

SCOTTISH POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEISURE POLICY

Gavin Reid

INTRODUCTION

This article extends literature analysing post devolution Scottish leisure policy (Jarvie and Thomson 1999; Morrow and Wheatley 2003; Jarvie 2003; Reid 2004) by identifying and comparing the leisure policies of the main Scottish political parties. The social democratic consensus between them led this article to examine if leisure policy exhibited such 'ideological sameness' (Kerevan 2003a, b). While a social democratic emphasis on an active role for government in delivering an equitable leisure culture (Veal 1998) is apparent, with rhetoric of 'Sport for All' and 'Arts for All', Scottish Labour's top-down approach combines with a lack of strategic leadership and sustainable funding to hinder this. Unlike New Labour's search for 'the clever state' (Wright 1996) which emphasises, in England, policy implementation and evidence-based policy (Henry 2001; Houlihan and White 2002), Scottish Labour has preferred reviews and initiatives based on limited research and evaluation. The parties' perception of sport as 'a good thing' sees policy differences revolve around resourcing and speed of implementation, rather than fundamental disagreements over sport's social and economic role. The more politicised arts sector sees more party divisions over Labour's management of culture, although their media-friendly nature means they are often exaggerated. The Scottish Conservatives break the consensus by arguing that Labour's top-down arts policy stifles creativity, while art and social inclusion initiatives mirror political priorities to undermine leisure's autonomy. Despite promising a bonfire of the quangos, Scottish Labour has preferred to relocate SportsScotland

Gavin Reid is a lecturer in the Department of Physical Education, Sport and Leisure Studies, University of Edinburgh, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh, email: g.reid@education.ed.ac.uk.

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

from Edinburgh to Glasgow and merge the Scottish Arts Council with Scottish Screen. While the Scottish Greens and Scottish Conservatives favour quangos to maintain distance between government and leisure, the Scottish National Party and Scottish Socialist Party seek their abolition on account of their undemocratic and bureaucratic nature.

While Mitchell (2003a) bemoans the lack of critical policy analysis post devolution, leisure should not be ignored because, as Coalter et al (1988, p.1) argue, it 'raises complex issues concerning the relationship between public and private spheres and one which lies at the forefront of social change'. Before examining the parties' leisure policies the article defines the terms 'leisure' and 'policy'. While leisure comprises sporting, recreational, artistic and social pursuits undertaken in various situations (Coalter et al 1988), this study concentrates on what the aforementioned authors term traditional public subsidy areas, those being sport and the arts. The concept of policy includes, not just actual decisions and stated aims, but why agencies do nothing about particular issues (Henry 2001). The article begins by outlining the chosen research methods, then critically examines the parties' leisure policies and concludes with key arguments.

METHODS

The 1999 and 2003 elections produced a Scottish Labour-led coalition government with the Scottish Liberal Democrats. With all Culture ministers being Labour MSPs, this article conceptualised Labour's leisure policies as the Executive's and did not examine the Liberal Democrat approach. To assess the parties' leisure policies the research examined books on post devolution Scottish politics and political parties' election manifestos since 1999. Articles from the Scottish quality press (1999 to the present) were also assessed to highlight contemporary views. The main research method involved examination of leisure policy debates (1999-present) outlined in the Parliament's official reports accessed from its web site. The research then organised three semi-structured interviews with the Culture spokespeople of the Scottish Greens, Scottish Conservatives, and Scottish Socialist Party. Despite repeated requests it did not manage to interview the SNP spokesperson. To assess Scottish Labour's approach, two interviews were undertaken with MSPs who had held ministerial positions in this area, and one interview with a former Labour convener of the Parliament's Education, Culture and Sport committee. Interviews lasted approximately thirty minutes

Scottish Affairs

and took place in late 2005 and early 2006. Themes included: parties' wider politics and leisure policies; key sport and arts policies; and thoughts concerning the leisure quangos. Data analysis involved repeated readings of interview transcripts to identify patterns, themes and relationships (Denscombe 1998), with the research adopting a recursive and iterative approach where data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously, each informing the other (Blaikie 2000; Bryman 2001). The main research limitations were the wide scope, which limited detailed discussion, and the inability to speak longer with Culture spokespeople, which would have provided greater depth.

SCOTTISH LABOUR AND LEISURE POLICY

With Scottish Labour winning elections in the 1980s and 1990s it never experienced a Thatcherite revolution or New Left challenge to traditional Labourism (Paterson 2000; Hassan and Warhurst 2001). This produced different internal psychologies between Scottish and British Labour, with the former embracing the politics of government and radical rhetoric but conservative action, and the latter the politics of governance and an outward-looking and radical party (Hassan and Warhurst 1999; Hassan and Warhurst 2002a, b; Hassan 2003). The party's caution also stems from its producer orientation which largely rejects New Labour's modernising agenda (Shaw 2003). While Westminster Labour operates in a post Thatcherite realm of markets, inequality and the limits of politics, Holyrood Labour is said to operate in a social democratic and more nationalist environment (Hassan and Warhurst 2002a, b; Hassan 2005). Scottish Labour's electoral success partly stems from identification with its West of Scotland heartlands where its culture developed (Hassan and Fraser 2004). What are examined now are the leisure policy implications of this mind-set.

The arts community accused the Executive of lacking vision and commitment since 1999, notably over the stalled National Theatre and standstill arts budget. However, the former Labour ministers interviewed felt the arts community had inflated expectations about what devolution could deliver, with discontent also stemming from the national arts companies' having to live within their means. One Labour interviewee felt the most telling phrase from the Scottish Opera enquiry in 2000 was when one of its representatives stated that the Parliament should not limit their artistic expression by budgetary constraints. They believed this stemmed from pre-devolution politics 'where Scottish Office

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

representatives attended the opera, spoke to their friends, and asked the relevant minister to sign for more money’.

Labour interviewees expressed frustration that their arts policies attracted criticism from political opponents who had voted for costly initiatives, such as free personal care for the elderly, which reduced arts money. A former Culture minister argued that, while Scottish theatres had not received English theatre’s £75 million funding, England did not benefit from free personal care for the elderly, the abolition of university tuition fees, or generous teachers’ pay deal; these different priorities were what devolution was about (Wade 2002). However, to Macmillan (2003) the Executive’s arts policy reflected what Mrs Thatcher termed ‘followership over leadership’ as, with the Parliament building’s escalating costs, it embraced a dour public-service utilitarianism with art tagged onto social policy. However the former minister argued that taxpayers’ contributions meant they should ask whether arts organisations managed their resources and reached a wider constituency. He also felt that if the arts wanted more money ‘they need the big hitters with big budgets to feel they’ve a credible role’.

The Executive’s subsuming of culture and sport within, first, Education, then Environment and, finally, Tourism highlighted a lack of focus (Linklater 2002; Wade 2002), accentuated by the turnover of Culture ministers (four) since 1999 (Hassan and Warhurst 2002a). The former Culture committee convener felt the reshuffling of Health and Education ministers was more significant as money came from these departments and, just when they had been convinced of leisure’s case, they moved. Some interviewees felt this handed control to civil servants who resisted change. While tourism, culture and sport are linked policy may emphasise national events, large facilities and tourism over smaller events, community facilities and local participation. While the new portfolio gives the arts and sport visibility, their shift from Education’s end-of-year underspend reduces money and connection with a system crucial for participation. The likelihood of the relevant Parliamentary committee highlighting policy shortcomings lessened because, in the first term, its linking of culture and sport with education meant the former were only discussed during a crisis (Monteith, cited in Watson 2000). The new committee linking culture and sport with enterprise may fare little better given its preoccupation with growing Scotland’s economy and university funding. The above problems were accentuated when, in the 2003 cabinet reshuffle, the Culture minister received a deputy minister’s salary with no department or deputy minister

Scottish Affairs

support (Dinwoodie 2003), a situation attributed to there being few votes in culture (Linklater 2003).

The Executive's National Cultural Strategy (Scottish Executive 2000) was described by Hamilton and Scullion (2002) as a missed opportunity over its failure to provide vision, examine cultural infrastructure and internal power structures, and address the national arts companies. These authors felt the Parliament was more comfortable discussing culture's role in social policy rather than its evaluation, a situation attributed to MSPs perceiving politics as social work (Macmillan 2005) and Scottish Labour conceptualising the arts as 'for toffs' or 'for Edinburgh' (Miller 2003; Scott 2003). The former minister felt this stemmed from the media's simplistic caricature 'that somehow if you speak in a west of Scotland accent you're uncultured', with the access versus excellence debate one of modern Scotland's tragedies. However, the document was hampered by bureaucratic writing, with one of its 64 objectives being 'to investigate the feasibility of identifying national centres of excellence in traditional arts' (p.65), which was attacked by opponents as New Labour management speak and civil service jargon.

While some saw the following three years as being characterised by Executive indifference towards the arts (Macmillan 2005), the Strategy pointed to: £30 million spent delivering a National Cultural Strategy; £17.5 million for one year's free music tuition in primary schools; £3 million for secondary school cultural co-ordinators; £5 million on the Dewar Awards for talented musicians; £1.5 million for excellence in traditional arts; £1.9 million to fund free museum access; £7.5 million for a Scottish National Theatre; £8.3 million towards the National Library of Scotland's purchase of the John Murray archive; and £2.5 million to part-finance the purchase of Titian's 'Venus Anadyomene'. However, a criticism of Executive arts policies is the emphasis on one-off initiatives (for example Youth Music and cultural co-ordinators) which, once removed from arts spending, see core funding stagnating. The former Culture committee convener argued that Scotland's multi-party system and Labour's lack of parliamentary majority meant one-off initiatives were inevitable if all parties supported them.

Arts policy climbed the political agenda when the First Minister used his 2003 St Andrew's Day speech ('Cultural Policy in a Devolved Scotland') to argue that culture should be society's next major enterprise, with the development of imagination a cultural right and requirement for citizenship. To illuminate this an independent Cultural Commission was established in June 2004, led by a former chairperson of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). However its

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

independence was questioned by the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) who perceived an anti-local government and elitist agenda (COSLA 2005), with their resulting parallel review causing antagonism between the two (Hutcheon 2005a,b). In June 2005 the Commission produced its 540 page report to a mixed response, with COSLA describing it as a 'cultural con' while others felt its 131 unprioritised recommendations showed how not to develop policy (Centre for Cultural Policy Research 2006). The Executive rejected many of the Commission's recommendations, such as an extra annual £100 million arts funding and the creation of two new organisations, Creative Scotland (to make policy) and Culture Fund (to disseminate money), preferring an extra £20 million annually from 2007-8 and the merger of the Arts Council with Scottish Screen. The latter would create a new cultural development agency (Creative Scotland) to advise on cultural entitlements and oversee 'an escalator approach' for talented artists moving from school to work. To increase accountability the Executive decided to fund national arts companies directly with increased funding tied to minimum standards of performance, touring, outreach and governance. A former Arts Council chair felt this would emphasise elitism and undermine excellence through political correctness (Linklater 2006).

The Culture minister described their cultural rights agenda as giving every citizen an equal chance to participate in the nation's cultural life and access culture of real quality (Ferguson 2006). While some see such opportunities as rewards for success in a market economy (Roberts 2004), with cultural tastes too diverse to be made into citizenship rights (Roberts 1981), others saw this not requiring legislation and needing more than the £20 million offered (Hutcheon 2006). Clearly local and central government now have key cultural roles, the former delivering cultural rights and the latter for national companies. The former Culture minister felt that cultural rights, to be underpinned by a Culture Bill in 2007, would encourage councils to revisit cultural obligations as millions were spent on public projects which ignored culture. He also felt it could encourage local authority schools to use culture like private schools did to create a more rounded education.

Sport has climbed the political agenda since devolution through its apparent contribution to the Executive's social policies, in particular Scotland's obesity problem. The Executive have targeted the inactive through the appointment of a Physical Activity Co-ordinator, the creation of a Physical Activity Task Force, and publication of its Physical Activity Strategy – **Let's Make Scotland More Active** (Scottish Executive 2003). However, this dominant health

Scottish Affairs

agenda may see sport squeezed in favour of any activity; a point seen in SportsScotland's slogan of 'more people, more active, more often'. The Executive's sports policies emphasise social justice and social equity with 'Sport for All' central to this. However as Houlihan and White (2002) argue, this conceptualises sport as a means to an end, with sport objectives marginalised by social inclusion goals. The social democratic focus is seen in the £3 million ensuring a sports component in 48 social inclusion partnership areas and the 2014 Ryder Cup bid promoting golf to every Scottish 9 year old. Morrow and Wheatley (2003) question the latter's inclusion remit as private golf clubs may discourage additional users, while poor quality courses and the initiative's compulsory aspect ignores key components of successful sport and social inclusion projects (Coalter et al 2000). Reid (2004) also questions the Executive's social democracy, arguing that Parliamentary discussions of the Euro 2008 football championships and Hampden Park finances shows commitment to male sport over female sport. It appears that Labour's west of Scotland foundations and concern with Scotland's image makes sectarianism a higher political priority than gender equity, with a working party investigating what the First Minister terms 'Scotland's secret shame'. Like New Labour's emphasis on sport's morally improving potential (Houlihan and White 2002) sport is linked to the Executive's improvement agenda (McAveety 2004), with the First Minister's foreword to the Sport 21 review (SportsScotland 2003) urging 'equality of opportunity for all with no one left behind'. However a recent Executive directive urging sports clubs to recruit disabled players and guarantee them a game attracted criticism from Scottish Disability Sport over 'inclusion at all costs', with the Scottish Sports Association's policy director blaming career civil servants whose non-sporting background produced inappropriate wording (Howarth 2006).

While Jarvie and Thomson (1999) describe the Executive's Sport 21 policy (Scottish Sports Council 1998) as an 'excellent strategy' it concentrates on national, output-led targets over outcomes, and the preoccupations of providers over non-participants. Given significant regional variations in sports participation it may be necessary to have local and area based targets (Coalter and Dowers 2006). Having targets that do not separate adult women from all adults ignores the former's falling participation and the lack of political will to address this. The strategy also downplays Higher Education, with no initiative like England's Talented Athlete Scholarship Scheme. Jarvie and Thomson's comment that Sport 21 was 'a distinctively Scottish approach to policy-making' should relate to its emphasis on consultation over allocating responsibilities for implementation and focus on delivery. While the First

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

Minister blamed the pre-devolution mindset (Bath 2006), this ignores Sport 21's 2003 review and his role, as Education minister, in the McCrone teacher pay deal which damaged school sport. It remains to be seen whether the Executive's recent Sport 21 review addresses the above or, in entering party politics, shifts towards easier targets, the non-disclosure of information on failing sport structures, and civil service obfuscation over greater resourcing, independent evaluation and strategic leadership. While McConnell felt devolution aided focus and leadership towards sport, the reality has been self-congratulatory parliamentary motions, a committee addressing sport only in a crisis, a cross party sport group focusing on presentations, and a minister with an overly extensive portfolio. While the chair of the cross party group on sport called for a shift in ethos to participation and greater accountability via a Sports Minister working to a well-defined strategy (Canavan, cited in Bath 2006), any subsequent Sports Minister – and sports funding – could become focused on delivering gold medals at London's 2012 Olympics and (possibly) Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games rather than social democratic (community) sport. Recent Sportscotland statements about creating pathways from the playground to the podium may, when combined with the health agenda's emphasis on young people, further weaken those promoting adult recreational activities.

Jarvie and Thomson (1999) argued that, to improve Scottish sport, the Executive should address sport's weak legislative framework, reform the undemocratic Scottish Sports Council, and recognise sport's failing structures. In terms of sport's legislative basis, the council requirement for 'adequate provision' remains, with the Executive's response to the Cultural Commission stating they may, in future, 'consider this'. It is hard to see sport's contribution to the improvement agenda if quality is not prioritised. The Scottish Sports Council – renamed Sportscotland – has not been democratically reformed, rather relocated to Glasgow's deprived East End as part of the Executive's redeployment of civil service jobs from Edinburgh and Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games' bid. Critics saw this latter decision as Labour's attempt to buttress electoral support in the west of Scotland, ignoring an independent report stating it would waste money and damage sport (Swanson 2006). As part of recognising failing sport structures, the Executive invested £12 million in the Scottish Football Association's ten year action plan for youth football to shift, what it saw, as the game's 20th Century football development model. Emphasis was placed on developing, through a unified strategy, a wider playing base, football academies, and better coaching. However the Executive's commitment is small given that it covers ten years

Scottish Affairs

and 32 councils. Rather than recognise failing structures, sport is used for high-profile electioneering, like the First Minister's repeated support for Glasgow's Commonwealth Games bid and call for school inspectors to designate as good schools those prioritising competitive sport. Little emphasis is placed on how this evaluation will occur and whether such activities discourage children from life-long participation. The Executive's national and regional facilities strategy was announced as providing £230 million funding but, later, councils struggled with the required partnership funding as the Executive provided only £30 million. While emphasis is placed on the £24 million Active Schools initiative, its part-financing from health not education crucially limits the latter's ownership. Such short-term programmes, introduced on little evidence, and with limited evaluation may not contribute much to sporting or health objectives (Thorburn 2006). Sports practitioners' constant search for funding to underpin short-term initiatives may, as Coalter (2006) suggests, hinder coherent policies. The Executive's announcement that every child receives two hours of quality physical education by 2007-8 was undermined by a study highlighting that, on average, primary pupils received only 70 minutes PE per week and secondary pupils 80 minutes, with wide discrepancies across the country (Schofield 2006).

Executive sports policy also involves hosting major sports events, demonstrated by the £10 million invested in EventScotland to make Scotland a world leader in events by 2015. Despite the lack of evidence concerning tourism and participation spin-offs (Whitson and Horne 2006), the First Minister believes events promote economic benefit and mass participation (Bath 2006). Like the Gold Coast with the Sydney 2000 Olympics, the Executive's support for London 2012 rests on Scotland's global showcasing as a training destination. McConnell also argues that a successful Glasgow bid for the 2014 Commonwealth Games had 'the potential to change our country' by showing Scotland's ambition as a nation and confidence in its largest city. The emphasis therefore appears skewed towards tourism and image-making, not sports policy. With the six worst performing local authority areas for sports participation in and around Glasgow (Coalter and Dowers 2006), the Games' costs would be better spent on local sports development. McConnell's predecessor (Henry McLeish) believed in sports events' ability to increase Scots' confidence, boost tourism, and provide devolution's psychological dimension. He argued that, through events, a small country on the European periphery could become a world player (McLeish 2004, 2005). McLeish parallels John Major's sporting agenda as both were sports lovers and embraced a nationalistic sports policy. While Major used traditional team

games and the British Sporting Academy to reassert Britishness and appease a party divided over Europe (Henry 2001), McLeish used sport to emerge from the shadows of his predecessor (Donald Dewar) and promote what Bradbury and Mitchell (2002) term a more populist and Scottish public policy.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY AND LEISURE POLICY

The Scottish Parliament turned the left of centre social democratic SNP into the main opposition party (Leicester 2000; Lynch 2002). The SNP have been criticised for using leisure debates to highlight constitutional limitations, but the Parliament allows the SNP to promote their Scottishness and other parties to portray them as a single-issue party. While welcoming the Executive's National Cultural Strategy they criticised the Executive for claiming cultural successes they had nothing to do with, and downplaying sport, education, broadcasting and gaelic. They also argued that – like the current cultural entitlements – the Strategy was hampered by council funding cuts which threatened music, drama and physical education teaching (McGugan 1999, 2001a). The party seek a Scottish cultural strategy via bursaries for traditional music students and 5% of indigenous music on radio as part of companies' licence conditions (McGugan 2000). While not against the current cultural rights agenda, they question whether, without greater resources, there will be culture of quality to access (Cunningham 2005). Crucial for them is culture's inclusion within national educational priorities and the curriculum, the latter achieved by upgrading teachers' skills so that pupils understand, through history and the arts, their nation's culture.

The SNP criticise the Executive's preference for managing culture through consultations, commissions and audits, over providing vision and adequate funding. They see cultural policies hindered by the Parliament's limited powers with culture devolved but broadcasting, defined by Scott (2000, p.208) as 'the most potent means of cultural expression', reserved to Westminster. A former Culture spokesperson argued that, because the Executive ignored 'art for art's sake', culture became an 'add on' to other sectors, preventing cultural creativity (Russell 2003). He thus called for, first, a baseline review of cultural funding and organisation to end decisions made by historical accident with some national companies (for example opera) allocated large sums with others (for example theatre and traditional arts) squeezed. Second, he advocated directly funding the national arts companies and national theatre to overcome the dishonest 'arms-length' approach with the Scottish Arts Council – deemed

Scottish Affairs

a remnant of British cultural patronage (Macmillan 2002) – abolished to create a more proactive body. The national companies' framework would also be examined for gaps, notably the need for a national theatre and traditional arts national company. Third, he proposed a Scottish Academy comprising non-establishment figures elected from the arts to inform cultural policy making (Russell 2002).

The SNP see Executive sports policies undermined by limited resourcing and implementation delays (Matheson 2005), with self-congratulatory Parliamentary motions criticised for ignoring declining sports participation, swimming pool closures, lost playing fields, and the £3 billion needed over the next 25 years to restore local facilities (Kit Campbell Associates et al 2006). They see the Executive's wider policies hampering Sport 21 objectives, with new school Public Private Partnerships (PPP) reducing green field sites and increasing costs for their sports facilities (Hyslop 2005). They would therefore revise PPP contracts to ensure cheap lets for youth sport (SNP 2003). While not disagreeing with Active Schools, they believe that without better local sports facilities and more specialist physical education teachers in primary schools, children's interest will be raised then dashed (McGugan 2001b). To tackle youth obesity they advocate reviewing school hours to provide additional time for extra curricular sports (Schofield 2006), annual school fitness checks, more PE teachers, 2 hours per week compulsory PE, an end to school playing field sales, and free access to council pools (SNP 2004). However, young people may access new leisure pools and do little physical activity, while compulsory PE may discourage life-long participation. Also, stopping playing field sales may condemn pupils to inappropriate red blaes pitches. Their preference for sporting entitlements to ensure minimum weekly access to sports facilities ignores problems turning diverse sporting tastes into rights (Roberts 1981).

While advocating six regional sports academies to create pathways between school and elite sport, the SNP mirror views on English sports policy (McDonald 2000; Green 2004) by questioning SportsScotland's emphasis on Olympic-related sports and medal winning opportunities over community sport (SNP 2003). Its criticism of SportsScotland extends to its bureaucratic and undemocratic nature, resulting in a promise to end its quango status (Macmahon 2006) and to redirect monies to grassroots sport (Stewart 2006). To engage sport, society and government, they favour replacing SportsScotland with a Scottish Sports Foundation – with representatives drawn from governing bodies and other sporting organisations – to advise the Executive and Sports

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

Minister on sports policy. However, given some governing bodies' reluctance to embrace inclusion (Houlihan and White 2002) this may hinder their community focus. The SNP believe that a Department of Sport would encourage Executive leadership; the absence of which they see in Sport 21's recent -4.19107(e)-1.57367(c)vi-1.57367(c)w. Counte-partle67(e)ingiswhatinge they see as the th-1.57367(c)y s-1.5736782(e)-1.57367(-)-207.616(S)2.04335(p)-5.78680(likely)7868(r)-4.19107(e) grounds that it will improve youth activity and health statistics (Sturgeon 2006). Thei-4.19107(e) criticism of the Executive'sstibunapproach to leisure extends to EventScotland, which they would disband with its budget allocated to a community -1.57367(c)vents fund.

THE SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVES AND LEISURE POLICY

The Scottish Conserveatives were wiped off the electoral map in the 1997 General Election (Lynch 2001; Taylo-4.19107(e) 2002). The Parliament's PR voting system gave them 18 MSPs in the 1999 -1.5736788(d)1.0135party. 57294(c)-1.57294(c) been lik-1.5736767(n)6.25574(e)-1.57367(d)-5.7868()-75.0482(m)1.02168(c)5.78606()-75.0482(m)1.02168(c) fo-4.19107(e) -4.19107(e)-1.57367(c)al d-1.57367(c)vbitionisindandinsportssupporte fo-4.19107(e) schools. Thei-4.19107(e) anti-politics message (Michell. 2006)194(x)6.25647(t)1.02315(e)-1.57367(a) a-4.19107(e)ts to ecd thei-4.1910034()

Scottish Affairs

Scottish cultural attitudes from state subsidy to greater private and corporate support, with council representatives removed from arts boards and replaced by business leaders or community members providing replacement funding (Monteith 2002).

The Conservatives described the National Cultural Strategy as a missed opportunity to define the limits of government in cultural policy, with this top-down homogenising strategy hindering creativity by ignoring that culture's fluidity stemmed from people, not politicians and bureaucrats. They argued it was impossible to encapsulate culture in a strategy as ministers and bureaucrats did not have perfect knowledge of Scottish culture. Leaving them to pick cultural winners and losers produced an incomplete strategy, seen in the limited reference to excellence, the visual arts and literature (Monteith 2000b). This thinking informs their view of EventScotland, seen as another quango initiating top-down expensive strategies, with money better spent at grassroots. They also believe it highlights the Executive's preference for headline-grabbing events, hindered by the 'nanny state' alcohol ban at major sports grounds. This nanny state is also seen in school cultural co-ordinators, with schools told to have them rather than given real devolution through funds to spend on their preferred culture. Following Massie (2000), the Conservatives see a cultured society requiring education to deliver an appreciative arts audience and a strong economy to promote private patronage. Promoting the latter lifts people from poverty, far better than masking their situation via politically correct art and social inclusion projects which do not work as art cannot be government planned (Monteith 2001). This chimes with Roberts's (2004) view that redistribution involves social and economic policies not public leisure, and Scruton's (1980) argument that the state's use of autonomous institutions such as leisure institutions for extrinsic purposes corrupts it. The Conservatives support a Scottish National Theatre and national arts companies' direct funding, with the Arts Council's disbanding deemed positive if it reduces bureaucracy. However, their Cultural spokesperson saw the cultural rights agenda as a 'political notion' that was 'impractical and ridiculous'.

Like John Major's cultural restorationist agenda of the mid 1990s (Penney and Evans 1999) the Conservatives champion team sports' ability to address Scotland's non-competitive culture and foster responsibility, enterprise and engagement amongst the young, and national pride. Like Major, they support traditional male 'English' team games like rugby and cricket (Bramham 2001), while arguing that cycling and shooting be added to the Scottish Institute of Sport's nine core sports because of Scots' recent success. Overall their sports

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

policies reflect key values, with their emphasis on excellence shown in support for the Scottish Institute of Sport, their belief in individual responsibility seen in the contention that parents take responsibility for their children's health (Davidson 2003), and their trust in people seen in their objection to the alcohol ban at sports grounds. Their belief in free enterprise was seen in the Parliamentary debate on Scottish football's financial crisis with the party against government interference in private businesses (McGrigor 2004). The party's unionist credentials are reflected in its regret that the Scottish Football Association rejected a British Olympic football team for fear of losing Scotland's national status.

THE SCOTTISH SOCIALIST PARTY AND LEISURE POLICY

The 2003 Scottish Parliament elections saw the SSP achieve an electoral breakthrough with their MSPs increasing from one to six. Stemming from the Trotskyite militant tendency and 1980s anti Poll Tax campaigns (Hassan and Warhurst 2001; Taylor 2002), it claims Scottish politics' far left position, filling the void left by New Labour's right-ward shift (Young 2002; Mitchell 2004). A previous Culture spokesperson argued that its key policies didn't involve leisure, rather council tax abolition, free school meals and increased minimum wage for public sector workers. He rejected the art and tourism link, with the arts deemed basic societal components (Calder 2003). The current Culture spokesperson believed they were noted for fighting poverty and warrant sales, but their socialist vision required bread and circuses, with culture and arts the circuses. He felt a mass party should engage with mass culture for 'hearts and minds' because 'you can't inspire people by saying, become a socialist and you'll never be hungry'. The party's initial strategy focused on single issues popular with those in disadvantaged housing schemes (Taylor 2002), an approach evident in its 2002 resurrection of the Edinburgh People's Festival, which avoids the official Festival's channelling of visitors to particular Edinburgh realities (Jamieson 2004), by involving its deprived estates.

McTernan's (2003) argument that the SSP's plans for free school meals for all handed a 'free lunch' to Scotland's middle classes chimes with their proposal for free access to council leisure facilities, which would benefit better-off groups with the cultural capital to use them (Roberts 2004). Mirroring neo-Marxists (Clarke and Critcher 1985), they see commercial leisure's freedom diminished by capitalism's influence over films, television and music, with

Scottish Affairs

elite sport reflecting the system's unfair competition as the wealth gap between rich and poor Scottish football clubs delivers one-sided matches (Sheridan and McCombes 2000). They believe that, under socialism, money could be redistributed from rich to poorer teams, with further democratisation achieved by shifting club ownership from millionaires to supporters trusts embracing socialist concepts of co-operative ownership and democratic control. The current Culture spokesperson argued that, to restore fair competition to football, Scotland should emulate American football's draft-pick which embraced 'quasi socialist ingredients' with the weakest team picking the best new players to encourage equalisation. The SSP's desire to develop coaching and training facilities to enable athletes to compete at world class levels (SSP 2003) shows no aversion to competitive sport on the grounds that it reinforces capitalism's competitive individualism and acts as an opium for the masses (Brohm 1989). Nor is it rejected for engendering false national unity and undermining socialist internationalism. What there is however is a desire, via parliamentary debates, to demand modern industrial relations in horse racing and football because of their poor working conditions.

The SSP's arts policies seek to establish a national film studio, create local recording studios across Scotland, fully fund Scottish Opera but keep ticket prices low, create a National Theatre, and double the arts budget (SSP 2003). It would also replace 'elitist' quangos like the Arts Council, replacing it with a more democratic body reflecting Scotland's cultural diversity. Other MSPs expressed surprise at their support for Scottish Opera, thinking they would advocate its nationalisation not increased funding. However it echoes the Greater London Council of the early 1980s whose New Urban Left cultural policies saw excellence for everyone. Another surprise was the party's support for London 2012 as, despite evidence highlighting the Games' corporatism, undermining of free speech, and affluent beneficiaries (Lenskyj 2004; Horne 2007), it was praised for its democratic spirit and ability to regenerate the working class borough of Hackney.

THE SCOTTISH GREENS AND LEISURE POLICY

Since gaining independence from the UK party in 1990 the Scottish Greens struggled with Scotland's materialistic culture and limited political opportunities (Bennie 2002). However, the 2003 election transformed them into a party of influence as the electorate used their 'list' vote to increase their MSPs from one to seven. Their 2003 manifesto excluded a leisure section but,

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

under 'Transport', advocated a national network of walking and cycle tracks and home zones to encourage recreation (Scottish Greens 2003). They favour a person-centred arts policy of providing artists with greater financial support, with their Culture spokesperson arguing that cultural rights meant little if artists hadn't the finance to deliver them (Ballance 2005). The Greens support the leisure quangos' arms-length principle believing it maintains freedom in these areas. They call for 1% of the Executive's budget to be spent on the arts, with activities reaching those normally excluded, such as those in prisons, hospitals and old people's homes. Their desire for a procurement fund for schools and libraries to purchase Scottish books seeks to retain a distinct Scottish culture in a US dominated, global culture. While nationalism was not seen as normal Green policy, it served their objective of reinvigorating Scottish pride after 250 years of English cultural colonialism.

While the Greens had earlier called for sport's transfer to the health department to overcome the National Health Service's emphasis on sickness (Harper 2003a), their current concern is lost playing fields. The planning system, they argue, aids business through the financial implications of the developers' right to appeal, with Sportscotland's negotiation of new sports facilities to avoid this disappointing the Greens who, like Bale's (1994, 2003) criticism of modern sport's anti-nature character, reject the resulting all-weather pitches that people have to pay for (Harper 2005). Frustration is directed at local councils who think (wrongly) that losing green spaces for housing attracts a larger middle class, and who allow sites to wither to lessen community objections to planning applications (Harvie 2004). The party supports a holistic approach to obesity with people likely to adopt a healthy lifestyle if in an environment where physical activity is part of their lives (Scott 2006). Their 2003 manifesto thus talked of overcoming 'soulless housing estates' via cycle paths, home zones and traffic calming measures (Harper 2003b). Despite both education and sports policy advocating Green priorities of health and well-being, they believe the Executive over-emphasises organised sport (for example physical education, leisure facilities and team sports) over spontaneous play, with the loss of spaces for the latter deemed our generation's shame (Harvie 2005). There is, however, no attempt to develop what Stewart et al (2004) term an informal sports policy in response to individualising social shifts (Coalter 1999) that make sports club membership unlikely. While welcoming the Executive's major events strategy they question the placing of environmental sustainability 11th out of 16 priorities, while arguing for a strategy based on sustainable transport (Ballance 2004).

CONCLUSION

This article set out to identify and compare the leisure policies of Scotland's main political parties and examine if they exhibited an ideological sameness. Scottish Labour's underlying caution and emphasis on government over governance has delivered an expanded role for the state in leisure and a top-down emphasis on short-term initiatives lacking sustainable funding. Unlike New Labour's search for the clever state (Wright 1996) which has seen, in England, a focus on policy implementation and evidence-based policy (Henry 2001; Houlihan and White 2002), Scottish Labour has preferred policy-making over implementation and evaluation, and a shift in key leisure organisations to its west of Scotland heartlands. While the rhetoric of 'Sport for All' and 'Arts for All' does include social democratic themes, the preference for conceptualising these policies instrumentally risks losing them to wider social and economic objectives. The ability of major sport and arts events to generate positive publicity for much-maligned politicians and the Parliament means that, despite their neo-liberal credentials, they are increasingly popular. While it is easy to blame Labour for policy shortcomings, Scotland's competitive politics and near permanent electoral cycle (Mitchell 2005) combine with media hostility towards the Parliament and increased civil service influence (Deacon 2005; Keating 2005) to discourage radical policy, and encourage the opposition's opportunistic use of leisure. In the absence of informed policy debate, parties conceptualise sport as 'a good thing', with opposition criticism resting on inadequate resourcing and slow implementation, rather than fundamental disagreements over sport's link to social inclusion and economic development. The SNP's social democratic preference for community sport is undermined by their need to oppose Labour and attack the constitution as it produces policies, such as SportsScotland's abolition and support for a Scottish Olympic team and regional sports academies, that may hinder such objectives. Their left of centre social democracy supports the Executive's arts and social justice link, but criticises its emphasis on reviews and audits over strategic leadership. To them, the Executive's self-congratulatory parliamentary motions ignore culture's under-funding and peripheral place within education which limits its Scottishness.

With the smaller parties it is difficult to talk of *party* policy as much stems from individuals with a particular leisure interest. The Scottish Conservatives support the leisure quangos' ability to maintain distance from government, but criticise Labour's top-down arts policy and failure to appreciate the limits of government in cultural policy. However, their belief in real devolution of

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

cultural decision-making to (say) schools ignores the lack of priority given to this in some institutions. The SSP mirror the Greater London Council of the early 1980s whose New Urban Left approach advocated the leisure quangos' democratisation, wider access to the high arts, and preference for individuals' developing their own leisure, over becoming passive recipients of the cultural industries (Henry 2001). However, their lack of understanding of contemporary leisure leads to support for London 2012 and free access to sports centres that are far from socialist. The Scottish Greens support the leisure quangos on the grounds (again) of limiting state interference, but differ from other parties via their person-centred arts policy which demands increased financial support for artists. Much of their leisure policy output centres on their cultural spokesperson's own arts background, thereby ignoring a real opportunity to develop an informal sports policy that reflects wider societal changes and the current emphasis within education on Green priorities of health and well-being.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bale, J. (1994) **Landscapes of Modern Sport**. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Bale, J. (2003) **Sports Geography**. London: Routledge.
- Ballance, C. (2004) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Major Events and Festivals in Scotland 20th May (col8682).
- Ballance, C. (2005) 'The menu is great, but where's the meat of our cultural policy?', **Sunday Herald** 26th June.
- Bath, R. (2006) 'A Question of Sport', **Scotland on Sunday**, 1st October.
- Bennie (2002) 'Exploiting New Electoral Opportunities: The Small Parties in Scotland' In Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (2002) **Tomorrow's Scotland** London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Blaikie, N. (2000) **Designing Social Research: The Logic of Application**. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Bramham, P. (2001) 'Sports Policy' In K. Hylton, P. Bramham, D. Jackson and M. Nesti (eds) **Sports development: policy, process and practice** London: Routledge.
- Brohm, J.M. (1989) **Sport: A Prison of Measured Time**. London: Pluto Books.
- Bryman, A (2001) **Social Research Methods**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Calder, A. (2003) Question Time on Cultural Policy in the Second Scottish Parliament, **Centre for Cultural Policy Research**, University of Glasgow, 31st March.

Scottish Affairs

- Centre for Cultural Policy Research (2006) **Scottish Executive's response to the Cultural Commission** 19th January, University of Glasgow.
- Clarke, J. and Critcher, C. (1985) **The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain**. London: Macmillan.
- Coalter, F, Duffield, B., Long, J. (1988) **Recreational welfare: the rationale for public leisure policy**. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Coalter, F. (1999) 'Sport and recreation in the United Kingdom: flow with the flow or buck the trends?' **Managing Leisure: An International Journal** No4, pp24-39.
- Coalter, F. (2000) **The Role of Sport in Regenerating Deprived Urban Areas**. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Coalter, F, and Dowers, S. (2006) **An analysis of regional variations in sports participation in Scotland**, Research report no105, Edinburgh: Sportscotland.
- COSLA (2005) '**Commission report a cultural con**' news release 23rd June.
- Cunningham, R. (2005) speech to the Parliamentary debate on the Cultural Commission 22nd September (col 19459).
- Davidson, D. (2003) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Physical Activity: The Need for Improvement and the Cost of Failure 27th November (col 3766).
- Deacon, S. (2005) 'Changing Scotland in a Changing World' In: K. Macaskill **Agenda for a New Scotland: Visions of Scotland 2020**, Edinburgh: Luath Press.
- Denscombe, M. (1998) **The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects**. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Dinwoodie, R. (2003) 'Questions asked over cut-price ministers', **The Herald** 27th May.
- Ferguson, P. (2006) speech to the Parliamentary debate on the Cultural Commission 19th January (col 22577).
- Green, M. (2004) 'Changing policy priorities for sport in England: the emergence of elite sport development as a key policy concern' **Leisure Studies** Vol23, No4 pp.365-385.
- Hamilton, C. and Scullion, A. (2002) Cultural Policy and Scotland: A Response to the National Cultural Strategy, **Scottish Affairs**, No39, Spring.
- Harper, R. (2003a) 'Question Time on Cultural Policy in the Second Scottish Parliament' **Centre for Cultural Policy Research**, University of Glasgow, 31st March.
- Harper, R. (2003b) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Physical Activity: the Need for Improvement and the Cost of Failure 27th November (col 3780).
- Harper, R. (2005) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Playing Fields, 1st June (col 17462).

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

- Hassan, G. and Fraser, D. (2004) **The Political Guide to Modern Scotland: People, Places and Power**. London: Politicos.
- Hassan G. and Warhurst, C. (1999) **A Moderniser's Guide to Scotland: A Different Future**. Big Issue in Scotland/The Centre for Scottish Public Policy.
- Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (2001) New Scotland? Policy, Parties and Institutions, **Political Quarterly** (Sept) p213-226.
- Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (2002a) **Tomorrow's Scotland**. Edinburgh: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (2002b) **Anatomy of the New Scotland: Power, Influence and Change**. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
- Harvie, P. (2004) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Glasgow's Green Spaces and Leisure Facilities 21st April (col 7595).
- Harvie, P. (2005) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Playing Fields 1st June (col 17459).
- Henderson Scott, P. (2000) 'The Scottish Parliament and Scottish Culture: The Opportunity of the New Era' In: A. Wright (ed) **Scotland: The Challenge of Devolution** Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Henry, I. (2001) **The Politics of Leisure Policy** (2nd edition). London: Macmillan.
- Horne, J. (2007) 'The Four 'Knowns' of Sports Mega-Events' **Leisure Studies**, Vol26, No1 pp81-96.
- Houlihan, B. and White, A. (2002) **The Politics of Sports Development: Development of Sport or Development through Sport**. London: Routledge.
- Howarth, M. (2006) 'Sporting clubs told to recruit disabled players' **Scotland on Sunday**, 24th September.
- Hutcheon, P. (2006) 'What price art?' **Sunday Herald** 22nd January.
- Hyslop, F. (2005) speech to the Parliamentary debate on a Scottish Mini Olympics 10th March (col 15345).
- Jamieson, K. (2004) 'Edinburgh: The Festival Gaze and its Boundaries' **Space and Culture** Vol7 No1 pp64-75.
- Jarvie, G. and Thomson, I. (1999) 'Sport, Nationalism and the Scottish Parliament' **Scottish Affairs** No27 Spring, pp82-95.
- Jarvie, G. (2003) 'Communitarianism, Sport and Social Capital: Neighbourly Insights into Scottish Sport' **International Review for the Sociology of Sport** 38/2 pp139-153.
- Keating, M. (2005) **The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making After Devolution**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Scottish Affairs

- Kerevan, G. (2003a) 'The old political system is not working for Scotland' **The Scotsman** 30/4/03.
- Kerevan, G. (2003b) 'Apathy party heads for a landslide win' **The Scotsman** 27th January.
- Kit Campbell Associates, Mike Williamson Associates, Professional Sportsturf Design and Tim Cruttenden Associates (2006) **National Audit of Scotland's Sports Facilities**. Edinburgh: SportsScotland.
- Leicester, G. (2000) **Report Card 2000: Devolution in Scotland**. Edinburgh: Scottish Council Foundation.
- Lenskyj, H. (2004) 'The Olympic industry and civil liberties: the threat to free speech and freedom of assembly', **Sport in Society** 7 (3), pp370-384.
- Linklater, M. (2002) 'From liberal arts to lip service, we will all be the poorer' **Scotland on Sunday**, 22nd September.
- Linklater, M. (2003) 'Deafening silence on culture' **Scotland on Sunday** 9th March.
- Linklater, M. (2006) 'Linklater's Scotland' **Scotland on Sunday** 1st January.
- Lynch, P. (2001) **Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lynch, P. (2002) **SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party**. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.
- Macmahon, P. (2006) 'SNP will pledge to cull quangos and slash bureaucracy in next manifesto' **The Scotsman** 22nd May.
- Macmillan, J. (2002) The Scottish Performing Arts In: Hassan G. and Warhurst, C. (2002) **Anatomy of the New Scotland: Power, Influence and Change**. Edinburgh; Mainstream Publishing Ltd.
- Macmillan, J. (2003) 'Arts policy puts spotlight on Executive failings' **The Scotsman**, 28/1/03.
- Macmillan, J. (2005) 'Culture clash' **Holyrood Magazine** Issue 117, 25th October.
- McAveety, F. (2004) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Sporting Success 23rd September (col 10492).
- McLeish, H. (2004) **Scotland First: Truth and Consequences**. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.
- McLeish, H. (2005) Scotland in the World In: K. MacAskill **Agenda for a New Scotland: Vision of Scotland 2020** Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd.
- McDonald, I. (2000) 'Excellence and Expedience? Olympism, Power and Contemporary Sports Policy in England' In: M. Keech and G. McFee (eds) **Issues and Values in Sport and Leisure Cultures**. Oxford: Meyer and Meyer Sport (UK) Ltd.

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

- McGrigor, J. (2004) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Football 11th February (col 5700).
- McGugan, I. (1999) speech to the Parliamentary debate on the National Cultural Strategy 2nd September (col 176).
- McGugan, I. (2000) speech to the Parliamentary debate on the National Cultural Strategy 2nd November (col 1380).
- McGugan, I. (2001a) 'Let's get physical' **Holyrood Magazine** 1st October Issue 54.
- McGugan, I. (2001b) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Sports Promotion in Schools 4th October (col 3171).
- McLaren, J. and McTernan, J. (2003) 'Whatever happened to the big ideas' **The Scotsman** 14/4/03.
- McTernan, J. (2003) 'Beware of Tommyrot' **Scotland on Sunday** 27/4/03.
- Massie, A. (2000) 'Second Thoughts: Reflections of an Anti-devolutionist' In; Matthew Spicer (ed) **The Scotsman Guide to Scottish Politics**. Edinburgh: Scotsman Publications Ltd.
- Matheson, M. (2005) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Young People and Football 22nd December (col 22133).
- Miller, P. (2003) 'Culture of indifference will cripple arts' **The Herald**, 23/1/03.
- Mitchell, J. (2003a) 'The study of Scottish politics post devolution: new evidence, new analysis and new methods' **West European Politics Review** Vol24 No4 pp216-223.
- Mitchell, J. (2003b) 'Old message from the grumpy party' **The Scotsman**, 4/4/03.
- Mitchell, J. (2004) 'Scotland: Expectations, Policy Types and Devolution' In Alan Tench (ed) **Has Devolution Made a Difference: The State of the Nations**. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Mitchell, J. (2005) 'Towards a radically new politics' In: K. Macaskill **Agenda for a New Scotland: Visions of Scotland 2020**. Edinburgh: Luath Press.
- Monteith, B. (2000a) cited in Watson, M. **Year Zero: A Year in the Life of the Scottish Parliament**. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- Monteith, B. (2000b) speech to the Parliamentary debate on the National Cultural Strategy 2nd November (col 1378).
- Monteith, B. (2001) 'Let's get physical' **Holyrood Magazine** 1st October Issue 54.
- Monteith, B. (2002) 'Devolution has failed to deliver on the arts' **The Scotsman** 18/12/02.
- Morrow, S. and Wheatley, G. (2003) The Ryder Cup 2014: Golf's Homecoming? **Scottish Affairs**, No43, spring, pp108-126.

Scottish Affairs

- Neill, A. (2006) 'End Scottish money funding London bid' (accessed from <http://www.snp.org.uk/>).
- Paterson, L. (2000) 'Scottish Democracy and Scottish Utopias: The First Year of the Scottish Parliament' **Scottish Affairs** No 33 Autumn.
- Penney, D. and Evans, G. (1999) **Politics, Policy and Practice in Physical Education**. London: E and FN Spon.
- Reid, I. (2004) 'What about the flowers of Scotland? Women and sport in Scottish society' **Scottish Affairs** Issue 47 Spring.
- Roberts, K. (1981) **Leisure**. London: Longman.
- Roberts, K. (2004) **The Leisure Industries**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Russell, M. (2002) 'Making Amends: a Government Policy for Culture for the Second Scottish Term' **Centre for Cultural Policy Research**, University of Glasgow, 17/12/02.
- Russell, M. (2003) 'Question Time on Cultural Policy in the Second Scottish Parliament' **Centre for Cultural Policy Research**, University of Glasgow, 31st March.
- Schofield, K. (2006) 'SNP reveals plans to give pupils more time out' **The Scotsman** 23rd May.
- Scott, E. (2006) speech to the Parliamentary debate on Childhood Obesity 2nd February (col 23099).
- Scott, K. (2003) 'Full houses belie crisis in Scottish theatres' **The Guardian**, 28th January.
- Scottish Executive (2000) **National Cultural Strategy – Creating our Future: Minding our Past**. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2003) **Let's Make Scotland More Active**. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Greens (2003) '**Reach for the future: 2nd vote Green**' Holyrood election manifesto, Edinburgh: Scottish Greens.
- Scottish National Party (2003) **Case for a Better Scotland** Edinburgh: Scottish National Party.
- Scottish National Party (2004) **Our policies for a more confident Scotland**. Edinburgh: Scottish National Party.
- Scottish Socialist Party (2003) **Another Scotland is possible**. Holyrood election manifesto, Glasgow: Scottish Socialist Party.
- Scottish Sports Council (1998) **Sport 21** Edinburgh: Scottish Sports Council.
- Scruton, R. (1980) **The Meaning of Conservatism**. London: Macmillan.

Scottish Political Parties and Leisure Policy

- Sheridan, T. and McCombes, A. (2000) **Imagine: A Socialist Vision for the 21st Century**. Edinburgh: Rebel Inc.
- Sportscotland (2003) **Sport 21: 2003-2007 Shaping Scotland's Future**. Edinburgh: Sportscotland.
- Stewart, B., Nicholson, M., Smith, A. and Westerbeek, H. (2004) **Australian Sport: Better by Design?** London: Routledge.
- Sturgeon, N. (2006) 'SNP backs Commonwealth bid' (accessed from <http://www.snp.org.uk/>).
- Stewart, S. (2006) 'Jobs on the transfer list' **The Herald** 23rd February.
- Swanson, I. (2006) 'Ministers ignored transfer warnings' **Edinburgh Evening News** 25th August.
- Taylor, B. (2002) **Scotland's Parliament: Triumph and Disaster**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thorburn, M. (2006) 'Emerging models of professionalism: the changing expectations of Physical Education teachers in school and community settings' **Education in the North** 12 pp47-57.
- Veal, T. (1998) 'Leisure studies, pluralism and social democracy' **Leisure Studies** Vol17 No4 pp249-267.
- Wade, M. (2002) 'Scottish theatre funding left trailing' **The Scotsman** 16th December.
- Watson, M. (2000) **Year Zero: A Year in the Life of the Scottish Parliament**. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- Wright, T. (1996) **Socialisms Old and New**. London: Taylor Francis Group.
- Young, A. (2002) The Scottish Establishment: Old and New Elites In: Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (ed) **Tomorrow's Scotland**. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

September 2006