an overview, through consultation with partner organisations of sports development in Scotland
- Advise and assist partner organisations
- Play a major role in raising the profile of sport and highlighting the benefits of sport in society

(**sport**scotland, 2001a, p.23)

In order to address the above mandate **sport**scotland have developed a number of stated priorities across the three headline objectives that derive from *"Sport 21"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b): Widening opportunities, Developing potential and Achieving excellence. **sport**scotland's Achieving Excellence Directorate has responsibility for developing and delivering elite sport partnerships and programmes, including support for elite athletes, and the co-ordination of sport science and sports medicine services. The Directorate develops **sport**scotland's elite sport policy with partner organisations such as the Scottish Institute of Sport and the Area Institutes, the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland and the British Olympic Association.

To deliver the wider objectives of the *"Sport 21"* strategy, **sport**scotland must work closely with a range of key partners. These include local authorities, health boards, social inclusion partnerships (SIPs) and sports governing bodies. However, as a public body, **sport**scotland must also have close links with both the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Parliament. Working in partnership with the Executive's Sports Policy Unit, **sport**scotland has an important role in the delivery of wider government policy objectives in education, social inclusion and health. As part of that process, **sport**scotland recognised the importance of developing close working links with individual members of the Scottish Parliament, particularly those on the Education, Culture and Sport Committee and other Parliamentary Committees that have an

impact on sport policy. Links were established with all political parties, and **sport**scotland representatives also attend meetings of the Cross-Party Sports Group[78].

sportscotland's *"Corporate plan for 2001-2003"* (**sport**scotland, 2001a) set out the timetable for the delivery of *"Sport 21"* objectives to be reached by 2003, within a framework that responded to the Scottish Executive's stated policy priorities of education, health and social inclusion, and within the finite funding resources available to them. The strategy set out in *"Sport 21"* was reviewed in 2000 (with Rhona Brankin chairing the Review Group), to examine the progress made since the strategy was published. The review concluded that, while progress had been made across all three visions[79] the rate and progress had been different for each one (**sport**scotland, 2000, p.4). Greatest progress, the review concluded, had been made in the 'world class' vision. Highlights identified included the establishment of the Scottish Institute of Sport and the Area Institute Network, and the appointment of eleven full-time National coaches (**sport**scotland, 2000, p.4). In contrast, the review concluded that progress had been least obvious in the Widening Opportunities vision (**sport**scotland, 2000, p.4). It was noted that development on this vision was particularly important in light of the Executive's policy agenda developments since the publication of *"Sport 21"* (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b).

Social inclusion policy agenda

Social inclusion, improved public health and increased educational opportunities formed the basis of the Scottish Executive's policy agenda during the first Scottish Parliamentary session and **sport**scotland was anxious to highlight the value and contribution of sport to this agenda. One concrete development in this respect was the publication of the strategic plan for the distribution of Lottery funding for sport, *"Levelling the playing field: strategic plan for the distribution of Lottery monies 1999-2003"* (**sport**scotland, 1999a). Recognising the contribution of sport to the wider social and economic objectives, the strategy attempted to embody the policy

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[78]Cross-Party groups contain members from across the political parties who share an interest in a particular subject or cause

[79]Three visions of Sport 21: A country achieving and sustaining world class performances in sport; A country where sporting talent is recognised and nurtured; A country where sport is more widely available to all.

priorities of social inclusion, education and health, particularly in relation to children and young people, to which the Scottish Executive were committed. **sport**scotland officers were also key members of the Physical Activity Taskforce, established by the Scottish Executive in 2001. The establishment of a "*multi-agency taskforce committed to delivering Scotland as a nation of participants pursuing active lifestyles*" (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, p.145) had been a *"Sport 21"* proposal. In 2003, the Taskforce produced a strategy that set out recommendations for improving physical activity levels among the general population, setting age-specific targets for the following twenty years [80].

While *"Sport 21"* is the overarching strategy document on sport in Scotland, other documents, dealing with specific aspects of the Executive's policy on sport appeared in the post-devolution period. *"The role of sport in regenerating deprived urban areas"* (Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000), a study originally commissioned by the Scottish Office Development Department and **sport**scotland, aimed to describe the role played by sport in the regeneration of urban areas. Similarly, the white paper "*Towards a healthier Scotland*" (Great Britain, Parliament, 1999), outlined the importance of sport in promoting good health, while a report for the Education, Culture and Sports Committee of the Scottish Parliament, set out the role schools played in developing sport [81]. Perhaps not surprisingly, the first major debate[82] on sport in the Scottish Parliament, listed on the daily order of business as debate *"S1M-793: The Role of Sport in Social Inclusion"*, attempted to set sport within the wider social policy agenda.

Rhona Brankin, Deputy Minister for Culture and Sport, opened the debate for the Executive by emphasising the link between sport and the Executive's social policy agenda:

> *"Sport must have a strong and meaningful partnership with health and education in particular. It must look to itself, to be certain that it is doing everything in it's powers to eliminate all forms of discrimination*

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[80]Physical Activity Task Force (2003) *"Let's make Scotland more active: a strategy for physical activity"*, Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

[81] Report into Sport in Schools (2000) – 9th Report 2000 – Education Culture and Sport Committee [SP Paper 191, Session 1, 2000]

[82] Scottish Parliament Official Report Thursday 4 May 2000 (Session 1 (2000) Vol. 6 No. 4)

and exclusion. ...In developing sport and supporting opportunities for all, the Scottish Executive wants to achieve a more inclusive society in which respect is fostered and in which prejudice and discrimination have no part. We will seek to accentuate the positives of sport, its capacity to increase the self-esteem of individuals, build community spirit, increase local interaction, reduce crime, improve health and fitness and create employment"

(Scottish Parliament Official Report, Session 1 (2000) Vol. 06 No. 04 Col. 372)

In the context of this study, it is interesting to note that nowhere in Ms Brankin's statement or, indeed anywhere in the lengthy debate that followed, was there any discussion of elite sport or its provision. However, it was clear from the debate that a broad cross-party support for the Executive's wider policy agenda for sport existed. The Scottish Executive's wider policy objectives for sport were very much in line with those of the UK government at Westminster. *"A Sporting Future for All"* (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a) set out the framework through which the government's objectives for sport in England could be achieved. The strategy set out two priorities, and was underpinned by a clear goal:

"to ensure that every member of our society is offered opportunities and encouragement to play, lead and manage sport"

(Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a, p.55)

Priority one was to get more people of all ages and social groups taking part in sport, and priority two was more success for top competitors and teams in international competitions (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a). The strategy highlighted the contribution of sport to three particular areas of the government policy agenda where evidence suggested that high levels of sport participation could bring a range of important benefits to individuals and communities. Evidence was strongest in relation to the contribution of sport to health – for example: *"The Allied Dunbar National Fitness Survey"* (Health Education Authority and The Sports Council, 1992) and *"Health Update 5: Physical activity"* (Health Education Authority, 1995). The contribution of sport to education, where evidence suggests that school sport provides not only health benefits for young people, but also developed self-discipline and teamwork skills, was another area highlighted by the strategy (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 1999). A report from Ofsted (2000), the school inspection agency in

England and Wales, also found that schools that focused on sport and physical education raised academic standards more rapidly than their counterparts [83]. *"Arts and Sport"* (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 1999a), the Department of Culture, Media and Sport's social inclusion action plan, PAT10, provided extensive evidence of the role sport could play in both the social inclusion and neighbourhood renewal policy agendas. The extent of sports contribution to the government's wider social policy agenda was put into perspective by a recent review of the sport and social inclusion literature (Coalter, 2001a). The report, which was part of a wider study looking at the potential role of cultural services in the social inclusion policy agenda[84], concluded that while sport could play a positive role as an "*ingredient*" in wider ranging initiatives it should not be seen as "*the solution*" (Coalter, 2001a, p.53). Coalter (2001a) concluded that, while there was a widespread understanding of the theoretical arguments for the potentially positive contribution that sport could make sport, there was a lack of systematic monitoring and evaluation of outcomes of sport or activity-based projects. Coalter (2001a) argued that there was a need for a better understanding of the relationship between participation in sport and the conditions under which potential outcomes are achieved and maintained.

Like Scotland, Parliamentary debates on sport at Westminster[85] and in the Welsh Assembly[86] in the post devolution period are notable for the level of broad cross-party support for the wider sporting policy agenda (although Westminster debates also contained extensive discussion of elite sport provision). There were no substantive debates on sport in the Northern Ireland Assembly in the same period. Discussion of elite level sport provision was finally addressed by the Scottish Parliament in November 2000 during the second major Scottish Parliament debate on sport[87].

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[83]Ofsted (2000) "*Siddal Moor Sports College Inspection Report*", Ofsted, London

[84]"*Realising the potential of cultural services: making a difference to the quality of life*" (Coalter, 2001b) identified how the cultural services could contribute to the wider social, economic and environmental objectives of national and local government

[85] Sport – Thursday 4th May 2000 (House of Commons Hansard Vol. 349 Col 113WH) Social inclusion and sport – Thursday 22 Nov 2001 (House of Commons Hansard Vol.375 Col 139WH)

[86] Sports – Wednesday 24th November 1999 (National Assembly for Wales. Official Record pp.25-78)

[87] Scottish Parliament Official Report Thursday 9 November 2000 (Session 1 (2000) Vol. 8 No. 17)

Opening the debate on behalf of the Executive, Sam Galbraith, Minister for Education, Sport and Culture, demonstrated the Executive's commitment to sport in Scotland by announcing substantial additional funding to sport to accelerate the pace of implementation of *"Sport 21"* agenda. As a result of the 2000 Spending Review[88] an additional £6 million would be made available to sport in Scotland over three years. In practice, this meant that grant-in-aid funding to **sport**scotland would increase to £12.5 million, representing an increase of almost twenty percent on the planned budget (Scottish Executive, 2001a). The Minister also announced an additional £3 million per year for the next three years from the Lottery Sports Fund following a revised forecast of Lottery income (Scottish Parliament Official Report Thursday 9 November 2000 (Session 1 (2000) Vol. 8 No. 17 col. 1579). In line with the Executive's social policy priorities, the additional funding was to be targeted at three specific programmes. An expansion of the Active Primary Schools Programme, which aims to address the limited provision of physical education and sport in primary schools. To provide a network between national agencies, local government and clubs through the expansion of the local coaching development officer network. The third area to benefit from the additional funds were the forty-eight social inclusion partnerships in Scotland to ensure that there was an appropriate sports component in their programmes (Scottish Executive, 2001d). Once again, the Minister's statement was primarily concerned with explaining how sport funding was being deployed in areas that complimented and enhanced particular Executive policy objectives, and there was no substantive statement about elite sport policy. However, he did conclude his statement by extending his congratulations to Scottish Olympians and Paralympians, recently returned from the summer games in Sydney, and this initiated some discussion of elite sport in the debate that followed.

Sydney Olympics 2000

The 2000 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games in Sydney were the first big test of the impact of Lottery funding to elite sport. The performances were exceptional

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[88]"*Prudent for a purpose: building opportunity and security for all: 2000 Spending Review: new public spending plans 2001-2004"* (Cm 4807) – announced that the Devolved assemblies would decide how the monies allocated them would be spent. The document "*Making a difference for Scotland: spending plans for Scotland 2001-02 to 2003-04*" TSO, Edinburgh announced how these monies would be spent in Scotland.

and above all expectations, as was confirmed by a senior UK Sport Council member who, during an interview for this study, commented: *"I think what we didn't expect was what happened in Sydney"* (Elite Interview E8, Section 5, Par 31). In terms of medals won, (twenty-eight medals including eleven gold) this represented the best performance by a British Olympic team since the Antwerp Games of 1920. Tenth position in the medal table represented a radical improvement from the previous Games in Atlanta, where the team finished thirty-sixth, but surpassed the target of fifteenth position set by UK Sport. There were twenty-nine Scottish athletes in the British Olympic team, which represented just over seven percent (7.2%) of the total team. Scots athletes won three gold and six silver medals which was the best performance by Scottish athletes since 1912 and included the first ever individual gold medals won by Scottish women[89]. The performances of the Paralympic team were equally impressive. The team won one hundred and thirty-one medals, including forty-one gold, and finished second in the medal table. Once again, this surpassed the target of third set by UK Sport, and was the best Paralympic performance ever. There were twenty-five Scots in the Paralympic team (which represented twelve percent of the total team) and they won twenty-three percent of the medals, including seven gold, thirteen silver and ten bronze medals.

This success set the context for the first significant discussion of elite level sport in the Scottish Parliament when Irene McGugan, SNP spokesperson for sport, called for an amendment to the Executive's motion[90] to include a statement on elite sporting performance:

> *"accepting that the overall purposes of a sport policy should involve as many as possible, to encourage diversity, to sustain and maintain not only mainstream but also minority sports, including traditional Scottish sports, and to ensure a high level of international standard sporting excellence in Scotland"*
>
> (Business Bulletin 170/2000 Section F – Motions and Amendments)

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[89]Stephanie Cook in the modern pentathlon and Shirley Robertson in sailing.

[90](S1M-1325) *"That the Parliament recognises the contribution that sport makes to a modern inclusive society, to health and full and enjoyable life and as a positive and attractive alternative, for young people especially, to anti-social activities and criminal behaviour; notes the outcome of the first review of Sport 21; restates its support for Sport 21: Nothing Left to Chance as the strategic basis for developing sport in Scotland; welcomes the outcome of the 2000 spending review for support in Scotland; congratulates Team GB and the Scots in it on their performances in the Olympic and*

This motion was unconditionally accepted by the Executive and illustrates once again that there was, generally speaking, cross-party agreement on the development and execution of sport policy in the Scottish Parliament during the first parliamentary session. Indeed, the most notable and controversial sporting issues in the first parliamentary session in Scotland concerned the shortfall in funding for the national stadium at Hampden[91], and the Executive's high profile attempts to bring the Ryder Cup[92] and the European Football Championships[93] (joint bid with Eire) to Scotland. The period was also notable for the fact there were three different sports ministers in three years and changes in ministerial portfolios that saw responsibility for sport move from Education to Environment and finally to a new portfolio, Tourism, Culture and Sport.

Sport in the Scottish cabinet

Following the election of Jack McConnell as First Minister in 2001, Mike Watson became the Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport. Watson's appointment meant that, for the first time, sport had a direct seat in the Scottish Cabinet and presented an opportunity to raise the profile of sport within the Scottish Parliament. The new Tourism, Culture and Sport Group, which remained within the Executive Education Department, also benefited from the creation of a new post of Deputy Minister with specific responsibilities for sport[94]. While there was some disquiet about sport continuing to be tied to culture (*Sunday Herald* 2/12/2001), the move was generally welcomed by the sporting community. Anne-Marie Harrison, chief executive of the Scottish Institute of Sport, was one of many who were quick to grasp the significance of the cabinet reshuffle:

> *"I'm delighted to see sport being represented in Cabinet … and having a deputy minister gives us twice the firing power in Parliament"*
>
> (*Sunday Herald* 2/12/2001)

Paralympic Games, and commends and supports the Scottish Executive's bid to secure the 2009 Ryder Cup for Scotland, the home of golf'

[91] See: Scottish Parliament. Education, Culture and Sport Committee (2001) Report on Inquiry into the National Stadium: 5th Report 2001 [SP Paper 366, Session 1 (2001)]

[92]Scotland to host Ryder Cup in 2014 – Scottish Executive Press Release SE4077/2001

[93]Joint Euro 2008 bid goes ahead – Scottish Executive Press Release SE5425/2002

[94]Dr Elaine Murray, Labour MSP for Dumfries, was appointed to that post

Despite the higher profile given to sport, the combined budget for sport and culture in the year 2000-2001 was only £133 million of which just £10.3 million went to sport[95] (see Table 4.2). Official data demonstrates that government funding for sport is in fact very small. This can be put into some context by comparing the allocation for sport with that apportioned to the Arts. Data for the year 2002-03 shows that the Scottish Arts Council received £37,158.000 in Grant-in-aid funding, three times as much as sport (Scottish Arts Council, 2003). Although sport and culture budgetary projections for the next three funding cycles were set to increase to £146.7 million in 2001-02, £152.2 million in 2002-03 and £155.1 million in 2003-04 respectively, this represents a small decrease in real terms from £146.7 million to £144.3 million (Scottish Parliament, Finance Committee, 2002). The "*Draft Scottish Budget 2002-03*" (Scottish Executive, 2001a) indicated that sport's share of this money would also remain static, at £14 million, in each of the three funding periods. The majority of the allocation for sport, £12.5 million, goes to **sport**scotland for distribution.

Table 4.2: Exchequer & Lottery Funding received by sportscotland since 1999

	1999-00 £ million	2000-01 £ million	2001-02 £ million	2002-03 £ million	2003-04 £ million
Grant in aid	10.1*	10.3*	12.5[1][8]	12.5**	12.5**
Lottery Sports Fund	24.1*	25.6*	23.8[2]*	21.2[2]***	20.6[2]***

1. An additional sum of up to £1 million is being made available to **sport**scotland from amounts unspent from the Scottish Executive Programmes in the previous financial year
2. This is based on a medium forecast

* Scottish Parliament Written Answers Report Friday 26th October 2001 (S1W-18686)

** Scottish Executive (2002a) "*The Scottish Budget 2003-04: Annual expenditure report of the Scottish Executive – Detail*", Scottish Executive, Edinburgh,

*** Dept. Culture, Media and Sport estimates

sportscotland's "*Corporate plan for 2000-2003*" (**sport**scotland, 2001a) outlined how they planned to focus its resource allocation (both exchequer grant-in-aid and lottery funding) across all six stated priorities. The following allocation represents the expenditure in 2000/2001:

- Widening opportunities £11.51 m
- Developing potential £5.17 m
- Achieving excellence £11.63 m
- Children & young people £4.57 m
- Infrastructure for Scottish sport £0.77 m

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[95]Scottish Executive (2001) "*Draft Budget 2002-03*", Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

- Communicating value of sport £0.77 m
- Corporate support £1.7 m

(**sport**scotland, 2001a, p.7)

The allocation for elite sport provision at just over £11 million is the highest priority financially and represents a substantial investment. However, because much of the funding for elite sport is provided by the National Lottery there was a degree of uncertainty about future funding levels because of diminishing lottery sales. The level of support to sport through the Lottery has been a matter of concern for all five Sports Councils since 2000 when forecasts began to show a distinctly downward trend. The fear was that any reduction in funding would inevitably lead to cuts in all Lottery funded programmes, including those aimed at elite sport.

Impact of UK policy developments

In autumn 2000, in response to reports that lottery funding to elite sport was to be cut because of diminishing lottery sales, National Governing Bodies and their high profile athletes used Olympic successes to put pressure on the Government to maintain pre-Olympic funding levels. A constant message from athletes, coaches and the media during and immediately after the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, was how vital Lottery funding had been to their success (*Sunday Herald* 1/10/2000; *Sunday Times*, 1/10/2000, *The Herald*, 2/10/200, *The Times*, 4/10/2000). The government were quick to respond to this pressure and attempted to reassure athletes with statements from, firstly, the Sports Minister, Kate Hoey and, secondly, Culture Secretary, Chris Smith:

> *"I assure you that the lottery support for elite athletes between now and Athens will be maintained in line with inflation."*
>
> (*The Times*, Olympics Today, Wednesday Sept. 27 2000, p.6)

> *"Let me make it very clear. There will be no cuts. No back-sliding. The money will be there"*
>
> (DCMS Press Release 28/09/200)

The following extract from an interview with an UK Sport representative clearly shows that this campaign was orchestrated by UK Sport who pursued a deliberate strategy in order to maintain funding levels:

"Because essentially, the letters were written by UK Sport and people coming back, having had the best games since whenever, to say well we know you had a great games but we're actually cutting your funding by 20% because people aren't buying Lottery tickets. And that was a very hard pill to swallow but again I think UK Sport did exceptionally well politically to make sure that every Brit that won said that. So on return, before we could get the letters out we got a letter from Chris Smith at the time saying don't send out these letters we're going to maintain funding. Which was exactly the strategy that we adopted [pause] *so although it was seen, I guess, by Joe public as, that's appalling what the hell are UK Sport doing? It was very cleverly managed and we got the outcome that we needed..."*

(Elite Interview E11 Section 1, Par 25)

Assurances about funding were finally confirmed by Culture Secretary, Chris Smith in a statement following a Sports Cabinet meeting in October 2000. Smith announced that the government had agreed to commit one £100 million to the World Class Performance Programme over the next four years leading up to the Olympic Games in Athens (Department for Culture, Media and Sport Press Release 251/2000). At that same Sports Cabinet meeting, UK Sport were instructed to conduct a post-Olympic analysis of all sports that had received World Class funding in the run up to the Sydney games. The aim of this review was to establish how funding had been spent and identify where improvements could be made, particularly in respect of the needs of competitors (Department for Culture, Media and Sport Press Release 251/2000). The Sports Cabinet also concluded that an independent, high level enquiry into the operation of the World Class Performance Programmes was urgently required to establish if funding to elite sport was being spent efficiently and effectively. Two weeks later, the Prime Minister announced the appointment of Dr Jack Cunningham, MP as chair of the Elite Sports Funding Review Group. Dr Cunningham's brief was to lead a group of athletes and experts to examine the way the UK's top athletes were supported through the Lottery. Specifically, the group would examine two key components: the structure and funding of the World Class Performance Programme, and the underpinning support structures provided by the UK Sports Institute (10 Downing St Press Notice 19/10/00).

Cunningham Review of Elite Sports Funding

The findings of the Elite Sports Funding Review Group were published almost a year later on the 11th September 2001 (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001). The report considered the full range of issues relating to the elite sports support system including WCPPs, athlete and coach funding and the development of the UK Sports Institute. The review concluded that the system of support presently in place could not deliver a responsive, world class service that was athlete and sport centred, and recommended that:

> *"... radical steps need to be taken if we are to create a world class system capable of producing consistent success in the international arena"*
>
> (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001, p.4)

Recognising the uncertainties over future Lottery income and the need for stable funding for World Class Performance Programmes, the review recommended that UK Sport should receive additional Exchequer funding of ten million pounds per annum in the run up to the Athens Olympics (Elite Sport Funding Review Group, 2001). Another significant finding of the review was that elite sport in the United Kingdom was not yet accessible to all those with talent and called on government to ensure that:

> *"... sport continues to remove barriers and maximise opportunity, to recognise and challenge inequality and to create an environment in which everyone who wishes to reach the top in sport can do so without disadvantage or discrimination"*
>
> (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001, p.4)

Yet the review provides very little evidence to support or substantiate this view and makes no specific recommendations as to how the non-disclosed "*barriers*" are removed. Indeed, issues of equity and fairness are only discussed in relation to differences between athletes on different funding programmes operated by the various distributing bodies in the United Kingdom, and not to those differences among athletes on the same programmes.

The findings of the review were discussed at a meeting of the Sports Cabinet on October 31st 2001 where all five Sports Councils accepted and agreed to implement the majority of the report's forty recommendations (Department of Culture, Media

and Sport, 2002a). The remaining recommendations, which required additional funding from central government, could not be formally adopted by the Sports Cabinet at that meeting because they had to be discussed within the wider context of the Spending Review[96] that was ongoing at that time. That funding was finally made available to UK Sport in November 2002 as part of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport's Spending Review allocation (Department of Culture, Media and Sport Press Release 209/2002). As part of a total package of £14.1 million[97], £9.4 million, spread over two years, was made available to implement the remaining recommendations of the Cunningham Review[98]. Announcing the extra resources, Secretary of State, Tessa Jowell said:

> *"The Cunningham Review highlighted the need for more resources to support our elite athletes. This cash will remove some of the iniquities of the present system and enable athletes and coaches to concentrate on reaching the peak of their performance"*
>
> (Department of Culture Media and Sport Press Release 209/2002)

In the same statement, the Minister also stressed that these additional monies were not intended to address the issue of the potential shortfall in income for the World Class Performance Programme. She renewed the government's commitment to maintaining funding for UK Sport's World Class Performance Programme at £25 million per year up until the Athens Olympics in 2004 (Department of Culture Media and Sport Press Release 209/2002). This assurance came in response to an oral question that had been tabled in the House of Commons the previous week by Nick Hawkins (Conservative MP, Surrey Heath) that had cast doubts over the government's commitment to maintaining funding levels. Mr Hawkins stated that he had been told by leading sports administrators that:

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[96]Opportunity and security for all: investing in an enterprising, fairer Britain: new public spending plans 2003-2006, Cm 5570

[97] In addition to the £9.4 million allocated to the implementation of the Cunningham Review recommendations, a further £4.7 million was made available to UK Sports drug testing programme

[98] "*... living costs per annum to be the same for all athletes on WCPP; a new investment in personal coaches for athletes on WCPP; the delivery of an enhanced professional development programme for elite coaches; the establishment of a scholarship programme for existing and potential World Class coaches and sports science deliverers to extend their ability to work at elite level; an extension of the athlete medical scheme*" DCMS Press Release 209/2002

> *"... they are being briefed by the Minister's officials that, despite the successes of our sportsmen and sportswomen at the Sydney Olympics and the Manchester Commonwealth Games, their funding will be cut, and removed altogether in some successful sports, because lottery ticket sales are falling. That is what we are hearing from people at the sharp end whom the Minister's officials are briefing."*
>
> (House of Commons Hansard 18th Nov 2002 col. 351)

Once again, it would appear that the leading sports organisations in receipt of lottery funding had collectively and effectively used the political system to put pressure on government to make good its commitment to maintain levels of funding.

'One–Stop' concept

Also published in the post Sydney Olympics period was *"The Government's plan for sport"* (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001) an action plan designed to translate into practice the policy recommendations made in "*A sporting future for all*" (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a). While this comprehensive plan was primarily concerned with the development of sport in England, the recommendations on elite sport provision, would, if accepted, impact on all four Home Country Sports Councils. This report concluded that within the devolved political context, a co-ordinated approach was required to achieve the necessary coherence across the elite sport system from talent development through to the World-Class structure, and recommended a 'one stop''[99] funding process for all elite athletes. This would require UK Sport and the Home Country Sports Councils to agree on a simplified process for NGBs so that they would only have to submit one World Class Performance Plan covering all aspects of their programme from talent development through to the elite level. These all-encompassing plans would have to be prepared in conjunction with the Home Country governing bodies and would identify the need for Home Country delivery of certain elements of the plan. UK Sport was identified as the key sporting organisation to take the co-ordination role alongside the Home Country Sports Councils, while the Westminster government would continue to provide that role at the governmental level through the Sports Cabinet (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001).

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[99]The *"UK Sport lottery strategy 2002–2005: consultation document"* (UK Sport, 2001d) chronicles the development of the 'one-stop shop' or 'one-stop plan. A one-stop plan is a single plan that could be funded by several different agencies while a one-stop shop envisages only one funding body.

The *"Elite Sport Funding Review"* (Elite Sport Funding Review Group, 2001) also stressed the need for integration between the elite programmes of the Home Countries and the UK programmes and clearly supported UK Sport as the lead body in this process, making the following recommendation:

> *"It is recommended that clear guidance is provided by UK Sport to UK wide posts about the level of consultation and communication required with Home country Governing Bodies of Sport about the performance and development plans for their athletes and individual sports, and how these are integrated into those of the UK/GB NGB performance programme"*
>
> (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001, p.14)

However, the Group's findings were also sensitive to the position of the Home Country Sports Councils within a devolved political context and noted that:

> *"In the political environment of devolution and regionalisation the relationship between the constituent parts of the United Kingdom must not be strained and ways of balancing independent needs and common outcomes must be nurtured. It is important that the sports interests in the individual Home Countries are maintained".*
>
> (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001, p.14)

The devolution factor was also highlighted by two of the most influential sporting organisations in Great Britain in the run up to the General Election in 2001. The Central Council of Physical Recreation, which represents NGBs in England and Wales, issued its own election manifesto: *"Active Britain: a manifesto for sport and recreation"* (Central Council of Physical Recreation, 2001). It called for a new UK Sport and Recreation Act to resolve, what the CCPR maintained was, *"the current confusions in the organisation of sport..."* (Central Council of Physical Recreation, 2001, p.4). Devolution, it was argued, had "*...led to tensions between Home Country Sports Council with no strategic lead*" (Central Council of Physical Recreation, 2001, p.4). Devolution was also singled out by Simon Clegg, Chief Executive of the British Olympic Association, who when interviewed just before the 2001 election, claimed that "*devolution provides the greatest challenge to the sustained success of British sport...*" (*Daily Telegraph* 31/05/2001).

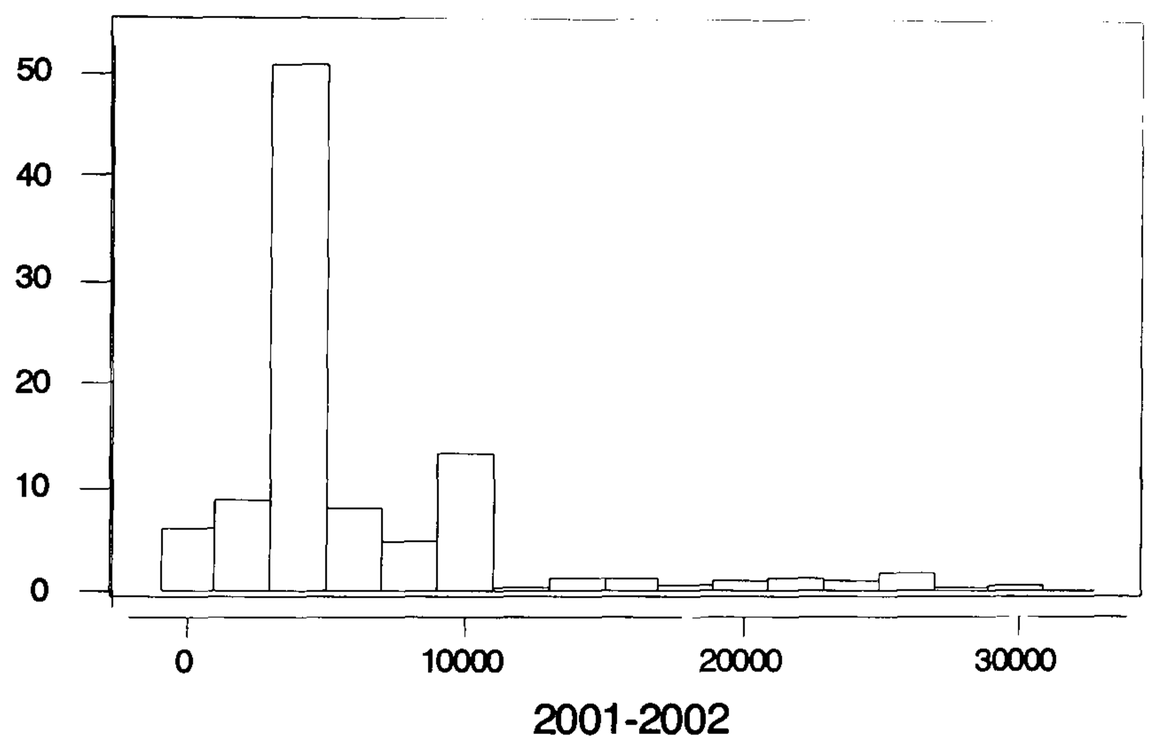
One of the main findings of the post Sydney reviews, was that there appeared to be some confusion over perceived inequalities in Home Country funding for athletes of equal talent (UK Sport, 2001d). Indeed, the UK Sports Minister Kate Hoey made some high profile comments to the media about what she saw as "*anomalies in the system*" (*The Times*, 27/9/00, Olympics Today, p.6). In two separate interviews (*The Times*, 12/7/00, p.33; *The Times*, 27/9/00, Olympics Today, p.6), Hoey cited specific examples of English athletes who either received no funding or less funding than their Scottish rivals who had lower rankings. The Minister stated that a core principle of the 'one stop shop' concept, advocated in "*The Government's plan for sport*" (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001, p.39), was that athletes from all four Home Countries should be funded "*fairly and equitably*". While concerns over funding differences between athletes on different programmes are expressed in both "*A Sporting Future for All*" (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2000a) and the implementation plan (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001), neither document directly addresses differences among athletes on the same programme, for example in terms of gender and race. As with the Cunningham Review, it would appear that the elite programmes operated by the different funding bodies were perceived to equitable and fair.

Equal funding for athletes of equal talent

It is evident that a significant factor in the confusion over perceived funding inequalities, is the fact that the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland Sports Councils administer and distribute lottery funding in a different way from the WCPP programmes run by UK Sport and Sport England. The fact that only one part of the total funding package awarded to WCPP athletes is paid to them directly explains, in part, the confusion over perceived inequalities of funding for athletes of equal talent. Not surprisingly, most of the examples highlighted by the media concern those sports that compete internationally as individual countries, and are funded exclusively by the Home Country Sports Councils. Most of the negative media publicity over this issue has been targeted at Scottish athletes and the Scottish Talented Athlete Programme, however a detailed examination of **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme

awards[100] shows that there are, in fact, very few Scottish elite athletes who receive substantial awards. Fig. 4.1 shows the distribution of **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) awards in the funding period 2001-2002. This reveals that over sixty-four percent of athletes in receipt of a TAP award received three thousand pounds or less and under ten percent received ten thousand pounds or more. Less than two percent (n = 9) of the four hundred and fifty four athletes who were in receipt of a TAP award in 2000-2001 received over twenty thousand pounds. Six of those nine athletes came from sports that are organised and compete at Home Country level.

Fig 4.1 Talented Athlete Programme Awards 2001-2002



Figures taken from **sport**scotland Lottery Fund press-releases 2001-2002

These figures appear to question the extent to which funding system anomalies are really significant in terms of differences in outcome for athletes' north and south of the border. On the other hand, and somewhat perversely, it is clear that funding system differences have been a contributory factor in the high-profile defections of top Scottish athletes[101] to other Home Country programmes.

In March 2001, Peter Nicol, the Scottish, British and World squash No. 1 and 1998 Commonwealth Games gold medal winner hit the headlines with his decision to play for England rather than Scotland. The English Squash Racquets Association, through

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[100]**sport**scotland issues a press release detailing the awards made to individual athletes (by sport) after each meeting of the Lottery Fund Revenue Panel which are posted on the **sport**scotland website http://www.sportscotland.org.uk/contents/mewsevents/pressarchive/

[101]Peter Nicol in Squash, Steph Hayward in Athletics and Robert Blair in Badminton

its WCPP programme funded by Sport England, was able to offer Nicol a package of sport specific support services, tailored to his individual requirements, suggested to be worth around £40,000 per annum, (*Sunday Times*, 23/3/01, p.18). As a professional athlete earning significantly more than the ceilings set by **sport**scotland, Nicol was not entitled to Talented Athlete Funding (or indeed to funds through WCCP Athlete Personal Awards Programme). However, Nicol argued that he did require coaching support, sports science support and physiotherapy in order to remain at the top of his sport. Nicol maintained that the package offered to him by **sport**scotland through the Scottish Institute of Sport could not match that offered by the English Squash Racquets Association (*Sunday Herald*, 25/03/01; *Sunday Times*, 25/03/01). Responding to the intense media attention, **sport**scotland chief executive, Ian Robson, and Commonwealth Games Council chair, Louise Martin, maintained that Nicol had been offered a very similar package of services by the Scottish Institute of Sport which he had failed to respond to (BBC Radio Scotland Lesley Riddoch show, 23/03/01). The arguments and counter-arguments surrounding Nicol's decision reflect the confusion and lack of understanding by athletes and media alike of the complexities of the elite sport funding system in the United Kingdom. While high profile defections in international sport are not confined to Britain, it is absurd that the complex nature of sporting organisation and devolved Lottery funding in this country appears to have led to a situation where Home Country based national governing bodies are 'competing' for the services of top athletes. However, because continued Lottery funding is dependent on success in terms of medals won, it is not surprising that some governing bodies are prepared to offer individual athletes with a proven record of international success, like Nicol, attractive packages of support to obtain their services. This was graphically illustrated by the fact that Nicol went on to compete for England at the 2002 Commonwealth Games in Manchester, winning a gold medal in the doubles and a silver medal in the singles.

In December 2001 Ian Robson, chief executive of **sport**scotland, announced significant changes to the Talented Athlete Programme (TAP)[102]. While most of the changes introduced resulted from an internal **sport**scotland review of the Talented Athlete Programme, some changes were specifically designed to prevent more high-

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[102]**sport**scotland Press Release 12/12/2001

profile athlete defections like that of Peter Nicol. Changes to the elite funding structure were designed to allow greater flexibility within some funding categories that would benefit Scotland's top athletes, such as the introduction of an earnings disregard to allow athletes to earn up to £7500 from sport before any deduction would be made from their TAP award. This change brought Scottish procedure into line with athletes on WCPP and also offered Scottish athletes an incentive to seek sponsors or earn a limited income from prize or appearance money. The number of categories eligible for living costs was also extended to accommodate a greater range of athlete circumstances. For example, athletes who combined their sport with a career would now be permitted to use up to twenty five percent of a £10,000 and above Sports Costs award towards their living costs, allowing athletes to cover loss of earnings when preparing for a major competition. Another change announced in this press release was designed to prevent anymore high profile athletes changing their nationality. In future, all TAP awards would include a nationality loyalty clause that would essentially, require all athletes in receipt of a TAP award to compete for Scotland, if required, for a four-year period after the receipt of that award:

> *"We also believe it is only right that if Scottish athletes are happy to accept support from the Scottish system then they must commit themselves to representing Scotland in international competition, and in the future, they will be required to sign a contract to this effect"*
>
> (**sport**scotland Press Release 12/12/2001).

Another complication of devolution that had an impact on potential international success, identified in both the post-Sydney reviews and the Elite Sports Funding Review (2001), was the restricted UK focus of sports such as badminton, hockey and boxing that only came together as a UK squad late in the four-year Olympic cycle. A key recommendation of the post-Sydney review process was that responsibility for funding these sports should be removed from the Home Country Sports Councils and transferred to UK Sport (UK Sport, 2001d). The Elite Sport Funding Review Group (2001) reached a similar conclusion, recommending that UK Sport should provide funding to all Olympic and Paralympic sports that meet the criteria, irrespective of whether the sports competed for the majority of the four year Olympic cycle as Home Country teams:

> *"This particularly affects hockey, badminton, curling and table tennis. If these sports meet the UK "World Class" Performance criteria an approved UK programme should, in future, be funded by UK Sport not the Home Nation"*
>
> (Elite Sport Funding Review Group, 2001, p.12)

This issue was raised again after the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City in February 2002. The Games provided another important benchmark of the impact of Lottery funding, this time in winter sports. The Games were of particular interest in the Scottish context because forty percent (n = 20) of the Great Britain team were Scottish, reflecting the strong tradition of Scottish athletes in winter sports at the highest level. Significantly, fifteen of the Scottish athletes selected were funded by **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme while only five were supported through a UK Sport funded World Class Performance Plan. In terms of medals won, the performance of the British team at the Salt Lake City winter games was the most successful since 1936. Team GB won three medals (one gold and two bronze) which equalled the target set by the British Olympic Association. Scottish athletes took two of the three medals won[103]. Despite the successes of Scots athletes on the British team, Simon Clegg, chief executive of the British Olympic Association, once again used the vast media interest in Team GB after the curling victory to restate his views about the potential threat of devolution on British sporting success:

> *"Devolution provides the single greatest challenge to the sustained success of sport because under the Olympic Charter until such time, and only if we move from devolution to independence, we are required to compete as a combined team from Great Britain and Northern Ireland. British sport has to accept that devolution is here and here to stay, but the challenge is to ensure that for all 35 Olympic sports a British structure and philosophy is put to ensure that every talented young athlete, irrespective of their Home Country origin, is able to reach their full potential".*
>
> (British Olympic Association Press Release, 23/2/02
> http://www.olympics.org.uk/saltlake/sl_news.asp?sl_press_id=67 –
> accessed 25/02/02)

Ian Robson, chief executive of **sport**scotland, immediately responded to this statement by reminding the public that the women's curling team had been funded

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[103]A gold medal in women's curling and a bronze medal for Alain Baxter in the slalom (skiing), although Baxter was subsequently stripped of this medal as a result of a positive drug test

exclusively by the Talented Athlete Programme and supported by the Scottish Institute of Sport:

> *"If you put talent and the right support together, any lingering doubt is removed once for and for all that Scotland can deliver world-beating athletes"*
>
> (*The Herald*, 25/02/02, p.11)

Game Plan

Just before the Winter Olympics, Prime Minister Tony Blair announced that he had instructed the Cabinet Office Performance and Innovation Unit (PIU) to carry out a joint study, with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, examining long-term sports policy[104]. The aim of the review was to identify gaps in the government's existing sports policy and develop an overall strategy for guiding government decision-making on sports policy from grassroots to elite level (Great Britain. Cabinet Office, Performance and Innovation Unit, 2001). While the scope of the study was primarily concerned with government sports policy and delivery in England, the PIU scoping note emphasised the need to set the study within the wider UK context and noted that the impact of devolution would be a significant factor for investigation (Great Britain. Cabinet Office, Performance and Innovation Unit, 2001).

After much delay, the results of this review were finally published in December 2002. In the months leading up to publication there had been several high profile leaks to the media about contentious elements of the content, most of which were not included in the final report. However, the minutes of the UK Sport Council meeting of November 12th 2002 do confirm that there had been contentious elements in early drafts of the document and that these had been removed from the final report:

> *"Chairman met with the Secretary of State regarding the Strategy Unit Report. Chairman reported that the primary authors are no longer involved. The document has been re-written from a government perspective, removing the contentious recommendations."*
>
> (UK Sport Council minutes November 12th 2002)

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[104]House of Commons Hansard 1st Feb 2002 col. 569W

The report entitled "*Game Plan: a strategy for delivering Government's sport and physical objectives*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit[105], 2002) is a wide-ranging document providing a blueprint for sport in England from the grassroots through to the elite level. The review concluded that government should adopt a 'twin track' approach of increasing participation in sport and physical activity, and developing sustainable improvement in success in international competition (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.7). While most of "*Game Plan's*" recommendations reinforced those previously made in "*The Government's Plan for Sport*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2001), this was a much more ambitious document with a wider remit that encompassed the wider agenda for sport and physical activity. "*Game Plan*" was very critical of the existing context in which sport operated and made a number of proposals to radically reform the sporting infrastructure in the United Kingdom. Recommendations were underpinned by five key principles:

- Less duplication of function, with clearer separation between fund distribution and service delivery
- Better co-ordination and co-operation between bodies
- Greater accountability to government, with better non-executive scrutiny
- Better accountability to customers, and focus on users needs
- Increased organisational effectiveness and efficiency, with reduced admin costs

The review found that the structure of the sport delivery system was overly complex and inefficient and concluded that significant organisational reforms to Sport England and UK Sport were needed (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.162). To reduce bureaucracy and increase funding directly to sport, the review recommended that both Councils should become "*customer- focused investors*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.173) rather than deliverers of services, thus becoming smaller bodies with significantly reduced operational costs[106]. The review also

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[105]Formally the Performance and Innovation Unit

[106]Major organisational changes to Sport England were subsequently announced - these included a substantial reduction in staff numbers from 570 to 250, a new regional organisation and a new senior management team. It was also announced that many of Sport England's 75 programmes and initiatives for sports clubs were to be scrapped as part of a strategy to cut down on red tape. In future, funds would be available from two streams; one organised and distributed on a national basis and one regionally - Information taken from: Sport England (2003) The Player, Spring 2004 and Press Release

concluded that the boards of both organisations should be replaced by smaller, non-executive bodies which would guide strategic direction and be able to provide more effective scrutiny of their funding agreements (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.175). In order to achieve this, board members should, in future, be chosen for their non-executive and business expertise, rather than as representatives of sport stakeholder groups (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.175).

In the context of high performance sport, and restating arguments made in "*The Government's Plan for Sport*" (Great Britain, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001) and "*Elite Sports Funding Review*" (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001), the report made some radical recommendations to deal with the challenges arising from devolution. Most significantly, it concluded that funding and service delivery of high performance sport in a devolved context needed to be rationalised and better co-ordinated. The report made four specific recommendations:

- Recommendation 5.3 (a) "Simplification of which sports are funded at a devolved and which at a UK level"
- Recommendation 5.3 (b) "Implementation of a one-stop plan approach to NGB funding"
- Recommendation 5.3 (c) "Continuation of the NGB modernisation programme"
- Recommendation 5.3(d) "Improved co-ordination of high performance sport at UK level"

(Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, pp.136-142).

Recommendation 5.3(a) called for a simplification, where possible, of which sports are funded at UK level and which at devolved level (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.136). UK Sport was identified as the most appropriate body to take responsibility for high performance funding, including talent development, for all sports that compete at UK level in any competition (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.132). This means that UK Sport would, in effect, become a one-stop

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23.04.2003 – http://www.sportengland.org/press_releases/streamline–sport-england.htm (accessed 23/04/03)

shop for high performance funding for many sports, and represents a significant change to the present system. The report identified twenty-three UK level sports which, under the existing system, receive their high performance funding (WCPP) from UK Sport but have to apply to all four Home Country Sports Council's for their potential and talent development programmes. The report recommended that a sports-led consultation process should be established to assist the National Governing Bodies (NGB's) representing the twenty-three identified sports to decide the extent to which they wished to be funded by UK Sport for all high performance programmes (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.131).

The review acknowledged that the transition to the preferred UK one-stop shop for high performance funding would be easier in some sports than others. Table 4.3 shows the breakdown of the sports by category. The seven category A sports do not compete at devolved level in any significant competition and a transfer to the proposed one-stop shop could be accomplished quickly and with little difficulty. Category B and C sports are those where a transfer to a one-stop system could be more difficult because they compete at a devolved level (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, pp.134-5). However, evidence gathered from the review suggested that some sports in both categories would still opt to be funded either entirely by UK Sport or entirely from the Home Country Councils (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.135).

Table 4.3 Breakdown of Overlap Sports

Category		Sports
A	UK/British Sports which do not compete in major competition at HCSC level	Canoeing Equestrian Ice Skating Rowing Sailing Water Skiing
B	UK/British Sports which occasionally compete at Home Country level (Commonwealth Games)	Athletics Cycling Gymnastics Judo Shooting Swimming Triathlon Weightlifting Wrestling
C	Devolved Sports which come together at UK/British level for the Olympic Games	Badminton Basketball (UK does not currently qualify for the Olympics) Boxing Hockey Curling Table Tennis Volleyball (UK does not currently qualify for the Olympics)

Adapted from data in "*Game plan: a strategy for delivering Government's sport and physical activity objectives*", Fig. 5.15, p.135 (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.134)

The review concluded that the one-stop shop system for elite sport fund would only be a successful if NGBs competing at a UK/Great Britain level produced one-stop plans for the development of their sport (from grassroots to elite level)[107]. These plans, which would form the basis of funding agreements between NGBs and UK Sport (Recommendation 5.3(c)), would establish clear relationships between UK NGBs and the Home Country Sports Councils and NGBs to ensure that planning and funding strategies are aligned. The plans would also have to establish the Home Country delivery of elements of the plan and ensure that the transition of athletes from Home Country to UK level is smooth and equitable. It is clear that the success of such plans require much better co-operation and closer co-ordination between Sports Councils at both officer and Council levels (Recommendation 5.3(d)). The review recognised that this could prove difficult in the devolved context where Home Country Sports Councils have the right to set their own policies, and will on occasion (e.g.

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[107]As previously advocated by both "*The Government Plan for Sport*" (Great Britain, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001) and the "*Elite Sport Funding Review*" (Elite Sports Funding Review Group, 2001))

Commonwealth Games) fund NGBs to compete against each other (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.140). The review concluded that in the context of devolution, where co-ordination and co-operation between and among the five Sports Councils was vital to international success, the Sports Cabinet needed to become a more effective body:

> *"Its role should be to co-ordinate support for high-performance sport at the UK level, resolving disputes where they arise. By common agreement, it may also wish to discuss the performance of HCSCs and strategies for improving grassroots participation. A place within the formal machinery for discussing issues of common concern between Westminster and the Devolved Administrations (the Joint Ministerial Committee) might help put the Sports Cabinet on a more formal footing."*
>
> (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.141)

The recommendations of this review which relate to elite or high performance sport within the devolved context clearly indicate the Westminster government's preference for a more "*unified, systematic and customer-led approach*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.147). It concluded that the present system of support to elite level sport did not require additional public investment, but that the current levels of investment needed to be better focused and utilised more efficiently. However, the review also recognised that any proposals to deal with the challenges brought by devolution had to take account of each Home Country priorities, requirements and aspirations. Interestingly, some of the other Home Countries were also conducting their own reviews of sport[108] in the same period. A comprehensive examination of the Scottish review gives and indication of how closely Home Country aspirations and recommendations for elite sport were to those proposed by the "*Game Plan*" strategy.

Sport 21 review

In Scotland, the new "*Sport 21*" strategy was developed through a four stage consultation process which began in May 2002 and ended in March 2003 with the

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[108] Sport 21 review in Scotland; Quinquennial Review of Sport England; Quinquennial Review of the Sports Council of Wales and a Welsh Assembly Culture Committee Review of Sport in Wales

publication of the updated strategy document: *"Sport 21": 2003-2007: the national strategy for sport: shaping Scotland's future"* (**sport**scotland, 2003a). One of the aims of this review process was to raise the political profile of sport and **sport**scotland attempted to do this by aligning the strategic timetable of Sport 21 with Scottish Parliamentary cycles, hence the timeframe 2003-2007. The significance of the review was recognised by the Mike Watson, Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport, during a debate on sport in the Scottish Parliament in June 2002:

> *"I welcome this opportunity to recognise sport's valuable contribution to improving the quality of life for everybody in Scotland. I want to highlight the important work that is under way to update "Sport 21", our national strategy for sport, to inform and guide the way forward in developing sport in Scotland"*
>
> (Scottish Parliament Official Report Wednesday 12 June 2002, col. 12552 (Session 1 (2002))

The Minister confirmed that **sport**scotland had been asked to take forward its threefold vision of widening opportunities, identifying and nurturing potential and achieving excellence and update the *"Sport 21"* strategy. A Ministerial forum, chaired by the Deputy Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport, provided the strategic oversight of the review. Despite the Scottish Executive's continuing endorsement for the three vision ethos of *"Sport 21"*, the Minister made it very clear that the government's main priority was the widening opportunities vision which was most closely aligned to the Executive's wider policy objective of promoting equality and social justice:

> *"All the benefits of sport should be available to everyone, regardless of gender, age, background or personal circumstances. That is why, of the three visions of "Sport 21", we place the highest priority on widening opportunities and increasing participation in sport."*
>
> (Scottish Parliament Official Report Wednesday 12 June 2002, col. 12554 (Session 1, 2002))

One of **sport**scotland's key objectives for the new strategy was to align sport to the Scottish Executive's policy agenda, and accordingly the new strategy was underpinned by a commitment to promoting equality and social justice:

> *"Promoting equality and social justice will underpin all aspects of the future development of sport in Scotland, and will be pursued across all areas. The approach will also seek to promote equal opportunities and fight discrimination due to gender, ethnicity, disability, religion, or on any other grounds"*
>
> (**sport**scotland, 2002a, p.05.02)

This extent of this commitment was made clear during a *Sport 21* Roadshow[109] in Glasgow on the 10th December 2002. During a presentation on the proposals for the updated strategy, **sport**scotland's chief executive, Ian Robson, outlined how **sport**scotland planned to focus its resource allocation (both exchequer grant-in-aid and lottery funding) across the three visions during the 2003-2007 funding period: 50 % Widening opportunities; 25% Potential; 25% Excellence. While **sport**scotland's funding commitments reflect the Scottish Executive's stated priority of increasing participation, the review recognised the importance of both grass roots sport and performance sport. The promotion of excellence is viewed as "*neither elitist nor excluding*" (**sport**scotland, 2002b, p.05.06) because it brings benefits not only to individuals but also to the wider community in terms of generating national pride and increasing interest in participation.

The targets for the original *"Sport 21"* strategy were used as the basis for the review and the new targets that emerged from the review process. With respect to elite level sport, the review looked back at the four *"Sport 21"* targets that were committed to achieving and sustaining world class performance: direct support; performance planning; sports medicine and sports science; international success. The establishment of the Scottish Institute of Sport and the six Area Institutes had a significant impact on all four targets. In terms of direct support, the Institute network delivers support directly to Scotland's talented athletes and top coaches and also co-ordinates sports science and sports medicine provision. The appointment of twenty-one full-time, high performance national coaches[110] in targeted sports was viewed as a success in the area of performance planning, as was the development and implementation of national governing body performance plans in eighteen sports (**sport**scotland, 2002a).

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[109]**sport**scotland held nine Sport 21 Roadshows between December 4th and December 19th in Shetland, Aberdeen, Orkney, Glasgow, Inverness, Edinburgh, Stornoway, Langholm and Perth

[110]Eleven coaches funded by the National Coaching Programme and ten appointed by the Scottish Institute of Sport.

However, the review concluded, that despite these successes, too many Scottish athletes still had to compromise their training and competition schedules with the need to earn a living (**sport**scotland, 2002a, p.05.14). This was perhaps most graphically illustrated at the Commonwealth Games in Manchester in the summer of 2002 where less than half the Scottish team were Lottery funded.

Commonwealth Games

The final *"Sport 21"* target relating to international success and the only measurable target delivered in the review period, concerned the performance of the Scottish team at the 2002 Commonwealth Games in Manchester:

> *"Ensure that Scotland has its most successful team ever at the 2002 Commonwealth Games in Manchester"*
>
> (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b, p.25)

The Commonwealth Games is the only multi-sport event in which Scottish athletes are able to compete for Scotland, and was the first significant event since the introduction of Lottery funding to the elite sport sector, where the performance of Scottish athletes could be measured. While the Scottish team in Manchester won a total of thirty medals, including six gold, eight silver and sixteen bronze, and finished ninth in the medal table, the *"Sport 21"* target was not achieved because it did not better the performances of the teams of 1982 and 1986. Nonetheless, the performance was, a significant improvement on the previous Games in Kuala Lumpur and was viewed positively by Scotland's First Minister, Jack McConnell:

> *"The Commonwealth Games were a chance for our sportsmen and women to represent Scotland on the international stage and our team has really done us proud in Manchester... But if we are to build on this success we – the Scottish Executive, **sport**scotland and governing bodies – must work together to plan for the longer term. Increased funding has seen us win medals in Manchester but we can do better"*
>
> (SEFM045/2002 - 1/8/2002)

It is interesting to note that much of the credit for the improvement in performance was attributed to the introduction of Lottery funding and Scottish Institute of Sport support. However, only half (49%, n=102) of the athletes on the team (n = 207) were in receipt of Talented Athlete Programme awards, and twenty-nine (14%) athletes

were on World Class Performance Programmes. Only a third (34%) of the athletes on the Commonwealth team were Scottish Institute of Sport athletes, although Institute athletes did win thirty-six percent of the total medals won by the team.

Executive support for high performance sport

The Executive's continuing support for high performance sport and for the Commonwealth Games in particular, was confirmed in November 2002 when the First Minister announced the establishment of the Commonwealth Games Fund. This new Fund, which would receive £2.5m from the Executive's contingency fund, would help to meet the costs of team training and preparation and participation in future Games and Commonwealth Youth Games (SEFM081/2002). Calling on the business sector to match the Executive's support, Jack McConnell said:

> *"It is time to stop the uncertainty about government funding for our teams. I want future Commonwealth Games to be even greater success stories for Scotland. We need to invest in our athletes now to reap rewards in the future, and we need the team organisers to know that they can plan for years ahead."*
>
> (SEFM081/2002)

The Executive's commitment to the Commonwealth Games is an indicator of importance it places on Scottish international success and its role in generating the illusive 'feelgood factor' and its effect on national well being. This was clearly expressed by Jack McConnell in a speech made during the Manchester Games when he said:

> *"While it is obviously a great honour for athletes to represent Great Britain, I know that flying the flag for Scotland is a particularly special moment for our sporting stars."*
>
> (SEFM045/2002 - 1/8/2002)

This view was reiterated by **sport**scotland during the review process for the new strategy. "*Sport 21" 1998-2002: the national strategy for sport: time to consider progress review document*" (**sport**scotland, 2002a) set out the arguments for the value of excellence. The 'feelgood factor' and its effects on national well being was used to justify continued high levels of funding to elite level sport in Scotland. This view was also employed by the "*Game Plan*" strategy document in England which found that, despite the difficulty quantifying it, the 'feelgood factor' was "... *the clearest*

rationale for public investment in high performance sport" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.117). Interestingly, the **sport**scotland document also argued that the promotion of excellence was justified because world-class performances attract large numbers of spectators which in turn inspires participation (**sport**scotland, 2002b). The "*Game Plan*" review also explored the link between international success and participation but it concluded that while interest levels might be raised, there was little academic evidence for sustained increases in participation (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002, p.117).

The Women's Sports Foundation (2003) are concerned about the use of the 'feelgood factor' as the rationale for public investment in high performance sport because it only applies if the public is aware of the event and success in the first instance. Significant achievements by female athletes should create a sense of national pride but because they receive little attention from the national press the general public is often left in ignorance. The Women's Sports Foundation (2003) argue that a recognition of the role that the media play in reporting of women's and men's sport and how this may affect their relative 'value' must be incorporated into the "*Game Plan*" strategy. Significantly, no mention is made throughout the "*Game Plan*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002) document about the lack of representation of sportswomen by the media and the potential links to under participation.

As part of a number of initiatives feeding into the development of the Welsh Assembly's sports strategy, the Assembly's Culture Committee made a number of recommendations about the media image of female athletes. In their "*Policy Review of Participation in Sport and Physical Exercise*" (2003), the Committee noted that a number of respondents to the Review had noted that the minimal media coverage of women's sport in Wales had resulted in a lack of positive role models for women in sport. While accepting that the media representation of women was not in the control of the Assembly, the Review concluded that that the matter should nonetheless be addressed. Welsh Sports Minister, Jenny Randerson, had earlier highlighted the Assembly Government's commitment to raising the media profile of women's sport:

> *"We need to persuade broadcasting companies and other media to change their approach so that women's sport is given a higher profile across the board"*
>
> (National Assembly for Wales Press Release 3/12/2002)

Disappointingly, both the "*Game Plan*" (Department of Culture, Media and Sport and Cabinet Office, Strategy Unit, 2002) and revised "*Sport 21*" strategies, fail to specifically address gender issues in relation to elite sport. Responding specifically to the "*Game Plan*" report, Anita White, UK Co-ordinating Group on Women and Sport chair, made her frustration about this oversight clear in the following extract from the Women's Sports Foundation response to the strategy document:

> *"She felt that the report is "gender blind" and puts us back 20 years, Where, she asked, is any evidence of the Government's commitment to mainstreaming gender issues throughout all policies, programmes and resources?"*
>
> Quoted in "*Game Plan: a strategy for delivering the Government's sports and physical activity objectives*" (Women's Sports Foundation, 2003)

Clearly, this view is as pertinent to the Scottish context as it is in the English/UK context. It is crucial that the government and Executive commitment to addressing gender inequalities via a mainstreaming approach is filtered down and replicated through the Sports Councils and all of the bodies that they fund. The Women's Sports Foundation (2003) have called on the government to ensure that all Sports Councils in the United Kingdom work together to guarantee that generic equity standards are integrated into sports strategies and funding agreements.

Revised Sport 21 strategy

The revised Sport 21 strategy, devised jointly by **sport**scotland and the Scottish Executive, was launched on March 25th 2003, just days before the end of the first Scottish Parliament session. The presence of three deputy ministers and the endorsement of a fourth[111] at the strategy's launch reflects the reviews' wide-ranging agenda and is testament to **sport**scotland's attempts to give sport a higher political

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[111]Elaine Murray (Tourism, Culture and Sport); Des McNulty (Social Justice) and Frank McAveety (Health and Community Care) were present at the launch. Nicol Stephen (Education) was not present but publicly endorsed the document (News Release SEtc172/2003).

profile. Restating sports' contribution to the Executive's wider social justice agenda Elaine Murray, Deputy Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sports said:

> *"Sport 21 - Shaping Scotland's Future is just one thread in a complex web of initiatives. These will enhance Scotland's future through improved health, reduced street crime, improving our quality of life, boosting self-esteem and providing us with an invigorated sense of national pride"*
>
> (News Release: Sect172/2003)

The strategy, which is guided by eleven key targets[112], provides a framework for the development of Scottish sport in the next four years. It is important to recognise that "*Sport 21: 2003-2007*" (**sport**scotland, 2003a) is a strategy for Scottish sport and not a strategy for **sport**scotland. The delivery of the strategy's eleven targets will be the collective responsibility of a range of key 'facilitating' partners, the Executive, local authorities, the health, education, culture and tourism sectors as well as national governing bodies, and clubs.

Target 7, "*To have had over 250 Scots being medallists on the world stage*" (**sport**scotland, 2003a, p.27) is the only target that directly addresses elite sport. The strategy underscores the importance of elite sport in its own right but also attempts to demonstrate the connections with the widening participation and developing potential visions:

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[112] Eleven key targets by 2007:

- 80% of primary schoolchildren will be physically active
- progress made towards ensuring that all schoolchildren take part in at least two hours of high quality physical education classes a week
- 85% of those aged 13-17 will take part in sport, in addition to the school curriculum, more than once a week
- 49% of those aged 14 and over in Social Inclusion Partnerships areas will take part in sport at least once a week
- 55% if those aged 17-24 will take part in sport more than twice a week
- 42% of those aged 45-64 will take part in sport at least once a week
- over 250 Scots will have been medallists on the world stage
- Scotland will have over 500 sports halls available to the public so that 70% of Scots have access to a hall within 20 minutes walk
- Over one million Scots will play sport in membership clubs
- Scotland will sustain 150,000 volunteers who are contributing to the development and delivery of Scottish sport
- Every local authority area's community planning process will have contributed to the targets of Sport 21 Shaping Scotland's Future 2003-2007

"The aim of target 7 is more successes for Scotland's high performance athletes on the world stage. This is a legitimate aspiration in its own right for a nation that values sport and appreciates the contribution that 'achieving excellence' makes to the national psyche. It also demonstrates the appropriate outcome of policies designed to widen participation and develop potential. And the benefits do not simply ascend from grass-roots level to elite athletes as role models, high performance athletes contribute by encouraging people to play sport, and by boosting the aspirations of those already involved. This underscores the complementary and mutually reinforcing nature of Sport 21's three visions."

(**sport**scotland, 2003a, p.19)

This target was set with regard to the number of Scottish medallists over the period 1999-2003, when it was estimated that there were just fewer than two hundred and fifty (**sport**scotland, 2003a, p.27). Facilitating partners identified as having delivery responsibilities on this target are NGBs, Scottish Institute of Sport and **sport**scotland. The contribution that elite athletes can make to the wider sports agenda as role models was further emphasised by Sports Minister Mike Watson in a separate announcement launching the Sports Champion scheme (News Release Sect 166b). £1.65m will be invested in this scheme, which will see Scotland's top sport stars visiting schools to encourage young people to adopt a healthy and active lifestyle. It is one element of the Active Schools Implementation plan which is part of the Executive's Physical Activity strategy.

Two associated reviews by **sport**scotland that coincided with the "*Sport 21*" review will undoubtedly influence the implementation process for the updated strategy. Firstly, the revised Lottery strategy, "*Raising our game*" (**sport**scotland, 2003b) published by **sport**scotland in October 2003, which lays out the strategy for the distribution of Lottery funds to sport in the period 2003 – 2007. Secondly, the ongoing Programme Review, which involves a strategic review of all **sport**scotland funding programmes and the working relationships with key partners to establish if they can deliver the shared targets of the revised "*Sport 21*" strategy. It is envisaged that the outcome of this review will lead to fundamental changes in the administration of all **sport**scotland funded programmes. While the results of this review were not available at the time of writing (November 2003), information from the Lottery strategy sheds some light on the likely outcomes of the programme review process.

The Lottery strategy document confirms **sport**scotland's plans to merge lottery funds with exchequer funding in order to provide a more integrated approach to funding, which was one of the major recommendations of the KPMG organisational review of **sport**scotland (2001)[113]. Existing funding programmes will be replaced by a simplified single application process within one of three "*categories of investment*" (**sport**scotland, 2003b, p.19) which broadly follow the three visions of "*Sport 21*": Widening Opportunities, Developing Potential and Achieving Excellence. A senior **sports**cotland official interviewed during the qualitative phase of this study (see Chapter 6) provides some insight into how this new process will operate:

> "*...the idea that the applicant will come in once per year as opposed to applying say for, twelve to twenty programmes they'll come in once with their development plan. Against that plan we will assess what we can fund and what we can't. So it will be a one-off application and that will include their coach, from an elite perspective, the funding of their juniors at an elite end and their talented athletes. So that, including facilities, including their infrastructure, its everything in one go. And rather than programmes there are just funding categories and that might sit upon their development plan. You know a funding category for their elite performance would be a heading, below it coach, junior coach, squad*"
>
> (Elite Interview E14, Section 2 Paragraph 13)

The data presented in the "*Raising the game*" (**sport**scotland, 2003b) is premised on the assumption that £25 million of Lottery funding per annum will be invested in the four-year period to 2007. In the context of ever declining Lottery sales, this level of funding can only be sustained by allowing **sport**scotland to draw upon its reserves of uncommitted funding, which is unlikely to be sustained beyond 2007. Figure 4.2 shows Department of Culture, Media and Sport predictions for Lottery Sports Fund allocations based on high, medium and low forecasts.

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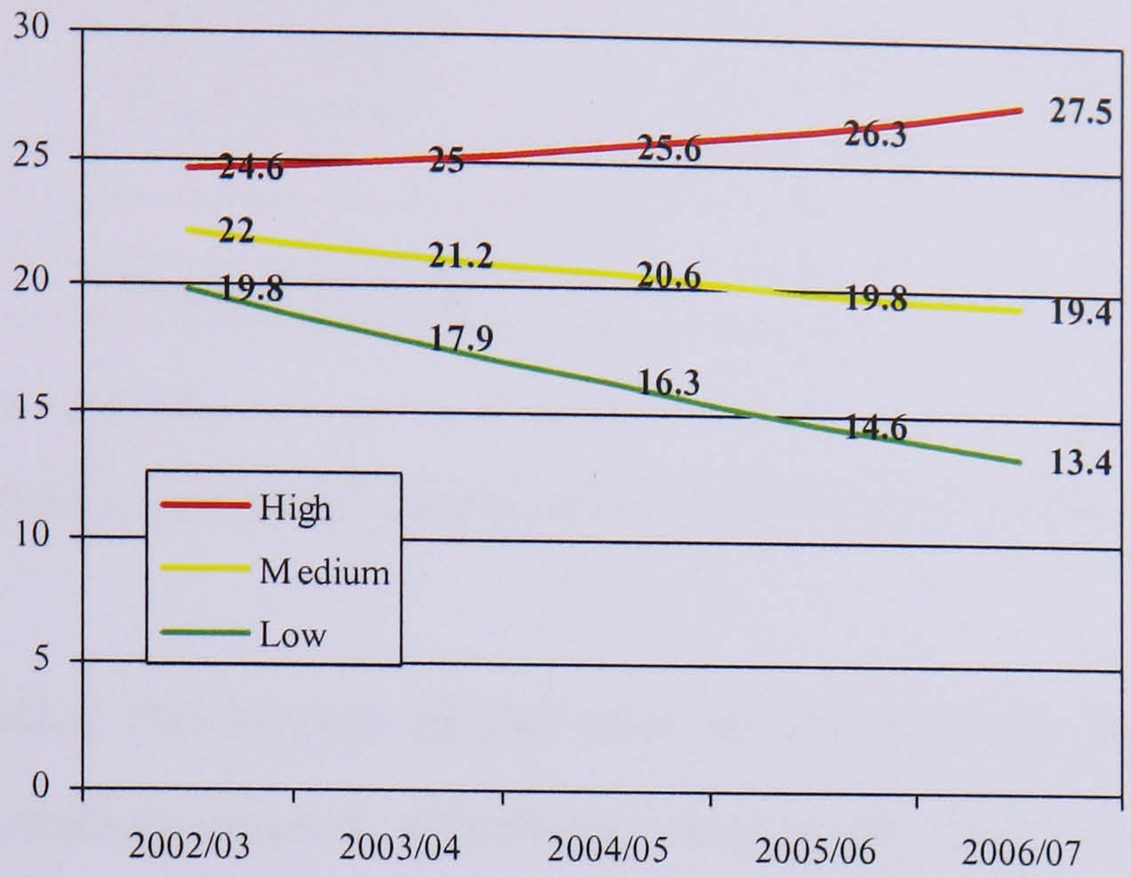
[113]In March 2001, the management consultants KPMG were commissioned to undertake a fundamental review of **sport**scotland, particularly its organisational and management structures and its property portfolio (KPMG, 2001). The review took place within the context of increased government scrutiny of all Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) and the recommendations by KPMG must be seen within the wider context of the Scottish Executive's proposals for change – see Scottish Executive (2001) "*Public bodies: proposals for change*", Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

Fig. 4.2: sportscotland Lottery Fund predictions (high, medium, low) 2002/03 – 2006/



Figures from Dept. Culture, Media and Sport

The allocation of funds to the three funding strands for the four-year period to 2007 is as follows: Widening Opportunities 29.5% (£18 million); Developing Potential 33% (£25 million) and Achieving Excellence 37.5% (£37 million) (**sports**cotland, 2003b, p.26). As with the previous Lottery strategy, the highest allocation is given to the Achieving Excellence programme. It is important to note however, that Achieving Excellence programmes are almost completely dependent on Lottery funding (accounts for 90% of their total expenditure), and that this allocation represents only twenty-five percent of the total (Lottery and Exchequer) **sports**cotland budget for the 2003- 2007 period[114]. A breakdown of the proposals for the Achieving Excellence allocation (see Table 4.4) shows that the funding of the Scottish Institute of Sport represents a significant Lottery fund investment. The allocation of £16 million pounds accounts for forty-six percent of the Achieving Excellence revenue budget and eighteen percent of the total Lottery allocation. During the review process for the new Sport 21 strategy, the **sports**cotland Chief Executive Ian Robson recognised that one of the major challenges for **sports**cotland in the 2003-2007 funding period would be to secure mainstream funding for the Scottish Institute of Sport.

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[114]During a presentation in Glasgow on Dec 10th 2002, on proposals for the updated Sport 21 strategy, **sports**cotland's chief executive, Ian Robson, outlined how **sports**cotland planned to focus its resource allocation (both exchequer grant-in-aid and lottery funding) across the three visions during the 2003-2007 funding period: 50 % Widening opportunities; 25% Potential; 25% Excellence

Table 4.4 Achieving Excellence allocation of Lottery funds 2003-2007

		£ million
Revenue	Scottish Institute	£16
	Area Institutes	£4
	Athlete support	£10.5
	Coach support	£4
Sub total		**£34.5**
Facilities	National Training	£2.5
Total		**£37**

Adapted from "*Raising our game: **sport**scotland Lottery Fund strategy 2003-2007*", **sport**scotland (2003b, p.26)

In the days before the launch of the new sports strategy, the Executive made two major sports announcements promising additional Executive investments of £50 million, £20 million of which would go to school sport. On Sunday 25th March, Sports Minister Mike Watson launched an ambitious Scottish facilities strategy to develop a range of new or refurbished sports facilities across the country, including six indoor arenas. The Minister pledged almost £30 million pounds of Executive funding over the next three years, including £16 million previously allocated to the failed Euro 2008 bid, (News Release SEtc 169/2003) to underpin strategy. The remaining costs required to deliver the strategy (estimated between £75m and £90m) will be pursued in partnerships with **sport**scotland, local authorities and others. While acknowledging the need for quality facilities where athletes can train all year round, the Minister made it clear that Executive money was conditional on the facilities being available for local/community use whenever possible (News Release SEtc 169/2003).

In a separate, but related announcement, another Lottery distributing body, the National Opportunities Fund (NOF) announced that £87 million would be invested in school physical activity and sports programmes over the next three years[115]. Taken together, the additional funding and the new sports strategy, represent the most

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[115]New Opportunities for PE & Sport is an £87 million programme launched in March 2002.The initiative has two separate strands:
New Opportunities for PE & Sport – Facilities: £52 million gross for projects designed to bring about a step-change in the provision of sporting facilities for young people and the community generally. Grants totalling £2.9 million have been awarded from this strand to date. New Opportunities for PE & Sport – Activities: £35 million gross for both of Out of School Hours sporting and cultural activities for 5- 16 year olds, and activities designed specifically to divert young people away from anti-social behaviour or behaviour likely to lead to crime (NB: this diversionary strand is known as Active Steps). All areas of Scotland will benefit from both strands of this programme.

significant government backing for sport in Scotland since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament. However, the timing of these announcements, just days before the dissolution of the Parliament in advance of the Scottish parliamentary election, meant that they were met with a healthy level of scepticism among the media (*The Herald*, 26/3/03; *The Scotsman*, 26/3/03, *The Times*, 26/3/03).

The original Sport 21 strategy has, over the past four years, received cross-departmental support from Ministers from health, education and social justice as well as sport, and this support was, to a great extent, also reflected in the work of the Parliament and its Committees. It is clear that this updated strategy is premised on the two key factors. Firstly, that the wider social justice agenda will continue to dominate policy-making during the second term and secondly, that there will be continued support for sports' role in the delivery of that agenda. The partnership agreement[116], published shortly after the Scottish Parliamentary elections in May 2003, which sets out the policy agenda for the Scottish Executive's second term in office, does indeed confirm a continuing role for sport in the delivery of that agenda. Once again, the emphasis is on the role of sport in the delivery of the social inclusion policy agenda. The promotion of excellence in sport is discussed only in relation to the wider promotion of Scotland's image overseas and in the attraction of sporting events to Scotland. None of the specific high level commitments or supporting activity statements relate to elite sport (Scottish Executive, 2003).

Since devolution, sport in Scotland has clearly benefited from a period of stability both strategically and financially, and as recent developments and announcements indicate sport does enjoy a higher political profile. In the specific context of elite sport, the increased availability of training facilities, medical and sports science support as well as the direct financial assistance to athletes through the Talented Athlete Programme, have, undoubtedly, changed the sporting landscape in Scotland. However, this must be put into some perspective because it is evident that sport, and especially elite sport, has not been an area of high policy priority for either the Executive or the Parliament, a situation looks unlikely to change during the second parliamentary term. This is a cause for concern, for it is clear that despite

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[116] Scottish Executive (2003) "*Partnership for a better Scotland*", Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

improvements to the infrastructure and support available to athletes, elite sport in Scotland continues to struggle. Apart from a few sporadic, but nonetheless high profile successes, our national teams are not doing well; and Scotland has failed to attract the major sporting events for which it has bid (Hutcheon, 2003).

Conclusion

Study one has set the historical and policy context for the development of an elite sport support system in Scotland. This chapter provides a critical evaluation of the elite sports policy agenda since devolution in 1999, identifying the institutional and financial frameworks that guide the decision-making process for the delivery of the Scottish elite sport support system. The researcher has attempted to reveal the extent to which elite sport provision in Scotland is politicised both at the level of formal political structures and in popular culture, and to determine why Scotland supports an elite sport system politically within the UK context.

It is clear that the support system for elite athletes in the United Kingdom is organisationally complex and that devolution has been a significant contributory factor to that complexity. Evidence suggests that the political will exists, at both the national and devolved level, to revise and change the current system of support in order to create a structure that is more responsive to the needs of elite sport. What is not clear is whether or not the revisions and changes suggested by government and agencies responsible for sport at the national or devolved levels are compatible with each other and responsive to the differing demands of sport that are evident in the different geo-political constituencies. Despite these reservations, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport announced in October 2003, that ten sports (athletics, swimming, sailing, cycling, rowing, judo, gymnastics, canoeing, equestrian and triathlon) had been identified as being suitable to pioneer the one stop planning process[117]. Sue Campbell, the incoming chair of UK Sport, stated that her work would place special emphasis on ensuring that UK Sport's decision-making processes reflected the interests of the Home Countries, and that at the conclusion of her eighteen month term she wanted UK Sport to be "*an organisation suited to the needs*

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[117]"Ten sports to pioneer one stop planning" UK Sport Press Release 27/10/2003 http://www.uksport/gov.uk/template.asp?id=1607

of elite sport in a devolved Britain" (UK Sport Press Release 29/10/03 - http://www.uksport.gov.uk/template.asp?id=1595). Draft submissions for the first one stop plans, focussing initially on talented and elite athletes, will be produced by April 2004 in order to allow sports time to focus on the Athens Olympic Games.

Study Two – Scottish Elite Athlete Study

Background to the Study

Study two (chapters five and six), a two-phase study entitled the "Scottish Elite Athlete Study", was undertaken as a response to a gap in the Scottish sport knowledge base. The review of literature identified a lack of research on the elite sport sector in the United Kingdom generally, and on Scotland specifically. Significantly, there was almost a complete lack of statistical and empirical information on the number and characteristics of Scottish athletes competing at the highest level, with details of variations by sport. Chapter five presents the results of the first, mainly quantitative, phase of the study which was designed to gather demographic and socio-economic information on Scotland's elite athletes and to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme (TAP). The results of the second, qualitative phase of the study are presented in chapter six. The aim of this phase was to explore, in more depth, issues raised by the postal questionnaire and assess the extent to which the elite funding system in Scotland continues to incorporate the traditional patriarchal values of mainstream sports and whether or not the system relates the concept of equality to wider social, economic, ideological and political issues.

Chapter 5: Scottish Elite Athlete Study: Report of findings from the quantitative phase

Introduction

The findings and conclusions of the quantitative element of study two: 'The Scottish Elite Athlete Study', undertaken between March and June 2000 are presented here. This survey of elite sportsmen and sportswomen was carried out to gather socio-economic information on Scotland's elite athletes and to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme (TAP). After a short review of the literature, some background to the study and an overview of the methodology and procedures used and information about the sample population involved in the study is reported. The main part of the report takes a detailed look at the characteristics of the sportsmen and sportswomen who responded to the questionnaire, and reports the levels of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme. Finally, conclusions from the study and recommendations for further research are presented.

Review of literature

The review of literature identified a lack of research on the elite sport sector in the United Kingdom generally, and on Scotland specifically. Significantly, there was almost a complete lack of statistical information on the number and characteristics of athletes competing at the highest level, with details of variations by sport. This finding is very much in line with an earlier review by Kay (1995) who concluded that social science research had been much less extensive in the area of elite sport in Britain than in the lower levels of participation. The literature review also indicated a general lack of both qualitative and quantitative information on the elite sector of British sport, indeed (Kay, 1995, p.156) noted that there were "*virtually no statistics available about performance sport*". It must be noted however that since 1997, when Lottery funded programmes to support elite sportsmen and sportswomen were first introduced, a few studies on the elite sport sector have been undertaken in the United Kingdom that contained both quantitative and qualitative elements. These studies were commissioned by the various sports councils as part of the need to evaluate publicly funded programs such as the Lottery-funded revenue programmes for elite athletes. "*The development of sporting talent, 1997*" (Manchester Metropolitan

University, 1998) showed that gaps in the provision of services, lack of co-ordination and inequalities in social background were as important as talent and ability in determining sporting success. The results of this study also provided comprehensive nomothetic information about the experiences and challenges and support needs of successful performers. More recently, UK Sport commissioned a number of studies[118] that have also made a significant contribution to the literature and increased the quantitative and qualitative data available on the elite sport sector in Britain. None of this data was available at the time when the Scottish Elite Athlete Study was undertaken.

When the Scottish Elite Athlete Study was undertaken[119], there was very little information available about the elite sport sector in Scotland. One study, "*The Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) applicant feedback survey 1998*" (Martin and McGregor, 1999), commissioned by the Scottish Sports Council Lottery Fund in 1998, to monitor and evaluate the Talented Athlete Programme, did provide some qualitative data on elite performers. However, the main purpose of this study was to gather opinions about the TAP application process and it did not provide any information about characteristics of athletes or details of variations by sport. The Scottish Elite Athlete Study was undertaken by the researcher as a response to this gap in the knowledge base. The aim was to collect background socio-economic information on Scotland's elite athletes such as details of age, gender, race and economic circumstance. The study is predominately quantitative in nature, although a number of questions were included that attempted to gather qualitative information about the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Lottery-funded Talented Athlete Programme (TAP). It was hoped that the results from this study would set the context for the major qualitative phase of the research by providing some information about athletes' views and experiences that could be developed in more detail.

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[118]BMRB Social Research (2000) "*A survey of athletes on the World Class Performance Programme*", UK Sport , London,;
UK Sport (2000b) "*WCCP leavers: a survey of the experiences and opinions of athletes who have left the World Class Performance Programme*", UK Sport, London; UK Sport (2001a) "*Athletes lifestyles and ACE UK: a survey of athletes' experiences of sport, education and work, and the role of the ACE UK programme*" (2001), UK Sport, London; UK Sport (2001b) "*Athlete personal awards (APAs): a survey of WCPP athletes' experiences of, and opinions on, APAs,* UK Sport, London

[119] Study was undertaken between March and June 2000

Aims

The aims of this study were threefold. Firstly, to gather background demographic and socio-economic information about Scottish elite[120] athletes who were in receipt of revenue funding from **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme. Secondly, to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme. Finally, to ascertain the willingness of elite athletes to become involved in the main qualitative phase of the research. The subsequent qualitative study, the results of which are reported in chapter six, consisted of open-ended, one to one interviews, that focused upon the individual experiences of being a recipient of a TAP award and discussed, in more detail, issues raised by the questionnaire.

Survey methodology

The survey was conducted by means of a postal questionnaire (see Appendix 2). A questionnaire, with a covering letter explaining the purpose of the study (see Appendix 3), was sent to all four hundred and seventy seven athletes who were in receipt of revenue funding from **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme in the year 1999-2000. The questionnaire consisted of twenty questions. Questions 1 to 15 were designed to gather quantitative demographic and socio-economic information about the elite sportsmen and sportswomen in the sample. Questions 16 – 19 were designed to gather qualitative information about how athletes in the sample viewed both the application procedure and the administration of **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme awards. Question 20 was a simple question designed to establish whether or not respondents had received a Talented Athlete Programme award previously.

The survey was carried out with the full cooperation of **sport**scotland Lottery Fund. **sport**scotland provided the researcher with a list of the names of the individuals, arranged alphabetically by sport, who had been recipients of Talented Athlete Programme awards in the funding period 1999 - 2000. Because of legal restrictions placed on **sport**scotland by the Data Protection Act 1998, individuals' addresses

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[120]For the purposes of this study, elite sportsmen and sportswomen are defined as those who are members of junior and elite national squads and/or fit the criteria for Talented Athlete Funding as defined by **sport**scotland Lottery Sports Fund

could not be released to the researcher, although **sport**scotland agreed to send out the questionnaires, covering letters and stamped return envelopes to all the individuals in the sample, on her behalf.

Questionnaire design

The questionnaire, constructed to cover several key variables, was adapted from two main sources: the Government Statistical Service's "*Harmonised Concepts and Questions for Government Social Surveys*" (Office for National Statistics, 1997), and the "*Development of sporting talent, 1997*" survey (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998). The decision to adopt this methodology was twofold. Firstly, that it could potentially allow the demographic and socio-economic data collected from this study to be compared with the findings of other national Government surveys and datasets such as the General Household Survey or the decennial census. Secondly, that the sport-specific information gathered could be compared with the findings of the 1997 study of talented sportsmen and sportswomen funded by the English Sports Council.

The questions are predominately closed-ended, although there are several which are open-ended. For example, Questions 12 and 15 ask respondents to provide details of their and their parents job title respectively. However, this follows the pattern of the "*Harmonised Concepts and Questions for Government Social Surveys*" (1997). There is one response in question 8 about full-time athletes which has been added to the standard "*Harmonised Concepts and Questions for Government Social Surveys*" (1997) format for the specific purpose of this study:

8. Employment Status - tick ✓as appropriate

Employed full-time	☐	Employed part-time	☐
Unemployed	☐	Government Scheme	☐
Retired	☐	Student	☐
Full-time athlete	☐*		

This response option was added because it was thought that the question might potentially cause some confusion for those respondents who were full-time athletes,

but who might not consider this full-time employment. This follows a similar format to that used in the "*Development of sporting talent,* 1997" (1998) survey. Questions 16 to 20, which ask respondents for information and views about **sport**scotland's Talented Athlete Programme application and administrative procedures, are specific to this study and were developed by the researcher. The Questionnaire was piloted to a small group of athletes at the University of Glasgow and was re-drafted three times before being sent out to the sample group.

Limitations and delimitations

The study had a number of limitations and delimitations that should be considered in the interpretation of the results and conclusions. The major delimitation of the study was the legal restrictions placed upon **sport**scotland under the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. This meant that the researcher did not have access to the addresses of the individual sportsmen and sportswomen in the sample, and this placed a number of limitations on the study:

- **sport**scotland were not willing to allow the researcher to code the questionnaires in advance and thus it was impossible to identify individual sportsmen and women (except those respondents who voluntarily completed the contact box at the end of the questionnaire)
- The researcher did not have complete control over the distribution of the questionnaire
- The researcher did not have the ability to follow-up those sportsmen and women who did not respond to the questionnaire

Sample population

The sample consisted of four hundred and seventy seven individuals from forty-two sports who had been recipients of **sport**scotland Talented Athlete Programme awards in the year 1999-2000. The breakdown by sport is shown in Table 5.1

Table 5.1: Survey Sample by Sport

Sport	No. of athletes	% total sample
Angling (men only)	18	3.8%
Archery (men & women)	10	2.1%
Athletics (men & women)	37	7.8%
Badminton (men & women)	10	2.1%
Bowls (men & women)	16	3.4%
Boxing (men only)	2	0.4%
Canoeing (men & women)	10	2.1%
Cricket (men only)	20	4.2%
Curling (men & women)	21	4.4%
Cycling (men & women)	7	1.5%
Disability Sport (men & women)	8	1.7%
Fencing (men & women)	13	2.7%
Football (women only)	19	4%
Golf (men & women)	19	4%
Gymnastics (men & women)	8	1.7%
Hockey (men & women)	24	5%
Judo (men & women)	12	2.5%
Karate (men & women)	5	1%
Lacrosse (women only)	23	4.8%
Motor Cycling (men only)	3	0.6%
Motor Sports (men only)	3	1%
Movement & Dance (men & women)	4	0.8%
Orienteering (men & women)	4	0.8%
Riding (men & women)	11	2.3%
Rowing (men & women)	8	1.7%
Rugby (women only)	25	5.2%
Sailing (men & women)	10	2.1%
Shooting (men & women)	9	1.9%
Skating (men & women)	5	1%
Skiing (men & women)	9	1.9%
Squash (men & women)	10	2.1%
Swimming (men & women)	15	3.1%
Table Tennis (men & women)	1	0.2%
Taekwondo (men & women)	2	0.4%
Tennis (men & women)	16	3.4%
Trampolining (men & women)	2	0.4%
Triathlon (men & women)	6	1.3%
Tug of War (men only)	14	2.9%
Volleyball (men only)	20	4.2%
Water Skiing (men & women)	4	0.8%
Weightlifting (men only)	8	1.7%
Wrestling (men only)	5	1%
Totals	**477**	**100%**

Base n = 477

The sample consisted of 260 males (54.5%) from thirty-nine sports and 217 females (45.5%) from thirty-two sports. Of the forty-two sports included in the sample, ten were exclusively male awards (Angling, Boxing, Cricket, Motor Cycling, Motor Sports, Table Tennis, Tug of War, Volleyball, Weightlifting and Wrestling) and three were exclusively female awards (Football, Lacrosse and Rugby). Of the twenty-nine

sports where both male and female athletes received awards, male athletes received 52.4% of the total awards and female athletes 47.6%. The breakdown of sports by type is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Survey Sample by Type of Sport

	Total Sports	Mixed Sports	Male-Only Sports	Female-Only Sports
No. of Sports	42	29	10	3
No. of Male Athletes	260 (54.5%)	165 (52.4%)	95	Not Applicable
No. of Female Athletes	217 (45.5%)	150 (47.6%)	Not Applicable	67

Data collection

The postal self-completion questionnaires were dispatched by **sport**scotland Lottery Sport Fund, on behalf of the researcher, in the week beginning March 14th 2000. Because of the wide-range of sports included in the sample and the variation in the competitive seasons of those sports it was decided not to impose a closing date for receipt of questionnaires. It was hoped that this would allow sportsmen and sportswomen who were either in the middle of a competitive season or in a period of intensive training, to complete the questionnaire at their own convenience. As a result, the researcher was in receipt of completed questionnaires from late March 2000 until the beginning of June 2000.

A questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was mailed by **sport**scotland to every athlete who had been in receipt of a Talented Athlete Programme award in the funding period 1999-2000. This was accompanied by a letter (see Appendix 3) from the researcher which set out the aims of the survey and assured athletes of complete confidentiality. A letter from **sport**scotland was also included. This letter informed athletes that **sport**scotland had been requested to send out the questionnaire on behalf of a Ph.D. student because they (**sport**scotland) did not give out personal details such as the full address of athletes. A reply paid envelope was enclosed for respondents to return the completed questionnaire to the researcher. The questionnaire did not require respondents to disclose any information that might identify them personally. However, the researcher offered respondents the opportunity to take part in a follow-up study and/or to receive a summary of the final results of the survey. This required respondents to complete the contact box at the end of the questionnaire. Of the 222

athletes who responded to the questionnaire, 64.41% (n = 143) of respondents completed the contact box, while 34.23% (n = 76) of respondents preferred to remain anonymous.

Response rates

A total of 222 questionnaires were returned, representing an overall response rate of 46.54%. There was however, considerable variation in response rates by sport. It is important to note that the response rates from seven sports was less than twenty-five percent and consequently no significance can be drawn from these results. This variation is shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Breakdown of Response Rates by Sport

	Sample	Returns	Response Rate
Angling (men only)	18	3	16.7%
Archery (men & women)	10	4	40%
Athletics (men & women)	37	22	59.5%
Badminton (men & women)	10	6	60%
Bowls (men & women)	16	8	50%
Boxing (men only)	2	0	0%
Canoeing (men & women)	10	9	90%
Cricket (men only)	20	6	30%
Curling (men & women)	21	12	57.1%
Cycling (men & women)	7	5	57.1%
Disability Sport (men & women)	8	2	25%
Fencing (men & women)	13	5	38.5%
Football (women only)	19	6	31.6%
Golf (men & women)	19	9	47.4%
Gymnastics (men & women)	8	4	50%
Hockey (men & women)	24	14	58.3%
Judo (men & women)	12	6	50%
Karate (men & women)	5	2	40%
Lacrosse (women only)	23	11	47.8%
Motor Cycling (men only)	3	2	66.7%
Motor Sports (men only)	4	1	25%
Movement & Dance (men & women)	4	0	0%
Orienteering (men & women)	4	3	75%
Riding (men & women)	11	5	45.5%
Rowing (men & women)	8	4	50%
Rugby (women only)	25	6	24%
Sailing (men & women)	10	8	80%
Shooting (men & women)	9	5	55.6%
Skating (men & women)	5	2	33.3%
Skiing (men & women)	9	6	66.7%
Squash (men & women)	10	4	40%
Swimming (men & women)	15	8	53.3%
Table Tennis (men & women)	1	0	0%
Taekwondo (men & women)	2	2	100%
Tennis (men & women)	16	12	75%
Trampolining (men & women)	2	1	50%
Triathlon (men & women)	6	2	33.3%
Tug of War (men only)	14	5	35.7%
Volleyball (men only)	20	4	20%
Water Skiing (men & women)	4	1	33.3%
Weightlifting (men only)	8	1	12.5%
Wrestling (men only)	5	2	40%
Totals	**477**	**221**	**46.5%**

Base n = 477

Follow-up study and results

Sixty-five percent (65.6%, n = 145) of all respondents who returned a questionnaire completed the contact box indicating that they would be willing to take part in follow-up research and/or that they would like to receive a summary of the final results of the survey. Of those respondents who completed the contact box, 86.2% (n = 125) indicated that they would be willing to take part in follow-up research, and 80% (n = 116) expressed an interest in receiving a summary of the final results of the survey. Sixty-seven (67.6%, n = 98) of respondents indicated that they would be willing to take part in the follow-up study and also expressed an interest in receiving a summary of the final results. Table 5.4 shows a breakdown of these figures by sex.

Table 5.4: Expression of interest in follow-up study and/or results

	Male	Female	Totals
Totals	75 (51.7%)	70 (48.3%)	145
Ticked Box 1 : Expression of interest in follow-up survey	69 (55.2%)	56 (44.8%)	125 (86.2%)
Ticked Box 2 : Expression of interest in final results	63 (54.3%)	53 (45.7%)	116 (80%)
Ticked Both Box 1 & Box 2	56 (57.1%)	42 (42.9%)	98 (67.6%)

Base n=145

The high levels of response by athletes either willing to take part in the follow-up study and/or expressing an interest in the results of the study are encouraging and interesting. Obviously, the large number of athletes willing to take part in the follow-up study offers a potentially large and varied sample for that study. The high levels of interest were also somewhat unexpected because **sport**scotland Lottery Fund regularly report disappointingly low response rates to their annual TAP monitoring surveys (**sport**scotland Lottery Fund, 2002). The fact that this study was completely independent of **sport**scotland, the assurance of confidentiality, and the commitment by the researcher to make the final results available to **sport**scotland in the hope that they might inform policy and practice in this area, could explain the high levels of response.

Social characteristics of the respondents

The survey addressed a range of social factors in order to provide a social profile of Scottish elite sportsmen and sportswomen across a range of sports. These findings set the context for the other results presented in the study. Considering feminist uses of the term difference, attention is paid to differences between and among athletes on the sample. Modern feminist theory uses the idea of difference to mark differences of political interest between and among men and women and others to identify social and economic divisions resulting from, for example, capitalism, heterosexism or racism (Ramazanoglu, 2002). One of the research assumptions of this study is that differences between and among athletes can affect outcomes in terms of funding and support. Clearly, there are many obvious differences in terms of age, class, non-disabled/disabled, ethnicity, race, wealth and opportunity. However, as Corrin (1999) reminds us, because policy-makers often fail to differentiate between groups, such differences must be acknowledged so that any policy generalisations can be challenged. This section takes a detailed look at the characteristics of the athletes who responded to the survey. In particular, it looks at basic demographics (age, gender etc.); educational, occupational and social class profiles; and familial involvement in sport.

Gender, age, ethnicity and disability

There was an almost equal distribution of males and females on the respondent sample. Fifty-one percent of those who completed the questionnaire were men and forty-nine percent were female. This breakdown is shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Breakdown of respondents by sex

Sex	No.
Male	113 (50.9%)
Females	109 (49.09%)
Totals	**222**

Base n = 222

The percentage of women on this study is slightly higher than the overall gender distribution of TAP athletes in the same funding year 1999-2000, which was 54% male and 46% female[121]. However, a significantly higher proportion of the total

[121]Taken from Figures taken from **sport**scotland Lottery Fund press-releases

female sample responded to the questionnaire than did males (50.2% and 43.5% respectively) and this may explain the more favourable results in terms of the gender balance of the respondent sample.

Age

The average age of respondents at the time of the survey was twenty-six years. The average age of male respondents was twenty-seven years and twenty-five years for women. Once again there was considerable variation between sports. Elite performers in Disability Sport were the oldest group in the sample at forty-three years, however it should be noted that Disability Sport includes sportsmen and sportswomen from a range of sports. From the single sports' sample, elite performers in Bowling are the oldest at forty-one years. The youngest group in the sample were performers from the martial art Taekwondo, at sixteen years. However as the total number of athletes in the Taekwondo sample is only two, it is perhaps more accurate to look to the Equestrian sample, where the average age of elite performers was seventeen point eight years. The average age of respondents by sport is shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Average age of respondents by sport

Sport	Average Age
Angling	38.3 years
Archery	31.8 years
Athletics	26.5 years
Badminton	27.7 years
Bowling	41.9 years
Canoeing	19.8 years
Cricket	30 years
Curling	31.8 years
Cycling	27.9 years
Disability Sport	43 years
Equestrian	17.8 years
Fencing	24 years
Football	23.3 years
Golf	23.1 years
Gymnastics	19 years
Hockey	28.14 years
Judo	19.7 years
Karate	23 years
Lacrosse	26.6 years
Motor Cycling	26.6 years
Motor Sports	****
Orienteering	26.3 years
Rowing	22.3 years
Rugby	26.5 years
Sailing	25 years
Shooting	33.6 years
Skating	22.5 years
Skiing	29.4 years
Squash	23.3 years
Swimming	21.4 years
Taekwondo	15 years
Tennis	16.2 years
Trampoling	****
Triathlon	30.7 years
Tug of War	31.4 years
Volleyball	27 years
Waterskiing	****
Weightlifting	****
Wrestling	34 years
Average (all sports)	**26 years**

**** Sports were response rate was 1 % or less.

Ethnicity and nationality

Table 5.7 shows that the overwhelming majority of respondents considered themselves to be white (99.1%). Indeed, less than one percent of respondents came from an ethnic minority group – 'black–other' at 0.5%. The ethnic breakdown of sportsmen and sportswomen in the survey shows some similarities to that of the Scottish population as a whole. The results from the 2001 Census reported that 97.99% of the population were white, and that 0.02% of the population were 'black-

other' (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 - Table KS06 Ethnic group and language (Scotland)). However, there were no respondents from an Asian or Chinese background which account for 1.9% and 0.32% of the Scottish population respectively and none from the other ethnic groups (0.57%) (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 - Table KS06 Ethnic group and language (Scotland)). One respondent, representing, 0.5% of the respondent sample, considered that they were not represented by any of the ethnic group options available on the questionnaire and ticked the option 'None of these'. Table 5.7 shows the ethnic profile of the respondent sample and the Scottish population as a whole.

Table 5.7: Ethnic Profile of Scottish Elite Sportsmen and Sportswomen

	Scottish Elite Sportsmen & Sportswomen (%)	Scottish Population (%)*
White	99.1%	97.99%
Black – Caribbean	0%	0.04%
Black – African	0%	0.1%
Black-Scottish	0.5%	0.01%
Indian	0%	0.3%
Pakistani	0%	0.63%
Bangladeshi	0%	0.04%
Chinese	0%	0.32%
None of These	0.5%	0.57%

Base n = 222

* Census 2001 Table KS06 Ethnic group and language (Scotland)

** 0.57% represents the total figure for other categories not listed above and includes: Other South Asian, Any mixed background, Other ethnic group

Research in the United Kingdom, the United States and Europe indicates that there is an under-representation of black and Asian people in many sports, and in the higher levels of sports administration, coaching and management (Brookes, 2002). "*Sport 21*" (1998) recognised the need to increase the numbers participating in sport from minority ethnic groups to reflect the country's ethnic mix[122]. However, at present there is no source of baseline information on levels of participation in sport by those from ethnic minority groups in Scotland (Scott Porter Research and Marketing Ltd., 2001). The Scottish Executive is currently consulting on the feasibility of conducting a national survey of minority ethnic communities. If a small number of questions on sports participation were included in that survey, baseline data could be established

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[122]Data from the 2001 Census of Scotland shows that 39,970 (0.8%) of the Scottish population are of Pakistani or South Asian origin and 15,037 (0.3%) are of Indian origin - data taken from: "*Registrar General's 2001 Census Report to the Scottish Parliament*", (Table 7: Persons by age and ethnic group, 2001 and 1991) General Register Office (Scotland), Edinburgh

that would allow comparisons with the Scottish population as a whole (Scott Porter Research and Marketing Ltd., 2000).

As Table 5.8 shows, the overwhelming majority of respondents considered themselves to be Scottish (94.57%). Three percent (3.62%) were English with the Welsh and the Irish both accounting for 0.45% each. One respondent did not complete this question. When one considers that this was a Scottish study and that sportsmen and sportswomen in the sample were funded by the **sport**scotland these proportions are to be expected. It is important to note that three respondents, representing one percent of the total respondent sample considered themselves to be British. This option was not available on the questionnaire and was specifically added by the respondents. These findings are similar to those found in a number of studies which have described the changing responses of survey respondents in Scotland when questioned about their national identities (Paterson et al., 2001, Brown, McCrone and Paterson, 1998; Brown, McCrone, Patterson, and Surridge, 1999). These studies all indicate a significant rise in the expression of Scottishness as the most popular form of national identity since the late 1970s. However they also conclude that Britishness is not necessarily declining in absolute terms since a large proportion of the Scots confess to hold at least a dual sense of national identity (Bond and Rosie, 2002).

Table 5.8: Nationality

Scottish	English	Welsh	Irish	British
209 (94.57%)	8 (3.62%)	1 (0.45%)	1 (0.45%)	3 (1%)

Base n = 221

Disability

Seven respondents, representing three percent (3.15%) of the total respondent sample were disabled. Interestingly, only two of the seven respondents who were disabled came from the national governing body Scottish Disability Sport. The other five respondents came from Cycling, Equestrian, Sailing and Tennis. Table 5.9 shows the breakdown by sport.

Table 5.9: Disability: breakdown by sport

Sport	No. Sport	% of Total
Scottish Disability Sport	2	Not Applicable
Cycling	1	14.9%
Equestrian	1	9.1%
Fencing	1	7.7%
Sailing	1	10%
Tennis	1	6.3%
Totals	**7**	**3.15%**

Base n = 7

Accommodation

Over forty percent (41.18%) of the respondent sample owned their own home, 29.86% lived in rented accommodation, while 28.96% lived rent-free / with parents. One respondent did not complete this question. Of the sixty-four respondents who indicated that they lived rent-free / with parents, 70.31% (n = 45) were under twenty-one years old. Table 5.10 shows the breakdown by gender.

Table 5.10: Accommodation

	Owner	Renting	Rent-Free / Living with Parents
Men	21.72%	14.48%	14.93 %
Women	19.46%	15.38%	14.03%
Totals	**41.18%**	**29.86%**	**28.96%**

Base n = 221 (1 respondent did not complete this question)

The owner-occupation rate of respondents is significantly lower than the national figure based on 2001 census data, which stands at 62.59% (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 - Table KS18 Tenure and Landlord (Scotland)). The percentage of respondents renting, at 29.86% is slightly lower than the national average at 32.79% (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 - Table KS18 Tenure and Landlord (Scotland)). However, if one excludes the responses of those living 'Rent-Free/Living with Parents', the percentage of respondents who own their own home rises to 57.69% which is only slightly lower than the Scottish average. The percentage of respondents renting rises to 42.31% which is significantly higher than data from the census, although this perhaps to be expected given the average age of respondents (26 years) and the fact that almost 30% of respondents were in full-time education.

Education and qualifications

This section looks at the educational profile of Scottish elite athletes and considers school background and level of qualification. Of the sportsmen and sportswomen who responded to the survey the majority (81.98%) had attended, or were attending, a state school. The proportion attending or who had attended a private/independent school (18.02% of the respondent sample) is however, high when compared with the Scottish average of only four percent (Scottish Council of Independent Schools, 2000). This figure is comparable with data from Sport England[123] about athletes on World Class Performance Programmes (WCPP) where twenty percent (20%) of elite performers attended private schools. Significantly more female respondents (60%) than males (40%) had attended a private school, although a chi-square analysis showed that the distribution of males and females attending private or state schools was not statistically significant (chi-square = 2.320 DF = 1, P-Value = 0.128). The higher proportion of females attending private schools can be understood when one looks at school background by sport.

An analysis by sport revealed some differences in school background between sports. Respondents from only fifteen, out a total of forty-two sports included in the sample, were attending or had attended a private school. Of those fifteen sports, Lacrosse and Hockey amount for 36.9% of the total, with Lacrosse returning the highest rate of any respondent group at 90%. The fact that Lacrosse is played almost exclusively in private schools and was a lottery-funded sport only for women at the time of the survey, must, therefore, be a major factor behind the high proportion of women attending private schools found in this sample. Table 5.11 shows the private school background profile broken down by sport.

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[123]Sport England's Sports Equity website:
http://www.sportengland.org/whatwedo/sports_equity/equity.htm – accessed 12/05/03

Table 5.11: Private school background by sport

Sport	Private School	State School	% of Respondents in that Sport	% Total Attending Private
Athletics	2	18	10	5
Canoeing	2	8	20	5
Cricket	2	4	33.3	5
Curling	4	8	33.3	10
Cycling	1	4	20	2.5
Equestrian	2	3	40	5
Fencing	2	2	50	5
Hockey	5	9	35.71	12.5
Lacrosse	10	1	90	25
Motorsport	1	2	33.3	2.5
Orienteering	1	3	25	2.5
Rowing	1	3	25	2.5
Rugby	1	5	16.7	2.5
Shooting	2	2	50	5
Skiing	1	3	25	2.5
Tennis	3	8	27.3	7.5
Totals	**40**	**82**	**Not Applicable**	**100**

Base = 222

Qualifications

As the "*Development of sporting talent,* 1997" (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998) survey pointed out, given the potential conflicts with the demands of training and competing at elite level and relatively short career span possible in sport, the educational status of elite sportsmen and sportswomen may be important for post-career sport. However, the survey revealed that elite sportsmen and sportswomen in Scotland are relatively well qualified. Over forty four percent (44.75%) of the respondent sample had a higher education qualification at either degree or HND level. This is well above the Scottish figure where only twenty-six percent of the population have a degree or HND (19.47% are educated to degree level and 6.95% to HND level) (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 – Table KS13 Qualifications and Students (Scotland)). Just under thirty percent (28.77%) have a higher grade or equivalent, which is almost double the Scottish figure at just over fifteen percent (15.65%) (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 – Table KS13 Qualifications and Students (Scotland)). Almost six percent (5.94%) of respondents reported that they had no educational qualifications, although it should be noted that 61.53% (n = 8) of those respondents were under sixteen years old. Of the adult[124] respondents, only two

[124]Adults are defined as those aged 16+

percent (2.3%) had no educational qualifications which compares very favourably with the Scottish average which stands at 33.23% (General Register Office (Scotland), 2003 – Table KS13 Qualifications and Students (Scotland)). Two respondents did not provide an answer to this question.

Analysis by gender showed slightly differing patterns, although a chi square analysis (chi-square = 5.259, DF = 3, P-Value = 0.154) showed no statistical significance. For example, more women (25.57%) than men (19.18%) had a higher education qualification and more men (4.11%) than women (2.28%) has no educational qualifications at all. Table 5.12 shows the educational profile of respondents by age and gender.

Table 5.12: Educational status of respondents by age and gender

	Totals	Under 21	21 -25	26-30	31-40	41 +	Male	Female
Degree / HND	44.75	5.26	54.84	63.27	62.50	45.45	19.18	25.57
Highers / Standard	46.12	77.19	40.32	34.69	30	27.27	26.48	19.63
SVQ/NVQ	2.74	3.51	3.23	2.04	2.50	0	1.37	1.37
None	6.39	14.04	1.61	0	5.00	27.27	4.11	2.28

Base n = 219 (3 respondents did not supply an answer to this question)

Analysis by sport revealed some differences, although these are most likely to be influences of social class and age profile of the sport. For example, the survey revealed that sportsmen and sportswomen in Athletics, Badminton, Cricket, Cycling, Hockey, Judo, Lacrosse, Orienteering, Rugby, Shooting, Triathlon and Volleyball were the most highly qualified in the sample. In each of these sports the proportion of respondents who held a degree or equivalent higher qualification was over sixty percent (60%). By contrast, among those sports where none of the respondents had a degree or equivalent higher qualification, are Tennis and Riding. While these sports are overwhelmingly 'middle-class' and one might have expected the proportion of respondents with a higher educational qualification to be high, the average age of respondents in this survey was 16.2 years and 17.8 years respectively, too young to have completed their higher education. The sport of Bowls had the highest proportion of respondents with no educational qualifications at 33.50%. However, once again age

might be an influential factor, as Bowls recorded the highest average age of respondent sports, at 41.9 years.

Obviously, the interaction of social factors must be considered when interpreting these data, and in particular, it appears that the social class of the sample might be a key issue. The higher educational profile of athletes in this study may simply be explained by the fact that over sixty percent (66.5%) of respondents in this study come from families in Social Classes I and II. The social class of respondents is explored in more detail in the next section.

Social class

Respondents were asked to describe the occupation of their parents or parent. On the basis of this self-assessment respondents were classified into social classes. The responses to this question have been coded twice. Firstly, using one of the standard classification schemes used in all government statistics at the time the study was conducted (March – May 2000), namely, '*Social Class based on Occupation*' (Office for Population Censuses and Surveys, 1991). In this classification each occupation group is assigned as a whole or to one or other social class. The categories are as follows:

I	Professional, etc. occupations
II	Managerial and Technical occupations
III	Skilled Occupations
	(N) Non-manual
	(M) Manual
IV	Partly skilled occupations
V	Unskilled occupations

Secondly, the data was coded using the methodology suggested by the '*National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS SEC)*' (Office for National Statistics, 2000). Statistics based on this classification scheme, developed by the Economic and Social Research Council, replaced the '*Social Class based on Occupations*' in all government statistics from 2001. The new classification is also based on occupation. It has seven major classes[125], the first of which can be subdivided:

[125]Additional categories, Class 8 to cover those who have never had paid work and the long-term unemployed and Class 9 'Not Classified' to cover full-time students and others not classified can be added whenever possible.

1. Higher managerial and professional occupations
2. Lower managerial and professional occupations
3. Intermediate occupations
4. Small employers and own account workers
5. Lower supervisory, craft and related occupations
6. Semi-routine occupations
7. Routine occupations

Familial social class

The most prominent feature of both the analyses conducted by Social Class and NS SEC is that respondents tended to come from families of higher socio-economic class. Using the '*Social Class based on Occupation*' methodology, 66.67% of respondents came from families in Social Class I (Professional) or II (Managerial & Technical). This figure (66.67%) is substantially higher than that found in the Scottish population in general. Data from the "*Labour Force Survey*" (Office for National Statistics, 2001) shows that the combined figure for social classes I & II was 35.6% of the Scottish working-age population[126]. The proportion of respondents in all other social classes was under-represented when compared with the Scottish population.

Similar results are identifiable from the analysis undertaken using the "*NS SEC*". Here 62.5% of respondents came from families in Social Classes 1 (Higher managerial and professional occupations) or 2 (Lower managerial and professional occupations). "*The Labour Force Survey, Spring 2002*" (Office for National Statistics, 2002) was the first national dataset to provide a sub-national analyses of socio-economic class by "*NS SEC*", indicate that just under thirty percent (29.9%) of the Scottish working age population are in Social Class 1. Tables 5.13a and 5.13b show the results by both '*Social Class based on Occupation*' and "*NS SEC*".

[126]Men aged 16-64 and women aged 16-59

Table 5.13a: Social classification of elite performers (by occupation of main wages earner) Analysis by Social Class based on Occupation.

Social Class	Totals %	Male %	Female %	Scottish Pop % *
SC I	30	11.90	18.10	6.4
SC II	36.67	18.57	18.10	29.2
SC III (N)	10.48	5.71	4.76	22.3
SC III (M)	16.19	9.52	6.67	20.8
SC IV	4.29	3.33	0.95	15.3
SC V	1.43	0.95	0.48	5.1
Armed Forces	0.48[1]	0.48	0	0.9[2]

Base n = 210 (6 respondents did not provide a response to this question and 7 respondents provided information that could not be assigned a classification using the methodology "Social Class based on Occupation").

1. This figure includes armed forces only
2. Includes members of the armed forces, those who did not state their social class, and those whose pervious occupation was more than eight years ago, or who have never had a paid job

*Source: Table 3.6 Social class of working-age population, Spring 2000, in Regional Trends vol. 36, Office for National Statistics, London

Table 5.13b: Social classification of elite performers (by occupation of main wages earner in family) Analysis by National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS SEC)

New SC	Totals %	Male %	Female %	Scottish Pop % *
Class 1	45.37	18.52	26.85	9.1
Class 2	17.13	9.26	7.87	20.8
Class 3	8.33	4.63	3.70	11.1
Class 4	7.41	5.09	2.31	5.7
Class 5	6.02	4.63	1.39	10.1
Class 6	11.57	6.48	5.12	12.7
Class 7	0.93	0.46	0.46	12.0
Class 8	0	0	0	18.5
FT Students	0.46	0	0.46	7.14**
Not Classified	2.78	1.39	1.39	N/A

Base n = 213 (6 respondents did not provide a response to this question and 6 respondents provided information that could only be assigned to the 'Not Classified' category).

*Source: Table 3.6 Socio-economic classification of working-age population, Spring 2002, in Regional Trends vol.. 37,Office for National Statistics, London

*** Census 2001 Table KS14a - Socio-economic Classification

Respondents were also asked for information about their own occupational status. An analysis of those responses using the methodology '*Social Class based on Occupation*' (Office for Population Censuses and Surveys, 1991) is shown in Table 5.14a.

Table 5.14a: Social classification of elite performers (by occupation). Analysis by Social Class based on Occupation.

Social Class	Totals %	Male %	Female %	Scottish Pop %*
SC I	10.41	5.88	4.52	6.4
SC II	23.08	12.67	10.41	29.2
SC III (N)	26.70	13.12	13.57	22.3
SC III (M)	3.17	1.36	1.81	20.8
SC IV	6.33	4.52	1.81	15.3
SC V	0.90	0.45	0.45	5.1
Armed Forces	1.36[1]	1.36	0	0.9[2]
FT Education	28.05	11.31	16.74	Not Classified

Base n = 221 (1 respondent did not provide a response to this question).

1. Includes members of the armed forces only.
2. Includes members of the armed forces, those who did not state their social class, and those whose previous occupation was more than eight years ago, or who have never had a paid job.

*Source: Table 3.6 Social class of working-age population, Spring 2000, in Regional Trends vol. 36 p42, *Labour Force Survey, spring 2000,* Office for National Statistics, London

As with the classification based on parental occupation, there were a substantial number of respondents in Social Class I (Professional) or II (Managerial & Technical). Respondents in combined class I & II account for a third (33.49%) of the sample. This figure compares favourably with the Scottish figure of twenty-eight percent (28%) (Office for National Statistics, 2001). However, the largest single group based on respondent occupation was social class III (Non-manual) at 26.70%. This figure is much higher than the national figure for Scotland, which stands at 22.3% (Office for National Statistics, 2001). However, this can be explained by the fact that full-time athletes are assigned to this classification, and 16.74% (n = 37) of the total respondent sample fall into this category. All other classes were under-represented.

Because of the high incidence of respondents in full-time education (28.05%), a further analysis of the occupational data was undertaken in order to provide a more representative analysis of the social classification by occupation of the respondent sample. Table 5.14b shows the results of an analysis by '*Social Class based on Occupation*' that excluded the responses of those who could not be assigned a substantive occupational social class according to the conventions of the Standard Occupational Classification (1991), namely, those in full-time education.

Table 5.14b: Social classification of elite performers (by occupation): Analysis by 'Social Class based on Occupation'.

Social Class	Totals %	Male %	Female %	Scottish Pop
SC I	14.47	8.18	6.29	6.4
SC II	32.08	17.61	14.47	29.2
SC III (N)	37.11	18.24	18.87	22.3
SC III (M)	4.40	1.89	2.52	20.8
SC IV	8.81	6.29	2.52	15.3
SC V	1.26	0.63	0.63	5.1
Armed Forces[1]	1.89	1.89	0	0.9[2]

Base n = 159 (1 respondent did not provide an answer to this question)

1. Includes members of the armed forces only.
2. Includes members of the armed forces, those who did not state their social class, and those whose previous occupation was more than eight years ago, or who have never had a paid job.

*Source: Table 3.6 Social class of working-age population, Spring 2000, in Regional Trends vol. 36, Office for National Statistics, London

The analysis of this subgroup (n = 159) shows similar patterns to that of the whole respondent group but provides a more representative analysis of those respondents of working age. Once again, the largest single group, based on respondent occupation, was social class III (Non-manual) (37.11%) which is explained by the high numbers of full-time athletes on the sample. The proportion of respondents in social classes I and II (46.55%) is, once again, substantially higher than the Scottish figure at 35.6% (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Of particular interest is the high proportion of elite sportsmen and sportswomen in social class I (Professional Occupations) at 14.47% compared with just over six percent (6.4%) in the Scottish population as a whole (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Once again, all other classes are under-represented. Table 5.14c shows the results of a similar analysis as above using the "*NS SEC*" classification. Note here that here the respondent sample is slightly higher (n = 201). This is because the only data that needed to be excluded was for those in full-time education who were aged sixteen or under (n = 18). The "*NS SEC*" allows for the classification of members of the armed forces and full-time students over sixteen years of age (Office for National Statistics, 2000).

Table 5.14c: Social classification of elite performers (by occupation): Analysis by NS SEC.

New SC	Totals %	Male %	Female %	Scottish Pop %*
Class 1	20.82	11.31	9.5	9.1
Class 2	11.76	6.33	5.43	20.8
Class 3	22.17	10.41	11.76	11.1
Class 4	5.43	4.07	1.36	5.7
Class 5	0.45	0.45	0	10.1
Class 6	9.50	6.33	3.17	12.7
Class 7	1.36	0.45	0.90	12.0
Class 8	0	0	0	18.5
FT Students 16+	19.91	7.24	12.71	7.14**

Base n = 202 (18 FT students were aged 16 years or under. 1 respondent did not provide an answer to this question).
*Source: Table 3.6 Socio-economic classification of working-age population, Spring 2002, in Regional Trends vol.. 37,Office for National Statistics, London
** Source: Census 2001 Table KS14a - Socio-economic Classification

From these results it appears that social and occupational profile of Scottish elite sportsmen and sportswomen is predominately middle class. Further investigation into family background will be necessary to determine whether or not social class is a determining factor in the development of elite athletes. However important social class may be as a determining factor in the development of sporting talent, it is clearly not the only one and previous research has indicated that the sporting background of families is another important factor. The sporting background of the families of respondents is discussed in the next section.

Familial sporting background

The *"Development of Sporting Talent Survey, 1997"* (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998) reported that a significant proportion of elite performers in England came from families with a strong background in sport. The English study revealed that 61% of elite performers had at least one family member involved at performance[127] level and 27% had a family member involved at elite[128] level (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998, p.19). The findings of the English study were similar to other studies by Rowley (1991); Duncan (1997) and Duffy et al. (2001) which suggest that 'sports families' played an important role in the development of elite athletes. The sporting background of the families of sportsmen

[127]This level is typified by structured competition at senior club or at county or regional level.
[128]This level is typified by competition at the highest national or international levels.

and sportswomen in the present study was investigated to discover if a similar pattern existed in Scotland.

In Scotland, the pattern for fathers would appear to be somewhat different from that found in the English study, although the pattern for mothers is remarkably similar. In Scotland the levels of paternal involvement in sport, at 'all' levels, were significantly lower than those found in the English study. For example, over a third (35.18%) of the fathers in the Scottish study had no involvement in sport at all, compared with only twenty percent (20%) in England. More significantly, at the competitive and elite levels, involvement by fathers in the Scottish study was only 21.11% and 6.03% respectively, compared to 35% and 13% in England. In contrast, the patterns for mothers appear to be remarkably similar. In both studies, maternal involvement in sport at 'all' levels is significantly lower than that of fathers and at the competitive and elite levels the participation is extremely low. However, the figures in Scotland are still significantly lower than in England at competitive level where only 8.51% of mothers were involved compared to 18% in England. At elite level, the figures are remarkably similar, 3.19% in Scotland and 4% in England. These significantly lower rates of maternal involvement in sport can perhaps be explained by the relatively low participation rates of women in sport in general and at elite levels in particular until the latter decades of the twentieth century. For example, the latest participation data available for Scotland, "*Sports Participation in Scotland 1999*" (Martin and Coalter, 2000), shows that participation among women in selected sports[129] in 1997/98 was significantly lower than that of men - at 45% compared with 55% respectively. However, this figure is a considerable increase on the comparable figure for 1987/89 when women's participation was only 34% compared with men at 53% (Martin and Coalter, 2000). This represents an 11% increase in women's participation over the ten-year period compared with only a 2% increase among men (Martin and Coalter, 2000).

This study, in contrast to the "*Development of Sporting Talent Survey, 1997*" (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998), also asked respondents about the involvement of their siblings. This question was included in order to assess more fully

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[129]Selected Sports category excludes walking, dancing, snooker/billiards/pool

the importance of familial role models in the development of elite athletes, and will be explored in more detail in the follow-up qualitative study. Interestingly, the involvement of siblings at the performance and elite levels was higher than that of mothers and fathers put together. Table 5.15 shows familial involvement in sport.

Table 5.15: Summary of family involvement in sport

Level of Sport Involvement	Father %	Mother %	Sibling %
None	35.18	48.94	28.04
Recreational	37.69	39.36	26.46
Performance	21.11	8.51	32.80
Elite	6.03	3.19	12.70
	Base n = 199	**Base n = 188**	**Base n = 189**

Of the thirty-five athletes who reported having some family involvement in sport at the elite level, the majority (60%) of respondents with a family member involved at elite level reported that that member was a sibling. Of the group who reported a family involvement at elite level, 85.71% had only one member of their family involved at this level. Over eight percent (8.57%) reported two elite athletes in their family, while five percent (5.71%) reported three elite family members. Table 5.16 shows family involvement at elite level.

Table 5.16: Family involvement in sport at elite level

Family Member	Relationship at elite level %
Father	20
Mother	5.71
Sibling	60
Father & Mother	5.71
Father & Sibling	2.86
Father & Mother & Sibling	5.71

Base n = 35

Employment

This section details athletes' occupational circumstances. Over half of the respondents were employed. Forty percent (40.99%) of the respondents were in full-time employment and ten percent (10.36%) were employed part-time. Only three percent (3.15%) of respondents were unemployed and 28.38% of the respondents were in full-time education. At the time of the survey, 16.67% of the elite sportsmen and sportswomen in the respondent sample were full-time athletes. Full-time athletes in the sample came from eighteen different sports, both team and individual. Ten percent (9.91%) of respondents in this category were male and just under seven percent

(6.76%) were women. The percentage of full-time athletes on the sample was higher than the researcher had expected. In the written advice given to prospective Talented Athletes it is clearly stated that subsistence awards, which supports living costs, will only be offered to '*athletes of exceptional quality*' (Scottish Sports Council, 1998a, p.3). However, the year in which the study was conducted, 2000, was an Olympic year and many of the athletes on the sample indicated they had become full-time athletes for that year only in order to prepare for the summer Olympic Games in Sydney. For example, several respondents from Women's Hockey were also members of the British Olympic Squad, which was preparing for the Olympics by training on a full-time basis. These athletes had been given additional subsistence funding in order to allow them to join the Olympic squad. Table 5.17 shows the breakdown of full-time by sport and gender.

Table 5.17: Full – Time Athletes by Gender and Sport

Sport	Total	Male	Female	% Sport	% Total Sample
Athletics	3	2	1	8.1	1.4
Badminton	3	2	1	30	1.4
Canoeing	1	1		10	0.5
Cycling	2	2		28.57	0.92
Fencing	1		1	7.7	0.5
Golf	3	3		15.8	1.4
Hockey	3		3	12.5	1.4
Judo	4	3	1	33.3	1.9
Karate	1	1		20	0.5
Motorsport	1	1		25	0.5
Riding	2		2	18.2	0.9
Rowing	1		1	12.5	0.5
Sailing	1	1		10	0.5
Skating	1	1		20	0.5
Skiing	2	1	1	22.5	0.9
Squash	2		2	20	0.9
Swimming	3	2	1	20	1.4
Tennis	3	2	1	18.8	1.4
Totals	**37**	**22**	**15**	**N/A**	**N/A**

Base n = 37

There were significant differences across the age range of respondents with respect to their status as full-time athletes. Not surprisingly, the proportion of full-time athletes peaked in the age range 21-25 (30.65%), although there were significant numbers in the under 21 (11.86%) and 26-30 (14.58%) age ranges.

Employment by gender

The survey also revealed differences in the employment status of male and female respondents. 28.38% of men were employed compared with 22.07% of women. More men (25.23%) than women (14.86%) were employed on a full-time basis, although this proportion was reversed in the part-time sample where twice as many women (7.21%) were employed than men (3.15%). Twice as many women (2.25%) reported that they were unemployed as men (0.90%) which is in contrast with national trends where female unemployment rates are lower than that of men (Scottish Executive, 2000b). However, the unemployment rate for women in the respondent sample was almost identical to the Scottish average for women, which in 1999 stood at just under three percent (2.7%) (Scottish Executive, 2000b). In contrast, the figure for men is much lower than the Scottish average, which in 1999 was almost eight percent (7.9%) (Scottish Executive, 2000b). Table 5.18 shows employment status by age and gender.

Table 5.18: Employment Status by Age and Gender % of Total Respondent Sample

	Employment Status %	Under 21	21 -25	26-30	31-40	41+	Male %	Female %
F/T education	28.38	72.88	27.42	4.08	0	9.09	11.31	17.12
F/T employment	40.99	6.78	27.42	65.31	78.05	54.55	25.68	15.31
P/T employment	10.36	6.78	12.90	8.16	9.76	27.27	3.15	7.21
F/T athlete	16.67	11.92	30.65	14.29	9.76	0	9.91	6.76
Unemployed	3.15	1.69	1.61	8.16	0	9.09	0.90	2.25
Other	0.45	0	0	0	2.44	0	0	0.45

Base n = 222

Differences across the age range were also found in other categories, most notably in full-time education. Not surprisingly, the majority of respondents in this category were in the under 21 age range (72.88%), although over a quarter (27.42%) of respondents in the age range 21-25 were in full-time education. An analysis of those in full-time education by gender also revealed differences. Significantly more women (17.12%) were in full-time education than men (11.26%).

Income

As noted above, only *'athletes of exceptional quality'* are considered for subsistence funding by **sport**scotland Lottery Fund. Clearly, only a very small percentage of athletes funded through the Talented Athlete Programme are able to support themselves exclusively or predominately from Lottery funds. Indeed, over half of the athletes on the sample were employed. This section details the main source or sources of income of respondents.

Of the sportsmen and sportswomen who responded to this question (n = 221), thirty-nine (17.64%) ticked more than one option indicating that they received income from more than one source. Of those respondents, twenty-six (11.76%) indicated that they had two main sources of income, and thirteen (5.88%) indicated that they had three main sources of income. In total, twenty-three response combinations were recorded, however, eighty percent of the respondent sample ticked only one box and these fell into three major categories: 'Personal Wages' (47.51%), 'Family / Parents' (13.57%) and 'Lottery Funding' (13.57%). The largest single response was in the category 'personal wages' where one hundred and nineteen respondents ticked this box. Of those respondents, one hundred and five (47.51%) indicated that 'personal wages' were their main source of income and ticked no other category. Fifty-three respondents ticked the category 'parents / family', and of those, thirty (13.57%) ticked this box only. Sixty-six respondents ticked the category 'lottery funding', and of those, thirty (13.57%) ticked this box only. All other response combinations accounted for less than 5% of total responses. These are shown in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Source of Finance

Response	Percentage of Total %
Wages only	47.51
Family only	13.57
Lottery Funding only	13.57
Family and Lottery Funding	5.43
Student Loan only	3.17
Lottery Funding and Wages	2.71
Lottery Funding and Sponsorship and Wages	1.81
Lottery Funding and Student Loan	1.81
Family and Lottery and Sponsorship	1.36
State Benefits only	1.36
Family and Lottery and Wages	0.90
Lottery Funding and Sponsorship	0.90
Family and Lottery and State Benefits	0.45
Family and Lottery and Student Loan	0.45
Family and Other and State Benefits	0.45
Family and Sponsorship and Wages	0.45
Family and Student Loan	0.45
Family and Wages	0.45
Lottery Funding & Sponsorship & State Benefits	0.45
Other only	0.45
Other and Student Loan	0.45
Sponsorship only	0.45
Sponsorship and State Benefits	0.45
Totals	**100.00**

Base n = 221 (1 respondent did not complete this question)

Of the thirty respondents who ticked the 'lottery funding' category only, seventeen were individuals who had agreed to identify themselves to the researcher. As a result, it was possible to identify the Talented Athlete Programme awards received by them in the funding period 1999-2000. Ten of the seventeen athletes received awards of over £10,000 and three athletes received over £20,000, which represents 50% of the total identifiable respondent sample (n = 143) who received awards over £10,000. Of the one hundred and forty three respondents who identified themselves to the researcher, more than half (55. 94%) received Talented Athlete Programme awards of £3000 or less. Only nine percent (9.39%) of this group received £10,000 or more. In the funding period 1999-2000 slightly more men (52.47%) than women (47.55%) received awards overall. However, in the respondent sample, the percentage difference in each of the award categories was slight. In the 'under £3000' and '>£3000 <£10000' categories slightly more men than women received awards, while in the 'over £10000' category that was trend was reversed. Table 5.20 shows Talented Athlete Programme awards by age and gender.

Table 5.20: Talented Athlete Programme awards by sex and gender

Award Range	% of respondents in each award range	% of male respondents in each award range	% of female respondents in each award range
< £3000	55.94 (n = 80)	30.77 (n = 44)	25.17 (n = 36)
> £3000 <£10000	30.07 (n = 43)	15.38 (n = 22)	14.69 (n = 21)
> £10000	13.99 (n = 20)	6.29 (n = 9)	7.69 (n = 11)

Base n = 143

Summary

Social characteristics of respondents: summary

1. The family background of elite sportsmen and sportswomen was found to be predominately middle class.
2. The social class of elite sportsmen and sportswomen (as determined by their own occupational status) was also found to be predominately middle class.
3. The proportion of elite sportsmen and sportswomen who attend/attended private schools is significantly higher than the Scottish average.
4. Scottish elite sportsmen and sportswomen are highly educated.
5. Overall, the gender balance of elite sportsmen and sportswomen in Scotland is almost equal, although the balance does vary somewhat from sport to sport.
6. Although the proportion of elite athletes from ethnic minorities was representative of the Scottish population as a whole, the lack of athletes from minority ethnic groups was significant.

Scottish elite sportsmen and sportswomen who are recipients of Talented Athlete Programme awards appear to present a social profile that is significantly different from the Scottish population as a whole. Scottish elite athlete.'s predominately come from white, middle class family backgrounds, are highly educated, and those who are adult[130] are likely to be found in occupational classes I, II or III (N). The social profile of the elite sportsmen and sportswomen on this study would lead one to conclude that the chances of an individual achieving elite athlete status in Scottish sport would appear to be heavily influenced by their social background. However, in order to assess that such assumptions (premised predominately on quantitative measures) are valid, further qualitative measures need to be collected. A qualitative study, investigating individual athlete experiences from across a wide range of sports is necessary to explore the factors underlying specific issues raised by this study.

In terms of the gender balance, the results of this study appear to show that, overall, the distribution of Talented Athlete Programme awards in the funding year 1999-2000

[130]Adults are defined as those aged 16+

was reasonably equitable. However, when the results are considered in terms of the total athlete sample, the positive results reported above could be interpreted as somewhat misleading. In the funding period 1999-2000, more men than women (54.5% and 45.5% respectively) were being funded through the Talented Athlete Programme. In terms of the total possible sample available to the researcher, there were forty-three or nine percent, more men on the sample than women. However, a significantly higher proportion of the total female sample responded to the questionnaire than did males (50.23% and 43.46% respectively) and this may explain the more favourable results in terms of the gender balance of the respondent sample which reported that 50.9% males compared to 49.09% females. When considered from this wider perspective, the quantitative results returned from questionnaire could be somewhat misleading in terms of gender equity. Further investigation is required in order to determine if these results are indeed simply the outcome of a fair and equitable application system, or whether they indicate that the elite funding system in Scotland continues to incorporate the traditional patriarchal values of mainstream sports.

Other findings from this study, such as the under-representation of athletes from the manual social classes, and the lack of athletes from minority ethnic groups, appear to confirm that the social inclusion policies, recently incorporated into **sport**scotland's (1999a) strategic plan for the distribution of Lottery funds, are necessary. If the pathways to elite sport are to be genuinely equitable and available to all with potential, then the social profile of elite sportsmen and sportswomen must continue to be monitored in order to assess the effectiveness of socially inclusive policies. On the other hand, these results may, as Houlihan (2000) argues, be an indication of the extent to which the social inclusion policy objective can be mediated by the existence of policy targeted at specific policy sectors. Houlihan (2000) argues that the pursuit of Olympic and Commonwealth medals might take priority over, or at least moderate, the extent to which a disproportionate representation of athletes from the higher social classes will be accepted.

Talented Athlete Programme: athletes views

In this section, the views and experiences of being a recipient of a Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) award are described. Questions 16 – 19 were designed to gather

both quantitative and qualitative information. In addition to being given a range of answer options to each question, where respondents were asked to tick the one most appropriate to their experience, athletes were also given the opportunity to add comments about their personal experiences. The personal comments of athletes who chose to respond to each, or any, of the questions were recorded, analysed. The responses were loaded into NUD*IST Vivo (NVivo) a computer-assisted qualitative data software package (CAQDAS). NVivo provides a range of tools for handling data records, and associated information about them that can support a number of techniques and approaches to qualitative analysis. A simple, single hierarchical content analysis of common themes and issues was undertaken and the results are described below.

Application procedure history

Two thirds (66.67%) of respondents had received Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) awards in the previous funding period (1998 – 1999), while a third (33.33%) had not. Table 5.21 shows the breakdown by gender.

Table 5.21: Question: "Did you receive a TAP award in the funding period 1998-99?"

	Yes %	No %
Male	35.14	15.77
Female	31.53	17.57
Total	**66.67**	**33.33**

Base n = 222

Of those respondents who had not received a TAP award in the previous funding period, almost forty percent (39.19%) came from the 'Under 21' age range. However, as Table 5.22 indicates, there were significant numbers of respondents in all the other age categories who, similarly, were not funded in 1998-99.

Table 5.22 TAP award history by age

	Under 21	21 - 25	25 – 30	31 – 40	41 +	Total
Funded 1998 – 99	30 (20.27%)	47 (31.76%)	32 (21.62%)	31(20.95%)	8 (5.41%)	148
Not Funded 1998 – 99	29 (39.19%)	15 (20.27%)	17 (22.97%)	10 (13.51%)	3 (4.05%)	74
Totals	59 (26.58%)	62 (27.93%)	49 (22.07%)	41 (18.47%)	11 (4.95%)	222

Base n = 222

Because twenty-four of the seventy-four respondents who indicated that they had not received an award in the previous funding period, chose to remain anonymous, it was impossible to fully assess how many of those respondents were being funded for the first time in 1999–2000. However, an analysis of the fifty respondents who did reveal themselves to the researcher indicated that forty-three (86%) athletes were being funded for the first time in 1999-2000. Interestingly, more females (58.14%) than males (36%) were being funded for the first time in 1999-2000. Fourteen percent of the group who did not receive a TAP award in the previous funding period (1998-1999) had, however, received TAP awards previously. There are many possible reasons to explain why previously funded athletes might not receive a TAP award in a particular funding period. In their Annual Report 1998-1999, **sport**scotland Lottery Fund state the following reasons why funding to athletes previously funded might have been withdrawn: "*...some improved their performances and moved into United Kingdom programmes; some retired; some were injured; and others failed to reach their targets*" (**sport**scotland, 1999b, p.13). While it is impossible, without further investigation, to provide a comprehensive explanation for this particular group, it should be noted that a few respondents indicated that they had been funded by an UK Sport 'World Class Performance Programme' in 1998-99, but had been dropped in the 1999-2000 funding period. Table 5.23 shows the results of the analysis of those respondents who did not receive a TAP award in 1998-99 by category and gender.

Table 5.23: Athletes who did not receive a TAP award in funding period 1998-99

	Not Funded 99-2000*	First Award 99-2000**	Previously Funded**
Males	35 (47.30%)	18 (36%)	4 (8%)
Females	39 (52.70%)	25 (50%)	3 (6%)
Totals	74 (100%)	43 (86%)	7 (14%)

*Results for whole group (n = 74)

**Results for sub-group (n = 50) of respondents who identified themselves to the researcher

Application procedure: assistance with TAP application

Quantitative analyses of responses

The sportsmen and sportswomen in the sample were asked who, if anyone, had helped them to complete the Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) application form. Most athletes indicated that at least one person helped them with this task, with only 14.86% indicating that they had completed the application form without assistance. Not surprisingly, three quarters (75.76%) of those who completed the application

without assistance had received a TAP award in the previous funding period, 1998-99 and had experience of the application procedure. It is also interesting to note that almost twice as many men (66.67%) completed the form without assistance as women (33.33%). Why so many more men appear to have the confidence to complete the form without assistance is impossible to determine from the results of this study. This is an area that will be explored in more detail in the follow-up study.

Governing Bodies of Sport appear to have been an important source of assistance for a considerable percentage of the sportsmen and sportswomen in this study when completing their TAP application forms. Over forty percent (40.53%) of respondents indicated that their Governing Body had helped them with this task. Indeed, for 23.42% of the total respondent sample, the Governing Body had been their only source of assistance. A breakdown of results by age and sex (Table 5.24) indicates that respondents from across the age spectrum had received assistance from their Governing Body.

Table 5.24: Respondents Receiving Assistance from GB by Age & Sex

	Under 21 %	21 - 25 %	25 – 30%	31 – 40%	41 +%	Total
Males	8 (50%)	9 (42.86%)	9 (36%)	15 (71.43%)	3 (42.86%)	44 (48.89%)
Females	8 (50%)	12 (57.14%)	16 (64%)	6 (28.57%)	4 (57.14%)	46 (51.11%)
Totals	16 (17.89%)	21 (23.60%)	25 (26.97%)	21 (23.60%)	7 (7.87%)	90

Base n = 90

The influence of coaches in the application process also appears to be significant with over a third (36.48%) of respondents indicating that they had received help from their coach when completing the TAP application form. Almost a third (32.10%) of the respondents who received help from their coaches were in the Under 21 age range and 31.25% in the 21 – 25 age range. Not surprisingly, this proportion dropped significantly in the older age ranges. Once again, more women (60.49%) than men (39.51%) indicated that they had received assistance from their coach when completing their TAP application. Table 5.25 shows the breakdown by age and sex.

Table 5.25: Respondents Receiving Assistance from Coach by Age & Sex

	Under 21 %	21 - 25 %	25 – 30%	31 – 40%	41 +%	Total
Males	12 (46.15%)	9 (36%)	6 (31.58%)	3 (33.33%)	2 (100%)	32 (39.51%)
Females	14 (53.15%)	16 (64%)	13 (68.42%)	6 (66.67%)	0	49 (60.49%)
Totals	26 (32.10%)	25 (30.86%)	19 (23.46%)	9 (11.11%)	2 (2.47%)	81

Base n = 81

Twenty-eight percent (28.82%) of respondents, split almost evenly by sex, indicated that they had received help from their parents when completing their TAP application form. Not surprisingly, the majority (68.75%) of respondents were in the 'Under 21' age range, with 26.56% in the '21 – 25' age range. There were no respondents reporting parental assistance in the age ranges '31 – 40' and '41+'. Only four percent (4.05%) of respondents indicated that their Lottery Fund case officer had given them some assistance to complete their TAP application form and seven percent (7.66%) that assistance had come from an 'other'. The complete listing of possible combinations of assistance (there were seventeen combinations in total) are shown in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Assistance, if any, with Talented Athlete Programme Application

Responses	Percentage of Total %
No Assistance	14.86
Governing Body Only	23.42
Coach Only	12.61
Parents Only	11.71
Parents & Coach	9.46
Coach & Governing Body	9.01
Other only	5.86
Parents & Governing Body	4.05
Lottery Sports Fund Case Officer Only	2.25
Parents & Coach and Governing Body	2.25
Coach & Governing Body & Lottery Case Officer	0.90
Coach & Other	0.90
Parents & Other	0.90
Parents & Coach & Other	0.45
Governing Body & Lottery Case Officer	0.45
Coach & Governing Body & Other	0.45
Coach & Lottery Case Officer	0.45
Total	**100**

Base n = 222

Qualitative analyses of responses

Over a third of respondents (35.58%) chose to complete the "Any Comments" box attached to the question *"Who, if anyone, helped you complete the TAP award application form?"* A quarter of those respondents (25.32%) thought that the Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) application form was too complex and difficult to complete, and a further five percent (5.06%) indicated that they would have liked more advice when completing their application form. **sport**scotland Lottery Fund are aware that a significant number of athletes find the TAP application form very

difficult to fill in, and they have taken action in response to feedback from athletes and governing bodies.

"*The Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) Applicant Feedback Survey 1998*" (Martin and McGregor, 1999) conducted on behalf of the Lottery Fund, sought to find out opinions about the application form, including the ease of completion, clarity of accompanying notes and evaluation of assistance from the Lottery Fund. Less than half (46%) of the 161 respondents surveyed regarded the application form as 'easy' to complete. As a result of this study the Lottery Fund Annual Report 1998-1999 reported that it had: "...*reworked the application form to make it easier for the 1999 applications*" (**sport**scotland Lottery Fund, 1999b, p.28). From the responses to this present study it would appear that the '*reworked*' application form has achieved some of the hoped for improvements over those in past years. For example, two respondents, both of whom had been funded previously, did report that the application process was getting better and that this year's application form was an improvement on previous years. However, despite improvements, it is obvious that the application form remains complex and difficult for a significant number of sportsmen and sportswomen.

Eighteen athletes (22.78%) indicated that they had completed the form without assistance while a further three (3.80%) said that they had only received assistance with the 'progress' part of the form. Seven percent (7.59%) reported that someone other than their parents, coach, governing body or Lottery Fund had helped them to complete their TAP application form. Team-mates and friends were the most common responses, although three percent (3.8%) reported that their partners had helped. A further three percent (3.8%) indicated that their coaches had been very influential in helping them get the maximum award. All other comments had only two responses or less. All comments are listed in Appendix 4.

Fairness of the Talented Athlete Programme application procedure

Quantitative analysis of responses

There was broad satisfaction (14.22% very satisfied and 51.38% satisfied) with the fairness of the Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) application procedure. Respondents from Bowling, Canoeing, and Curling all reported particularly high

levels of satisfaction (> 80%). However, over twenty percent of respondents (18.81% dissatisfied and 2.75% very dissatisfied) indicated that they were not satisfied that the application procedure was fair. Twelve percent (12.84%) had 'No Opinion' and four athletes did not provide a response to this question. Table 5.27 shows the opinions of respondents by sex.

Table 5.27: Responses to question "How satisfied/dissatisfied are you that the TAP application procedure is fair?"

	V. Satisfied	Satisfied	No Opinion	Dissatisfied	V. Dissatisfied
Male	9.22	26.73	4.61	10.14	0.46
Female	5.07	24.42	8.29	8.76	2.30
Totals	14.29	51.15	12.90	18.89	2.76

Base n = 218 (4 respondents did not provide a response to this question)

The forty-seven respondents who indicated that they were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with the fairness of the application procedure for the Talented Athlete Programme came from a wide variety of sports. Athletes from Badminton, Cycling, Rugby, Skiing and Swimming all had particularly high levels of dissatisfaction. Over a third of respondents in these sports indicated that they were dissatisfied. Athletes from Women's Rugby and Badminton had the highest levels of dissatisfaction (83.33% in both sports) with the TAP application procedure.

Qualitative analysis of responses

Sixty-eight sportsmen and sportswomen (30.63% of total respondents) chose to complete the "Any Comments" box attached to the question: *"How satisfied/dissatisfied are you that the TAP application procedure is fair?"* Just over half (51.47%) of this group indicated that they were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with the fairness of the TAP application procedure. The complexity of the TAP application form itself and the inflexibility of award categories were the issues noted most frequently by respondents.

Thirteen percent (13.34%) of respondents, who offered a written response to this question, indicated that the application form was very difficult to complete but noted how important it was in terms of a successful award. Responses below are typical of those in this category:

"Complex and detailed information required – not easy for someone without form filling skills..."

"A lot seems to depend on how you fill in the form"

A similar number of respondents (n = 9, 13.24%) indicated some frustration with the division of awards into specific categories. Most respondents, (n = 6) in this group were, however, 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' overall with the fairness of the Talented Athlete Programme. Typical responses in this category were as follows:

"Categories either contain too much money in one area and not enough in others"

"Needs more flexibility on categories of funding awards"

"Although I ticked satisfied there are areas that need changing i.e. the decisions on what money goes where in the various categories"

This particular criticism of the Talented Athlete Programme is one that the Lottery Fund had previously received feedback on. "*The Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) Applicant Feedback Survey 1998*" noted that "*...the categorisation of costs caused some degree of consternation among almost a quarter of respondents*" (Martin and McGregor, 1999, p.14). That study reported that athletes on the Talented Athlete Programme felt that certain categories were too inflexible and that limits were either too low or too high. The findings of this present study would appear to confirm that, for a significant number of sportsmen and sportswomen on the Talented Athlete Programme, the categorisation of costs is something that continues to cause concern and annoyance. Further investigation of this criticism is required in order to determine the exact nature of this problem and to discover what are the practical outcomes of this policy for individual sportsmen and sportswomen.

There also appears to be some confusion among Talented Athletes over the procedure and specific criteria used by the Lottery Fund when assessing the level of award to be offered to individual athletes. Eleven percent (11.76% n = 8) of respondents who offered a written response to this question indicated that they were either unhappy and/or confused about the level of award offered to them. Fifty percent (n = 4) of responses in this category came from the 'dissatisfied group'. Not surprisingly, this

category was the single biggest response from respondents who were 'dissatisfied' or very dissatisfied' with the fairness of the TAP application procedure. The responses overleaf are typical of those in this category:

> *"Athletes of similar standard awarded very different amounts?"*
>
> *"Appears to be no real logic/thought behind awards made. Appears to more a case of 'pot luck' as to awards received, than a specific criteria applied across the board"*
>
> *"Confusion a little on my money dipping from 1998-1999 when a huge improvement in my performance occurred..."*

Six respondents (8.82%) indicated that they had no understanding of the application process for the Talented Athlete Programme and could not, therefore, comment on whether or not it was fair. Three respondents (4.41%), all from the 'dissatisfied' group, indicated that they believed that the application process was biased towards individual athletes and not team sports. Three respondents (4.41%) thought that the application process needed to be more sport-specific because different sports required different balances of fund allocation. Three respondents (4.41%) also reported a lack of sport specific knowledge by Lottery Fund officers all from the 'dissatisfied' group. These respondents indicated that they had found case officers to be ill informed and with no understanding of the complexities of their individual sports. All other comments had two responses or less. All comments in response to this question are listed in Appendix 5.

Athlete satisfaction with Lottery Fund's handling of TAP application

Quantitative analyses of responses

There was broad satisfaction (15.91% Very Satisfied and 58.64% Satisfied) with the Lottery Fund's handling of the TAP applications of sportsmen and sportswomen in the study. Respondents from Bowling, Curling, Golf and Skiing all reported particularly high levels of satisfaction. Over 80% of athletes in these sports indicated that they were satisfied with the handling of their applications. However, over twenty percent (3.64% Very Dissatisfied and 16.82% Dissatisfied) of respondents were dissatisfied. Five percent of respondents had 'No Opinion' and two athletes did not provide a response to this question. Table 5.28 shows the opinions of respondents by sex.

Table 5.28: Responses to question "How satisfied/dissatisfied are you personally with the Lottery Sports Fund's handling of your Talented Athlete (TAP) application?

	Very Satisfied %	Satisfied %	No Opinion %	Dissatisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %
Male	9.09	29.55	2.27	9.09	0.45
Female	6.82	29.09	2.73	7.73	3.18
Totals	15.91	58.64	5.00	16.82	3.64

Base n = 220 (2 respondents did not provide a response to this question)

The forty-five respondents who indicated that they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the handling of their Talented Athlete Programme application came from a wide variety of sports. Respondents from Badminton, Cycling, Women's Rugby, Sailing, Squash and Swimming, however, had particularly high rates of dissatisfaction with over a third of respondents in these sports indicating that they were dissatisfied. In Rugby and Squash for example, dissatisfaction rates among respondents were 83.33% and 75% respectively.

Qualitative analysis of responses

Sixty sportsmen and sportswomen (27.02% of total respondents) chose to complete the "Any Comments" box attached to the question "*How satisfied/dissatisfied are you personally with the Lottery Sports Fund's handling of your Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) application?"* Fifty seven percent (57.63%) of this group had indicated that they were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with the Lottery Fund's handling of their TAP application. Once again the inflexibility of award categories appeared to be an irritation to many.

Eighteen percent (18.33%) of respondents, from both the 'satisfied' and 'dissatisfied' groups (45.45% and 54.55% respectively) who offered a written response to this question indicated that more movement of funds within award categories would be helpful.

> *"They (Lottery Fund) put more money than asked for in some categories that you cannot spend while others are less than you spend…"*
>
> *"I'm not happy with they way they (Lottery Fund) allocate money to certain categories even if you didn't apply for money in that category"*

"When I filled in my expenditure section of my questionnaire, I put thought into how much I spend and how (e.g. travel / accommodation) etc. and no attention was paid to them. The ratio's we have received are badly wrong. The athletes suffer and I'm not the only one"

As reported earlier, further investigation of this criticism is required in order to determine the exact nature of this problem and to discover what are the practical outcomes of this policy for individual sportsmen and sportswomen.

There were a number of responses that were critical of the Lottery Fund administrative processes and personnel. For example, ten percent of respondents, 60% of who were from the 'satisfied' group, indicated that they thought the Lottery Fund's handling of their TAP application was very bureaucratic. A further ten percent, all of whom were from the 'dissatisfied group', indicated that they found Lottery Fund Officers, uncaring and unsympathetic. The following comments are typical of the responses in these categories:

"Jobs worth rigid approach by staff, out of line with objective to make support painless"

"The person handling my case didn't have a clue or a care for my needs. They also did not understand my sport"

"Too bureaucratic"

"Stereotypical red tape administration, if the person who's handling the case is even there – always at lunch!"

It should also be noted however, that five percent of respondents indicated that the Lottery Fund staff were "*very helpful*", and a further five percent thought that the administration of their TAP award was "*getting better*". Other comments to this question worth noting are the five-percent of respondents who thought that the system relied too much on ranking, rather than results. A further five-percent thought that the Lottery Fund had little understanding of the needs of their specific sport. Appendix 6 lists all comments received on this question.

Athlete satisfaction with Lottery Fund's assistance with the management of TAP Award

Quantitative analysis of responses

There was a broad level of satisfaction (19.18% Very Satisfied and 47.49% Satisfied) with the assistance given to athletes by the Lottery Fund during the period of their Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) award. Respondents from Bowling, Canoeing, Curling Golf and Skiing all reported particularly high levels of satisfaction. Over eighty percent of respondents in these sports indicated that they were satisfied with assistance from the Lottery Fund. However, once again almost twenty percent of respondents (16.89% Dissatisfied and 2.28% Very Dissatisfied) were dissatisfied. Fourteen percent of respondents said that they had 'No Opinion' about the assistance received from the Lottery Fund and three athletes did not provide a response to this question. Table 5.29 shows the opinions of respondents by sex.

Table 5.29: Responses to question "How satisfied/dissatisfied are you personally with the assistance you get from the Lottery Sports Fund throughout the period of you Talented Athlete (TAP) award?

	Very Satisfied %	Satisfied %	No Opinion %	Dissatisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %
Male	9.13	24.20	7.76	9.13	0
Female	10.05	23.29	6.39	7.76	2.28
Totals	19.18	47.49	14.16	16.89	2.28

Base n = 219 (3 respondents did not provide a response to this question)

The forty-two respondents who indicated that they were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with the assistance given to them by the Lottery Fund throughout the period of their Talented Athlete Programme award came from a wide variety of sports. Respondents from Badminton, Hockey, Women's Rugby, Squash, Swimming Tennis and Volleyball, however, had particularly high rates of dissatisfaction with over a third of respondents in these sports indicating that they were dissatisfied. In both Badminton and Women's Rugby respondents reported dissatisfaction rates of 66.67%.

Qualitative analysis of responses

Seventy sportsmen and sportswomen (31.53% of total respondents) chose to complete the "Any Comments" box attached to the question "*how satisfied/dissatisfied are you personally with the assistance you get from the Lottery Sports Fund throughout the*

period of your Talented Athlete Programme (TAP) award?" Forty-seven percent (47.76%) of this group indicated that they were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the assistance given by the Lottery Fund, while 37.31% were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied'. Once again, comments regarding the inflexibility of award categories topped the list of comments made. Twenty percent of those who chose to comment on this question indicated frustration with the 'categories of expenditure' and the restrictions on moving money between categories. Comments on this topic came from all three response groups: 'satisfied' (35.71%) 'dissatisfied' (42.86%) and interestingly, 21.43% came from those respondents who indicated that they had 'no opinion' about the assistance received from the Lottery Fund.

Twenty percent of respondents indicated that they were not happy with the performance of Lottery Fund staff. Not surprisingly, the majority (64.29%) of comments on this topic came from those in the 'dissatisfied' group, although 35.71% of respondents came from respondents who said they were 'satisfied' with assistance from the Lottery Fund. The following comments are typical of the responses in this on this topic:

> *"No support or advice provided by LSF officers"*
>
> *"Difficult to get hold of - Seems at time disinterested"*
>
> *"Hard to contact and sometimes unsympathetic towards the needs of my sport"*

Eighteen percent (18.57%) of respondents did however, indicate that they were happy with the assistance they received from the Lottery Fund:

> *"Always given me advice and kept me up to date with adaptations"*
>
> *"No problems at all!"*

Of the other recorded responses (there were 21 different responses in total), four percent (4.29%) indicated that they felt that the Talented Athlete Programme was not responsive to changes in circumstances, or performance levels. A further four percent (4.29%) commented that they had had no or very little contact, with the Lottery Fund during the period of their award. Five percent (5.71%) noted that they had not been on

the Talented Athlete Programme long enough to make a comment on this question. All other responses had only two responses or less. Appendix 7 lists all comments to the question.

Talented Athlete Programme: athlete views

Athlete Views: Summary

1. Overall, the level of athlete satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme is high.
2. A significant proportion of sportsmen and sportswomen are, however, dissatisfied with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme.
3. Sportsmen and sportswomen from Bowling and Curling had particularly high levels of satisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme.
4. Sportsmen and sportswomen from Badminton, Women's Rugby[131] and Swimming had particularly high levels of dissatisfaction with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme.
5. Particular issues, such as the complexity of the Talented Athlete Programme application form and problems surrounding the division of awards into specific categories, were reported as problematic by a significant number of athletes from across all sports.

It is clear from the responses to the questions that attempted to measure the level of satisfaction administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme that the overall level of satisfaction was high. There were, however, a significant percentage of elite sportsmen and sportswomen who appeared to be unhappy with one aspect or another of the Talented Athlete Programme. Sportsmen and sportswomen from Bowling and Curling reported consistently high levels of satisfaction in response to all four questions that attempted to measure the level of athlete satisfaction with the Talented Athlete Programme. In contrast, athletes from Badminton, Women's Rugby and Swimming reported consistently high levels of dissatisfaction. Interestingly, all five sports are classified by **sport**scotland as 'Level 1' sports, and selected to be part of the Scottish Institute of Sport. In their strategy document *"Sport 21: nothing left to chance"*, (Scottish Sports Council, 1998b), the Scottish Sports Council reported that the limited resources available to them would, in future, be targeted to areas that *"will produce the greatest overall benefit"* (Scottish

[131]Note that the response rate from this sport was less than 25% (24%) and consequently no significance can be drawn from these results.

Sports Council, 1998b, p.11). The sports of Badminton, Bowling, Curling, Rugby and Swimming were among a number of sports identified as 'Level 1' in terms of prioritisation of resources. These five sports were also included in the initial seven sports (Athletics, Badminton, Curling, Hockey, Football, Rugby and Swimming) selected to be part of the Scottish Institute of Sport. The Lottery-funded Institute was established in 1999 to build upon existing programmes, such as the Talented Athlete Programme, to ensure that a comprehensive programme of technical, scientific and personal support is made available to selected leading Scottish sportsmen and sportswomen.

Given the apparently privileged access to resources which athletes from these five sports appear to enjoy, why respondents from the sports of Badminton, Women's Rugby and Swimming should report such high levels of dissatisfaction with the fairness and administration of the Talented Athlete Programme, in direct contrast to their counterparts in Bowling and Curling, obviously required further investigation. Particular issues, raised by athletes from both the satisfied and dissatisfied groups, such as the complexity of the Talented Athlete Programme application form, and problems surrounding the division of awards into specific categories, required further investigation in order to ascertain if these particular issues lead to inequities in the system.

Conclusions

The findings of the Scottish Elite Athlete Study suggests that elite sportsmen and sportswomen in Scotland are predominately white, come from middle class families, are well educated and are employed in the professional or managerial & technical sectors. On the whole, athletes appear to be satisfied with the administration, effectiveness and equity of the Talented Athlete Programme, although there are a significant proportion of dissatisfied athletes, particularly in the sports of Badminton, Women's Rugby and Swimming. Particular issues, such as the complexity of the Talented Athlete Programme application form, and problems surrounding the division of awards into specific categories, were reported by athletes from across sports and from both the satisfied and dissatisfied groups. In order to provide some insight into the specific issues raised by this study a follow-up qualitative study was undertaken, with a selection of individual athletes from across a range of sports in the study in

order to test the conclusions drawn from this study. The findings of the qualitative study are reported in chapter six.

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