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1 The Politics of Leisure and Policy

Introduction

At the beginning of the 1960s, following the post-war period of major growth, Daniel Bell (1960) felt able to declare *The End of Ideology*, by which he referred to the political consensus organised around social democratic politics and institutions. The battle between the political left and right appeared to Bell and many others to have become obsolete. Three decades later, Fukuyama (1990) was asking whether we were at *The End of History*, by which he also meant to signal the end of political debate between left and right but this time with consensus organised around a neo-liberal political paradigm. The mistaken nature of Bell's claims (the publishing of his book was followed by the rapid politicisation of the public sphere, particularly in the UK, with the resurgence of a radical left and the emergence of Thatcherism) should serve to warn us of the dangers of assuming the permanence of another paradigm.

In Britain in the closing years of the century, a New Labour government had been elected and was searching desperately for the means with which to define its political position and to differentiate itself in ideological and policy terms from the political opposition and from its 'socialist' past. The struggle for political definition and legitimacy across the closing decades of the century provides the context for the central theme of this book which is to explain the emergence, shaping and implications of leisure policy at the beginning of the new millennium.

A brief sketch of the emergence and development of leisure studies as an academic field might portray it in terms of four broad waves of theory. The first, in the 1970s, is what might be seen as an emerging pluralist orthodoxy, perhaps most articulately argued by Ken Roberts (1978). The second wave, evident in the 1980s, provided a series of radical critiques of the pluralist account, focusing on social divisions and inequalities in structural terms, with neo-Weberian accounts (Coalter, with Duffield, and Long,

1987), neo-Marxist accounts (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Hargreaves, 1986), feminist accounts (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990; Wimbush and Talbot, 1988), and socialist policy programmes (Whannel, 1983) challenging that pluralist orthodoxy. In the 1990s a third wave in leisure studies emerged associated with the in-roads which postmodernism has made into social theory. While 'mainstream' social theorists began to turn their attention seriously to culture, leisure and lifestyle (Baudrillard, 1988; Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 1990), some leisure theorists actively embraced destructured and relativised postmodern perspectives (Rojek, 1994) which contrasted with the structured certainties of the radical critiques of the previous decade. Alongside, and in part as a reaction to, postmodern perspectives, a fourth wave is discernible. Holistic approaches, theoretical traditions which sought to explain the increasingly globalised nature of the experience and the governance of leisure, have gained some ground. Accounts of globalisation of culture (Robertson, 1992) and of sport (Maguire, 1995) reflect such a trend. These four 'waves' provide some of the intellectual backdrop to understanding the context of contemporary leisure policy.

The delivery of leisure services, where this has been the responsibility of government, has largely been the role of local government, and it is local government which over the last three decades has arguably been the tier of government most subject to ideological, financial and political pressures. Yet it is in this area that sustained analysis of the state and leisure is most lacking. The major empirical analyses of local government of the 1970s (Blackie, Coppock, and Duffield, 1979; Dower, Rapoport, Strelitz, and Kew, 1979; Lewes and Mennell, 1976; Travis and Veal, 1979) not surprisingly lack any developed framework for the analysis of the politics of leisure, assuming a largely unarticulated pluralist perspective. However in the 1980s, in part because of funding difficulties (a function of tensions within the political system), research into public sector leisure politics was limited. The analysis by Coalter *et al.* (1987) of the rationale for public sector investment in leisure provides an exception. However this study was required to concentrate on the rationales rehearsed by political actors rather than on an analysis of actors' interests, or of policy processes and outcomes, and the radical critiques of leisure referred to earlier are relatively absent from the analysis of local government leisure policy in this period.

Some discussion of the impact of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) as a policy, either consciously or by implication, provides critical discussion of the (negative) redistributive effects of CCT in leisure (Centre for Leisure and Tourism Studies, 1992; Centre for Leisure Research, 1993), and to this has been added the literature on Best Value launched by the Labour government (Nicholls, 1999; Williams, 1999). This tends to be technocratic in its focus rather than fostering political analysis *per se*. In the 1990s, although postmodernism has in other fields triggered interest, for example in Foucauldian critiques of power, there is a virtual absence of such studies in leisure policy. Concern with globalisation and governance has, however, provided some impetus to discussions of local governance of leisure (Henry, 1999). Nevertheless, the picture which emerges is one of relative neglect of leisure policy studies at the level of local government which go beyond the technocratic concerns of commentary on such initiatives as CCT, quality assurance, or Best Value. This book seeks to redress that balance and much of what follows relates directly to the local government context.

Although the politics of leisure became more intense and adversarial in the last three decades of the twentieth century, this does not imply that political struggle was absent in earlier periods of growth and stabilisation of the welfare state, or, indeed, throughout the period of industrialisation in modern Britain. The overt use of leisure as a political instrument is even illustrated clearly in the publication of the *King's Book of Sports* of Charles I, which sought to reinforce alliances between aristocracy and the 'common people' in opposition to the embryonic, puritan-led middle classes (Hill, 1964). This declaration articulated the monarch's support for certain popular recreations which the puritan movement had sought to suppress. Thus, leisure as a tool of social policy, or as a vehicle for the promotion of certain interests, is not a new phenomenon. It will therefore be one of the concerns of this chapter to provide an account of the evolution of leisure politics and policy in industrialising Britain in the period since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Such an historical account provides the opportunity to identify the trajectory of leisure policy over time and to explore the historical antecedents of contemporary political struggles.

Before embarking on this review, it is important to clarify the ways in which key terms are to be used in this analysis. The concept of policy employed here follows the injunction that it should

'include all actions of governments, not just stated intentions . . . as well as an understanding of why governments sometimes choose to do nothing about a particular question' (Goldsmith, 1980: 22). Analysis of public policy which deals solely with the policy statements or intentions of politicians or officials will fail to address a number of important questions relating to, for example, the unintended consequences of policies adopted, the policies rejected, the process of selection of policy options for consideration, and the related question of 'non-decisions'. We therefore seek to incorporate analysis of policy content, policy determination (including non-decisions), and policy implementation and outcomes within this study.

Lowi (1972) outlines four types or categories of public policy; *distributive policies* – benefiting all or most citizens indiscriminately; *redistributive policies* – generally favouring a segment of the population at the cost of other segments; *constituent policies* – which define procedures in a democratic society such as election laws; and, finally, *regulative policies* – controlling the behaviour of members of the community. Leisure policies take predominantly one of three forms. They may be intended to be distributive, as for example in the funding of sports to foster morale through national success, or redistributive, in leisure provision aimed at particular groups or geographical areas, such as leisure for the unemployed or for areas of special need. Finally, they may be regulative, in for instance, the banning of the use of recreational drugs. Regulative policies, the policing of leisure, obviously relate to a key element of the state's activity in fostering or controlling leisure practices. Analysis of this aspect of the state's involvement in leisure traditionally received considerable attention from neo-Marxist commentators, such as the influential Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Hall and Jefferson, 1976) and other radical critics (Hebdige, 1988). However the primary focus of this text will be the distributive and redistributive leisure policies of government, and the interests served by such policies.

Some preliminary remarks in respect of definition of the term 'leisure' may also be useful. It is not intended here to enter into what has become a relatively sterile definitional debate, but rather to underline why such debates are sterile, and to highlight certain implications for theorising the nature of leisure policy. The leisure studies literature abounds with attempts to define the essential

features of leisure (cf. Kaplan, 1975; Murphy, 1981; Neulinger, 1974; Parker, 1971; Roberts, 1978; Shivers, 1981) which invariably report the difficulty of providing definitions that incorporate all that is 'leisure' while excluding all that is not. Leisure is defined in terms of 'residual time', or of its 'function' (typically in opposition to work), in terms of its 'content' (leisure activities), or as an 'ideal state of mind'. Many of these authors follow the approach of Kaplan in adopting a composite definition which incorporates aspects of the time/function/content/state of mind approaches.

Leisure ... consists of relatively self-determined activity/experience that falls into one's economically free-time roles, that is seen as leisure by participants, that is psychologically pleasant in anticipation or recollection, that potentially covers the whole range of commitment and intensity, that contains characteristic norms and constraints, and that provides opportunities for recreation, personal growth, and service to others. (Kaplan, 1975: 26)

Clearly virtually no application of the term leisure incorporates all elements of this definition, and therefore the constituent elements of the definition cannot be said to constitute necessary conditions for the application of the term leisure. However, such elements can be regarded as sufficient conditions for the application of the term. In Wittgenstein's terms, there is a 'family resemblance' between the various applications of the term, rather than a single set of traits common to all that is leisure (Wittgenstein, 1970)

There are perhaps three major implications of this explanation of the nature of meaning for our use of the term leisure in the context of this book. The first is a recognition that leisure policy will imply slightly different emphases in different contexts, and that we should therefore specify the family of applications of the term we wish to adopt. Thus leisure policy may be associated with policies for free time, for passive or active recreations (in sport, the arts, popular culture, or informal recreation), with policies aimed at compensating for the alienation of work (or of unemployment), or at fostering personal fulfilment through non-work activities. The second implication is that there may well be overlap with the application of other terms such as 'education' or 'education policy' in certain contexts, but our definitions should not seek to exclude all that is

not leisure. Finally it should be recognised that different theoretical positions imply emphasis on different family features of the same term. Thus structuralist Marxist explanations emphasise the key feature of leisure as its function in providing relief from the alienation of work or non-work. Feminists, on the other hand, point to the legitimating functions of such definitions which imply a necessary relationship between paid work and leisure, while conservative theorists, arguing for the separation of cultural life from the material concerns of existence, stress the notion of leisure as non-utilitarian activity, or as a state of mind. Such treatments of the concept of leisure must inevitably be partial.

Leisure politics and policy in industrialising Britain

There are a number of reasons why it is appropriate to begin a brief historical overview of the politics of leisure policy at the end of the eighteenth century, a point at which the process of industrialisation and attendant urbanisation had clearly got underway. For some writers, leisure as a distinctive category of social activity is a product of industrialisation itself, the very separation of work and non-work being a function of work time and work discipline (Clarke and Critcher, 1985; Murphy, 1981; Myerscough, 1974). Other writers stress the separation of the production of cultural forms from their consumption in the nineteenth century as the logic of capitalism becomes applied to leisure markets, represented in an urbanised and concentrated population (Bailey, 1987). Perhaps the most compelling reason in the context of our concern with contemporary leisure politics is the argument that the shift from rural-agrarian, to urban-industrial, society is in some ways analogous to the shifts in economic and social organisation which have occurred in the restructuring of social, political and economic relations in Britain in the period since the late 1960s. Change at the turn of the eighteenth century and at the latter stages of the twentieth century may be explained differently by liberal historians and post-industrial theorists on the one hand, and neo-Marxist historians and radical political economists on the other, but there is some agreement in both camps that such change was, and is, fundamental.

In the account which follows we will detail the politics of leisure policy as falling into eight distinct periods since the late eighteenth

century. The chronology of these periods is not exact, the dominant tendencies of one period may have echoes, or forerunners, in contiguous periods but the nature of leisure policy, and the political debates which surround such policy, can be best understood by reference to the nature of the rationales for state intervention in leisure. The commentary in the current chapter will be restricted to the period up to the mid-1970s, with a more detailed discussion of the central state's role in leisure in contemporary Britain located in chapter 3, following a discussion of the nature of contemporary political ideologies and their implications for leisure policy.

1780–1840: the state and regulative leisure policies: the suppression of popular recreations

Although the primary concern of this text is with distributive and redistributive leisure policies, the importance of state attempts to control popular recreations during this period cannot be denied. The concern of the landed gentry and the emerging industrial middle class represented in Parliament and in the local magistracy, was with social stability. The political revolutions of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution were fresh memories at a time when the economic and social fabric of society was being reconstituted. Advances in agrarian production, and associated enclosure of common land provided push factors, reducing rural populations, while the development of industrial technology provided a pull factor in the form of employment in new urban-based factory production. The industrial and agrarian revolutions together generated a volatile demography which, it was feared, might provide a breeding ground for political militancy and working-class revolt, particularly since such changes brought together, often in brutish and insanitary conditions, large masses of people in numbers which had never before been experienced (Thompson, 1967).

Given the fear of instability, discipline for the new urban masses was seen as crucial, and it was perhaps in their recreational lives that such groups illustrated least control. Folk football, the gathering of large crowds for spectator 'events' such as prize fighting, racing, public executions, fairs and wakes, animal baiting and the like were not simply brutish and unruly, they were also occasions of considerable damage and potential disorder (Cunningham, 1980; Holt,

1989). However concern with recreational behaviour was not only related to worries about social disorder, it was also a matter of concern to industrial interests which regarded the instilling of work discipline as essential to the obtaining of a reasonable return on investment (Thompson, 1967). While agrarian production had relied on seasonal patterns of work with extended periods of effort, particularly at harvest time, followed by traditional feasts and holiday periods, industrial production was ruled by the 24-hour clock. In order to maximise production machines had to be in operation as far as possible around the clock and this meant that workers had to be available for labour at the appointed hour. Absenteeism and drunkenness at work were seen as the result of uncontrolled revelry and resulted in loss of profit in factories which depended on a workforce to be regularly available, compliant, and alert. Thus control of recreation was regarded as essential to the maintenance of levels of production.

Contemporary thinking about the role of the state at the beginning of the nineteenth century was reflected in the tenets of Adam Smith, whose book *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, had gone through ten editions by the turn of the century. Smith's liberal economics provided a rationale for a non-interventionist state, arguing that the 'invisible hand' of the market would provide the most efficient allocator of private and public goods. Social policy was also to be minimalist, restricted to easing any obstruction to market forces. The offering of relief to the poor under the Elizabethan Poor Law and the Speenhamland System was seen as such an obstruction, and the adoption of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 provides the best example of the new minimalist approach to social policy. This legislation sought to make the 'workhouse test' of social need a criterion of state aid. Conditions of work, and discipline in the poorhouse were to be so stringent that any individual willingly accepting a place could truly be said to be destitute. Work in the poor house was also to be remunerated at below the level of any other form of employment to ensure that those in receipt of poor relief would not stay willingly in this situation, and that wage levels would not be 'unduly' affected (i.e. in an upward direction; (Fraser, 1984).

Leisure policy in this period could not, however, be described as non-interventionist, since both the national legislature and the local magistracy, sought to intervene heavily in the leisure lives of the

population. They sought to control mass gatherings of potentially volatile crowds and to curtail leisure forms (particularly those relating to drink) which were seen as a threat to order or to industrial production. Licensing of Beer Houses was introduced in 1820 in an attempt to combat the deleterious effects of drink. Folk football was suppressed, partly by enclosure of common land and partly by the efforts of local magistrates, with the Highways Act 1835 making street football illegal. The Suppression of Blood Sports Act 1833 banned those cruel animal sports pursued by the working class, and imported into urban settings from their rural origins. Animal baiting, throwing at cocks, the holding of public cock-fights, were all banned, though the hunting, shooting and fishing of the middle classes were left intact, providing good evidence of the selective nature of the establishment's opprobrium for cruel sports (Malcolmson, 1973) Local authorities and police forces clamped down (with varying degrees of intensity and success) on pugilism, gambling, prostitution, illegal drinking, and some traditional fairs and wakes. For some middle-class reformers this was clearly part of a civilising mission, with groups such as the Lords Day Observance Society, and the Temperance Movement having also significant working-class adherents, although the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals which failed to condemn middle-class blood sports retained a predominantly middle-class membership (Harrison, 1967, 1971).

Despite the selective suppression of popular recreations by the state, some commentators argue that these activities were remarkably resilient and survived, albeit hid from public view (Cunningham, 1980). It seems likely that pugilism, wrestling, animal baiting and the 'worship of St. Monday' (the unofficial extension of the weekend absence from work) and other recreational forms survived in part with the commercial patronage of the publican (replacing the patronage of the rural gentry) as they developed commercial sponsorship of such leisure forms as a means of increasing volume of sales of alcohol. Thus, although large scale investment in leisure was unusual and largely unsuccessful before the middle of the nineteenth century (Vamplew, 1988), nevertheless such investment by the publican as a small scale entrepreneur gathered pace, particularly after 1820 when the real value of industrial wages began to rise as did the proportion of the working population in industrial employment.

*The erosion of laissez-faire philosophies:
state support for middle-class philanthropy
and reform (c. 1840–1900)*

The drawing of chronological boundaries in cultural histories is rarely an exact science and the suppression of popular recreations continued well into the middle of the century, with the legislation specifically banning public cock-fighting in 1849, and betting shops in 1854. Nevertheless the mid-century period marks the beginnings of a more positive approach to state intervention in the fields of social policy in general, and leisure policy in particular.

Concern relating to working-class recreation had abated for a number of reasons. Firstly, the spectacular growth of urban populations (by 1851 half the population were urban dwellers) had made it clear that a failure on the part of the state to check the worst excesses of capitalism would generate health and sanitation problems for all sectors of the population, and would do little to enhance the work potential of the workforce. In addition, fears relating to political instability had to some extent been allayed by the mid-century. 1848, the year of European revolutions, left Britain relatively unscathed, generating confidence in the 'responsible' nature of the political aspirations (or apathy) of the working classes (Thompson, 1963). Nevertheless, the Chartist activities of the 1840s and the organisation of elements of the 'labour aristocracy' into an embryonic union movement warned against complacency on the part of the establishment. Without some form of prophylactic legislation, the seeds of urban and industrial discontent might well germinate into something altogether more serious.

Although in the earlier part of the century state intervention had been restricted largely to regulative policies, the growing confidence of government manifested itself by the middle of the century in legislation such as the Factories Acts of 1847 and 1867, which sought to protect, initially, women and children, and subsequently a wider range of workers, from excessive hours of work and dangerous and unhealthy working conditions. State influence on the physical development of the city and state activity in relation to health and sanitation were also increased following Chadwick's Commission, and the three subsequent Public Health Acts of 1848, 1872 and 1875, together with the 1866 Sanitation Act (Bruce, 1968).

In the sphere of education the shift in political thinking across the period is clearly indicated. Whitbread's 1807 Bill for the introduction of education for pauper children, and Brougham's Bill of 1820 to introduce a compulsory parochial education system were both defeated. The nature of the associated parliamentary debates indicate a fear that education of labouring or pauper children would simply give them ideas above their station. However when the Whig Chancellor, Althorp, succeeded in securing £33 000 as an annual grant to fund an education inspectorate to oversee the existing, patchy framework of education provision and the development of training for apprentice teachers, the government had embarked on a programme of intervention in the sphere of education which was to lead to the introduction and control of universal education provision in Forster's 1870 Education Act.

Thus, progressive state intervention was clearly established across a range of activities in the social, political, and economic spheres. Leisure policy would be no exception in this respect, though here the state sought largely to foster the philanthropic or self-improvement rationales of middle- and working-class individuals and groups involved in promoting what came to be known as 'rational recreation'.

The support of middle-class philanthropists for rational recreation was, in part, a recognition that the suppression of popular recreations had not been entirely successful, and that their replacement by wholesome leisure forms might prove a more effective 'civilising' strategy (Bailey, 1987). The Church of England, through Sunday School recreation programmes, sought to provide alternative attractions to the more dissolute leisure forms centred on the public house, with day trips, educational visits and so on. The provision of public parks, often on land donated by middle-class benefactors, and the development of mechanics' institutes, public libraries and museums, also constituted attempts by middle-class reformers to tame popular recreations. The newly codified games of rugby and football were promoted, influenced by the 'muscular Christian' movement, as a means of propagating appropriate values of self-discipline, teamwork and subordination of individual interests to the greater good of the team. Wholesome development of the body complemented the wholesome development of the mind in the 'improving' recreations promoted not only by middle-class reformers, but also by elements of the respectable working class.

Marxist analysis might seek to define this middle-class paternalism as simply an extension, but in more subtle form, of 'social control' attempted in the suppression of popular recreations in the early part of the century (Donajgrotsky, 1977). However, such a reading of history fails to acknowledge the fact that working-class groups successfully resisted certain forms of paternalism, while selectively accepting others. A considerable number of football clubs for example, including many still in the Football League, which were originally founded in the context of religious groups, soon exerted their independence. Similarly, the Reverend Henry Solly's attempts to sustain a teetotal Working Men's Clubs organisation resulted in his being ousted from the national executive of that organisation (Bailey, 1987). Furthermore, where attempts were made to exclude working-class people from participation in a sport, they could be resisted. This was the case for example with the Amateur Athletics Association's exclusion from competition of those involved in physical labour (on the grounds that the nature of their work gave them an unfair physical advantage), and also with the Rugby Union's refusal to permit 'broken time' payments. These barriers proved ineffectual in the face of determined working-class opposition. Organisations either gave way, as the Amateur Athletics Association did, or rival organisations were established as was the case with the breakaway Rugby League. Clearly some exclusionary practices continued, but equally working people were able to assert their will in many instances. Finally, where middle-class provision simply did not appeal to working-class tastes (for example when the Mechanics' Institutes failed in Manchester, or in the case of Temperance experiments with alcohol-free pubs) this had to be modified or it simply withered from underuse. The problem with the claims about social control is that they tend to portray the working-class population as passively accepting the wishes of a dominant middle class, and fail to account for the successful resistance of the working class to the imposition of unwelcome leisure forms.

Since the state's legislative efforts, and those of middle-class (and even working-class) reformers, were aimed at the sphere of public life, the position of women and their leisure needs have proved difficult to investigate. They are rarely recorded in formal histories. Feminists suggest this is a reflection of the gendered interests of those who were in a position to construct contemporary accounts,

and of those who now research history, though feminist 'herstories' began to emerge in the 1990s (Alexander, 1990; Hall, 1990). However, in part, it also reflects the difficulties of conducting a life in the public sphere for women and their consequent problems in establishing a collective identity and undertaking collective action, when public roles were subordinated to domestic roles.

During this period, the state's role was rather less one of direct provision for leisure, than one of fostering the enlightened paternalism of voluntary bodies. The Museums Act 1849, the Public Libraries Act 1850 and the Recreation Grounds Act 1852, sought to allow the use of public funds in order that local authorities could capitalise on gifts of land, exhibits or books from benefactors. The Public Health Acts were complemented by the provision of recreation grounds in the city as 'clean air' zones, and the Public Baths and Washhouses Act 1846 which was not so much inspired by a concern for promoting swimming, as it was with the fostering of working-class hygiene through bathing. Physical education was introduced into the curriculum in the Education Act 1870 but this simply took the form of military drill. In summary, the health, discipline and cultural improvement rationales which inspired state initiatives clearly reflected the thinking of the rational recreation and muscular Christian movements.

As Myerscough (1974) points out the disposable income of the working class and their free time increased significantly in real terms across the second half of the nineteenth century. This attracted investment in leisure and related industries in the commercial sector of a considerable order. Bailey (1987), for example, traces the growing market concentration in the music-hall business, while Harrison (1971) identifies similar traits in the brewing industry. The concentration of capital was almost inevitable where large-scale investment decisions had to be made, as with the building of piers (Walvin, 1978). However, this process was by no means universal in all sectors of the leisure industries, as Walton's analysis of tourist provision in Blackpool illustrates (Walton, 1975). Indeed, Bailey is able to claim that despite the attempts of the early century to reform working-class recreation, and the subsequent activities inspired by rational recreation, that the commercial sector, in providing other distracting leisure opportunities which satisfied working-class demand, was actually successful in taming working-class recreational habits where others had failed. With the establishment of the urban

male franchise in 1867, extended to rural workers in 1884, there is evidence that the establishment had come to trust the workforce to act responsibly, and that the need to exert control over male popular recreations was no longer an issue by the end of the century.

Laying the foundations of the Welfare State (c. 1900–39)

While the role of government in the second half of the nineteenth century involved aspects of political, industrial and social reform, the aim, in social policy terms at least, was to mediate rather than reform the effects of urban industrial capitalism. It was only with the advent of a Liberal government in 1905, with the support of the embryonic Labour Party (the Labour Representation Committee), and after 20 years of Conservative rule, that a genuine embracing of social reforms as both desirable and necessary, became evident. The Unemployed Workmen's Act 1905, the introduction of school meals in 1907, and of old age pensions in 1908, provide evidence of a mild departure from the 'individualist' philosophy of self-help, and a recognition that social and economic difficulties could not simply be explained away as the result of the inadequacies of the individuals or groups concerned.

However, though measures such as these might prefigure the growth of the welfare state in the post-Second World War period, the introduction of such measures did not represent a wholehearted acceptance of welfare principles. The introduction of school meals, for example, was prompted by fears for the physical development of the nation's working class and their subsequent fitness for military service (Howkins and Lowerson, 1979). Furthermore, after the brief post-war boom of 1918–20 and the introduction of legislation such as the Unemployment Insurance Act 1920, a number of regressive measures were introduced as it was judged that the country could not afford even such mild welfare programmes. The school leaving age was dropped from 14 to 13, dole payments reduced, and a means test introduced by Ramsay MacDonald's National Government.

Nevertheless the principle of state involvement in the economic and welfare areas was well established and the steps taken to limit intervention were inspired by concern over what the economy could sustain, rather than resulting from any objection in principle to the notion of state involvement. As the first steps in welfare state

provision were being developed in a limited and incremental way, so leisure initiatives taken by the state also began to emerge. The Town Planning Act 1909 which itself marked a significant stage in the state's willingness to intervene in spatial development, adopted recreational open space as one of the significant categories of land use for recording purposes (Travis and Veal, 1979). The Forestry Commission was inaugurated in 1917 as the first governmental body to have a statutory duty to provide for recreation. Following pressures exerted through mass trespasses the government also legislated to allow access to areas of land in private ownership, in the Access to the Mountains Act 1939 (though this was ineffectual since access agreements were to be a matter of voluntary initiative). Nevertheless, in the Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937, the state not only provided for physical recreation through permissive legislation, but also provided £2 million, an enormous sum in real terms, to promote this initiative. The legislation was certainly predominantly motivated by a concern about the impact of unemployment, especially on the young, and about the use of leisure by political organisations, fascist youth movements in continental Europe, and the British Workers' Sports Federation at home (Evans, 1974). It was also stimulated by Britain's deteriorating position in international sporting competition. Nevertheless the parliamentary debate of the Bill indicates that for one leading socialist politician at least, it evoked a recognition of the need for a new rationale for leisure provision:

I think the desire for playing is justification in itself for playing; there is no need to seek the justification of national well being for playing, because your own well being is a sufficient justification. The idea that you must borrow some justification for playing is one of the worst legacies of the Puritan Revolution . . . This idea that you must get all girls and boys in rows, like chocolate soldiers, and make them go through evolutions, is a miserable substitute for giving them sufficient playgrounds in which they can play games in their own way. (Aneurin Bevan quoted in McIntosh, 1963: 108)

While the second half of the nineteenth century had seen the development of state support for voluntary initiative in the leisure field, the first half of the twentieth century was to be noted for the 'incorporation' of voluntary organisations through legislation such

as the National Trust Act 1907, and the Physical Training and Recreation Act. Major organisations such as the National Trust, the National Playing Fields Association, the Central Council for Physical Training and Recreation, and the British Worker's Sports Federation were national in scope. The last of these was less well established on a national level but was regarded as too 'radical' to warrant incorporation by the establishment (Jones, 1986). Nevertheless the Federation was a leading influence in the mass trespasses organised in the Peak District, which resulted in the 1939 Access to the Mountains legislation.

State involvement in the media also began in the interwar years with the formation of the British Broadcasting Corporation out of the commercial British Broadcasting Company in 1926. Its first Director General, John Reith, shaped its policy, central to which was the aim of elevation (rather than reflection) of cultural tastes. The cultural elitism inherent in this stance continued until the post-war period when three radio services were inaugurated, the Light Programme, the Home Service and the Third Programme, which were seen as broadly reflecting the cultural predilections of the working, middle, and upper classes (Glover, 1984).

The maturing of the Welfare State, 1945–76

If the foundations of the Welfare State had been laid in the various measures of welfare reform between the two wars, the programme of reforms which constitute the welfare state in modern Britain are largely the product of the post-war Labour government of Clement Attlee. However, though Labour implemented much of the reform, there was an evident interventionist strand to Conservative thinking in the immediate post-war period, even in respect of leisure, as Julian Amery's post-war pamphlet indicates:

Last but not least, in any scheme of social policy comes the problem of the right opportunities for leisure. To guide and elevate the pleasure of the people, to enrich their lives as well as to increase their livelihood is surely not outside the duties of an enlightened state. (Amery, 1946)

Indeed the 1944 Education Act had been steered by a Conservative minister, Rab Butler, serving in the wartime coalition government.

Nevertheless the extension of compulsory schooling, was complemented by a series of measures, including the development of the National Health Service launched in 1948, the Family Allowances Act 1945, the Distribution of Industries Act 1945, the National Insurance Act 1946 and the introduction of 'blue print planning' in the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, together with a series of lesser measures which constituted, in policy intention at least, a reformist programme.

The surprise defeat of the Conservatives under Churchill in 1945 is taken by political commentators to have resulted from the 'inspection effect', which reflected the concern of those who had been called on to make sacrifices during the war years to take stock of the kind of society for which they had been asked to make such sacrifices. State intervention had been made respectable by the experience of wartime government; it had been essential during the war years and had proved successful. However, though the general review of the welfare system may have been inspired by reformist thinking, the nature of state intervention in leisure in the post-war period was rather different. The establishment of the Arts Council in 1946, the National Parks Commission in 1949, and the Wolfenden Report which led to the establishment of the (advisory) Sports Council in 1965, were not inspired solely, or even primarily, by a concern to provide equality of opportunity through direct state provision.

The Arts Council was the successor to the Committee for Entertainment, Music and the Arts (CEMA), which was set up in 1939 initially funded by a charity, the Pilgrim Trust, and subsequently funded from 1940 by government. The aim of this body was to provide for the high and popular arts in order to foster public morale. The experience gained with CEMA which promoted more than 6000 concerts during the war years, demonstrated that there could be a popular demand for the arts, that there was a paucity of facilities in which to stage arts events, and that by providing funding for professional artists standards of performance could be raised.

There was general agreement across the political parties that the arts should be supported, and the Arts Council received its Royal Charter in 1946. The concerns of the Council were to promote professional rather than amateur art, to limit itself to promotion of high arts, to concentrate on excellence rather than participation, and

to involve itself in only very limited direct provision, stimulating provision by others through grant aid. A corollary of its decision to focus on excellence was the concentration on arts provision in London, which, it was held, could generate the critical mass of audience and artists required to achieve and support international quality performance. By the early 1960s the regional offices inherited from CEMA had been closed down and London-based companies were able to account for more than half of the Arts Council of Great Britain's budget (Braden, 1977; Clark, 1980). Government's concern with the arts was therefore rather less reformist, in the sense of reducing inequalities through state provision, than it was 'conservationist', or even 'paternalist' in attempting to maintain and improve standards of provision in high cultural forms. There was some attempt at the 'democratisation of culture', improving access to the high arts (for some) through subsidy of such cultural forms, but there was little credence given to 'cultural democracy', allowing groups to promote and foster their own cultural forms. The pre-war elitist cultural policy of Reith's BBC was thus reproduced in the activities of the post-war Arts Council.

Similarly, the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 was as much concerned with conservation matters and the protection of industrial interests in the countryside as it was with promoting recreation (Shoard, 1980). The Act was not designed to achieve wide-ranging access for urban populations to countryside, but rather was concerned with the preservation and management of remote areas of landscape subject to increasing recreational pressures. The Act designated nine National Parks which still remain, with land predominantly (78%) in private hands.

Even the establishment of a Sports Council, advocated in the Wolfenden Report, was not justified by reference to sport and recreation as intrinsically worthwhile, and therefore to be positively promoted for all. Rather the rationale for state involvement was founded on extrinsic factors, such as Britain's failing reputation in international sporting competition, and, on the domestic scene, a concern with the emergence of youth sub-cultures and the presumed moral qualities inherent in sporting activity which might provide a useful antidote to counter anti-social tendencies on the part of the young.

In effect the rationale for state intervention in leisure had not changed significantly from that underpinning the Physical Training

and Recreation Act 1937. It was essentially inspired by a form of traditional pluralism, in that state intervention or subsidy was justified by reference to the externalities which might be achieved by support for leisure. In the pre-war period the concern with sport had been in part motivated by worries related to unemployed youth and the dangers of alternative uses of recreation by fascist movements intent on attracting the young. In the post-war period, the Wolfenden Report was also in part promoted because of worries about youth, but on this occasion the affluent youth which were a product of post-war economic growth. Young people had been given discretionary time and income, and this was associated in popular consciousness with the emergence of youth sub-cultures and associated 'anti-social' behaviour.

As with sport, promotion of the countryside and of the arts were also motivated to a considerable degree by extrinsic factors, the need to conserve the environment and protect economic activity, and the need to preserve 'Britain's' cultural heritage (usually referred to at this stage in unitary, homogeneous terms). This is a form of traditional pluralism because competing interest groups are seen as meeting their own interests through the market or through voluntary associations, and state intervention was only to be justified where externalities accrue or where there are market imperfections or disbenefits generated by the operation of the unrestricted, 'free' market. Traditional pluralism is to be contrasted with 'welfare reformism', which far from justifying state involvement on the grounds of some extrinsic gain, promotes the rights of the individual to have access to leisure opportunities for their own sake. Welfare reformism seeks to modify the market in terms of social goods, and it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that such reformist thinking became evident in government policy.

The Labour government of 1964–70 was of considerable significance in the leisure context in that it introduced a number of leisure policy initiatives which set the tone for the 1970s, with its expansion of state intervention in leisure. Harold Wilson had declared the theme of his government to be that of modernisation in his 'white heat of technology' speech, and leisure was the most 'modern' of public sector service areas in which to promote opportunities. In the 1959 election campaign, both Conservative and Labour Parties had published policy documents relating to leisure (Kerr, Ashton, and Carless, 1959; Labour Party, 1959). Both parties expressed support

for the establishment of a Sports Advisory Council, and the Conservatives when in power did appoint a Minister for Sport, Quintin Hogg. Hogg, however, was inimical to any extension of state involvement in sport (Coalter *et al.*, 1987) and it was left to the incoming Labour government to establish the Council in 1965. Initially the Council was simply an arm of government, but was given quasi-autonomous status in 1971 by the Heath administration which succeeded Wilson's government because it wished to insulate the Council from political control (Coalter *et al.*, 1987). Since the government continues to be the paymaster for the Sports Council, policy autonomy has never been clear cut, and accusations that quangos are merely tools of government policy have increasingly been made in recent years. The Sports Council modified the policy slogan recommended by the Wolfenden Committee from 'recreation for all' to 'sport for all', though its initial strategy was one of focusing predominantly on excellence, rather than participation (Coghlan with Webb, 1990).

The welfare reformist rationale can perhaps be identified most clearly by the mid-1970s when, following the reorganisation of local government and a massive increase in leisure investment by the new authorities, the Labour government drew up its White Paper *Sport and Recreation* identifying recreation as 'one of the community's everyday needs', thus granting leisure services the status of a welfare right as "part of the general fabric of social services" (Department of Environment, 1975). Ironically this recognition of access to sport and recreation as a right came at the very time when Britain's economic problems were becoming clearly evident. The oil crisis of the early 1970s, the floating of major currencies and the devaluation of sterling, the world recession and the costs of Britain's entry into the EEC, together conspired to reinforce and highlight the structural weaknesses of the British economy, and to generate severe balance of payments problems. Indeed, the effects of Britain's trading deficit resulted in the Labour government seeking a loan from the International Monetary Fund in 1976 which was granted on condition that attempts be made to reduce public spending.

The Wilson Administration of 1964–70 had a marked effect on areas of leisure policy other than sport. It produced White Papers on the arts, and on countryside recreation, both of which evidenced welfare reformist thinking. When Jenny Lee became Labour Minister for the Arts in 1964, she immediately set about reviewing the

direction of arts policy. Although the subsequent policy document *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps* stopped short of advocating cultural democracy, it widened the range of arts to be supported by the Arts Council, modifying its Royal Charter, and decentralised decision-making and expenditure away from London, setting up separate Arts Councils for Scotland and Wales and fostering the development of Regional Arts Associations.

Nevertheless, even though liberalisation of arts policy merely meant wider access to a greater range of established art forms, this change in policy was built upon in the 1970s with the advent of Arts Council funding for community arts. The community arts movement, though fragmented, advocated a strong form of cultural democracy (Kelly, 1984) and though the Council continued to spend the major part of its grant on the four major national companies, and its support for community arts was a small experimental programme over a restricted period (1975–77), the debates around community arts raised important social, aesthetic and political issues. For some, Arts Council funding of community arts was justified by the argument that it might lead people on to participation or appreciation of the high arts. For others community arts were seen as expressions of popular culture to be valued in their own right as expressing the cultural proclivities of a wider social group than the cultural elite, the guardians of high culture in the form of Arts Council decision-makers. A debate was provoked between traditionalists who argued that aesthetic criteria alone should be employed to judge the adequacy of community arts products, and those who argued that the social significance of the products and the processes of community arts production were much more important than traditional aesthetic criteria. This latter group advocated cultural democracy rather than democratisation of culture: that is, that the aim of arts policy should be to promote opportunities for cultural self-expression for all cultural groups, rather than merely promoting particular, traditional, products of high culture. The issue was finally defused at the end of the period of experimental funding by the decision that community arts should be dealt with and funded at the level of the Regional Arts Associations. Nevertheless, the debate between welfare reformists in the form of the cultural democracy movement and traditional pluralism, in the form of those promoting the democratisation of culture, had been opened up.

The Wilson government also published the 1967 White Paper *Leisure in the Countryside*, which outlined the basis for the 1968 Countryside Act. This piece of legislation widened the remit of the National Parks Commission, renaming it the Countryside Commission and adding responsibilities beyond the designated National Parks. The new Countryside Commission, unlike the Arts and Sports Councils, did not become a quango until 1982, coming directly under the aegis of (what was to become) the Department of the Environment. One of its new key roles was to foster the establishment of provision for countryside recreation, particularly of country parks, through grant aid to local authorities and other potential providers. This extension of provision was partly reformist in its inspiration in that the advent of country parks was designed, in part, to make countryside recreation opportunities more readily available to less affluent, and geographically dispersed, populations which had not had easy access to the remote National Parks. However, there was also an environmental conservation concern, in that overuse of ecologically and economically sensitive areas within the Parks had become an important issue.

Although the leisure White Papers, and the establishment of the new leisure bodies, provided evidence of the willingness of Labour governments to expand support for public sector leisure provision, and to recognise leisure 'needs' as constituting fundamental social needs, nevertheless the vast expansion of facilities and services which occurred in the 1970s was largely a product of local government support. Local government was reorganised in most parts of Britain in 1974 (the London Boroughs having been reorganised in 1964), and though there was no change in the legal requirements facing local government in respect of leisure services, there was a relatively widespread expansion of provision in this new service area. Most leisure provision is made under permissive legislation in England and Wales, with mandatory provision limited to the provision of libraries, physical recreation opportunities for young people and allotments (Travis and Veal, 1979).

Local government provision in the 1970s was fuelled by a number of factors, perhaps the most important of which was a corporate management ideology which underpinned the design of the whole system (Bains, 1972; Redcliff-Maud, 1969). Large-scale local government units were constructed, particularly in the metropolitan areas, in the belief that economies of scale could be achieved in the

addressing of considerable local social and economic problems. As part of this corporate management process, large-scale local government departments were constructed in the majority of authorities, with previously separate functions such as parks and amenity horticulture, swimming pools, sports centres (of which the first had only opened in Harlow in 1964), community centres, and in some metropolitan districts, libraries and arts centres (Travis and Veal, 1979). In addition to the economies of scale of organisational size, and the local tax base, it was assumed that large scale local government would attract talented professionals and politicians who would not have been drawn by the parochial concerns, fragmented responsibilities and restricted career opportunities of the old system. Thus the professionalisation of a range of service areas in local government including personal social services, educational management and leisure services was accelerated through the process of local government reorganisation. By the end of the 1970s the professional bodies of the constituent elements of leisure services in local government, the Institute of Parks Administration, the Association of Recreation Management and the Recreation Managers Association, had amalgamated to form a single body (of the major leisure professional bodies, leaving only the Institute of Baths and Recreation Management standing alone), and began constructing their own unified syllabus leading to examination to accord 'professional' membership status. This follows the classic professionalisation patterns of the liberal welfare professions (Coalter, 1990; Johnson, 1969).

The growth in facilities for sport and physical recreation in particular over the 1970s was impressive. In 1972 there were 30 municipal sports centres, and less than 500 indoor swimming pools in operation in England. By 1978 this had increased to 350 sports centres and more than 850 pools (Sports Council, 1983). However, a series of research reports by the Sports Council and the Arts Council indicated that the provision of facilities alone did not, of itself, eliminate recreational disadvantage. Male, white, middle-class individuals with access to private transport, were invariably over-represented among users of the new sports centres (Collins, 1979; Gregory, 1979; Grimshaw and Prescott-Clarke, 1978). Similarly, audiences for the publicly funded arts, although reflecting less of a gender and age bias, nevertheless replicated other features of the skewed user profiles of sports facilities (Arts Council, 1974). Indeed

by the time the economic problems of the mid-1970s manifested themselves, the welfare framework of leisure provision was subject to criticism not only by the New Right, as economically unaffordable, but also by elements of the left, particularly those concerned with race and gender, for its failure to redress social inequalities. State intervention inspired by welfare reformism had failed to enhance the life chances of many of those who constituted its primary targets, and, with the advent in 1979 of a Conservative government controlled by the New Right, leisure services, along with other areas of welfare policy, were to be subject to intense scrutiny.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to sketch the trajectory of (distributive and redistributive) leisure policy across the period since the early stages of industrialisation. Although our concerns here have been limited to the nature of public policy change, parallel shifts in the nature of the commercial and voluntary sectors may be traced across the same period. Table 1.1 highlights both the structure of some of the arguments developed in this chapter in relation to policy developments, and indicates in outline some of the parallels which may be drawn with commercial and voluntary sector practices which will be developed more fully in Chapter 6. The nature of the changing relationships between these sectors becomes central to discussion of contemporary policy change in ensuing chapters.

As we have already indicated, the mid-1970s provides something of a watershed in welfare policy. Economic crisis triggered the resurgence of ideological debate in British politics, which in turn involved a questioning of the legitimate role of the state in civil society. Questions of ideology and legitimacy are central to an understanding of policy change in contemporary Britain. The following chapters will therefore focus on the nature of the ideological debate in Britain over the last two decades of the century, its implications for leisure policy, its impact on policy development, and the implications such changes hold for theorising the nature of the state in modern Britain. Clearly the local state has been the site of considerable struggle over the period since the mid-1970s, and since this also represents the locus of most policy implementation

for leisure, an analysis of its changing role will also be central to our concerns. Chapters 4 and 5, therefore, discuss in detail the nature of policy change at local level, and specifically its impact on professional, political, and 'client' interests by reference to case study material and analysis of local expenditures. Chapter 6 considers parallel developments in the commercial and voluntary sectors. Chapter seven undertakes a synthesis of the major themes identified, focusing discussion of policy development in the context of globalisation processes which dominate the contemporary environment. The final chapter seeks to identify the strategic relations relevant to selected leisure policy decisions at the city, national and the transnational levels.

Table 1.1 Development of leisure sectors over time

<i>Chronology</i>	<i>Illustrative social and economic policies</i>	<i>Illustrative leisure policies</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of state in leisure</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of commercial sector in leisure</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of voluntary sector in leisure</i>
c. 1780–1840 Suppression of popular recreations	Poor Law Amendment Act 1834	Suppression of Bloodsports Act 1833; Enclosure Act 1836	Attempts to control and suppress 'disruptive' leisure forms	Small-scale entrepreneurs (publicans) replace squirearchy as patrons of popular recreations	Formation of organisations to control working class organisations
c. 1840 – c. 1900 Erosion of <i>laissez-faire</i> approach to social/economic policy	Factories Acts 1847, 1867; Education Act 1870	Public Baths and Washhouses Act 1846; Museums Act 1849; Libraries Act 1850; Recreation Grounds Act 1852	State support, particularly for voluntary effort, promoting 'improving' leisure forms	Increasing scale of capital investment e.g. rail, larger music halls, sports stadia, mass production of leisure equipment	Sector reflects paternalism of middle classes but control of leisure organisations (e.g. Working Men's Clubs movement)
c. 1900–c. 1939 Social reforms – laying the foundations of the welfare state	Education Act 1902; Old Age Pensions 1908; National (Health) Insurance 1911; Unemployment Assistance 1934	National Trust Act 1907; Town Planning Act 1909; Forestry Commission founded with recreation role 1919; Physical Recreation and Training Act 1937; Access to the Mountains Act 1939	Increasing recognition of leisure as a legitimate concern of government in its own right	Importation of leisure forms from the US, cinema, music etc. New technology provides leisure equipment e.g. radio, cinema car, motorcycle. New investment attracted by the discretionary income of those in work	Institutionalisation of the voluntary sector with establishment of national organisations and pressure groups e.g. National Trust, Central Council for Physical Recreation and Training, National Playing Fields Association, mass trespass movement

<p>1944-76 growth and maturing of the welfare state</p>	<p>Education Act 1944; Family Allowances 1945; Distribution of Industries Act 1945; National Insurance Act 1946; NHS launched 1948</p>	<p>Arts Council established 1946; National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949; Sports Council founded 1965; Countryside Commission founded 1968, White Paper <i>Sport and Recreation</i> 1975</p>	<p>Leisure added to the portfolio of welfare services, 'one of the community's everyday needs'.</p>	<p>Demise of traditional manufacturing industries, growth of service sector. Growth of multi-national investment in UK leisure industries. Major growth areas are home-based leisure and tourism</p>	<p>Growth of voluntary leisure organisations, particularly for the higher socio-economic groups. Break up of working class communities fuels need for formal organisation, especially in 'new' communities</p>
<p>1976-c.1984: New Economic Realism and the re-structuring of the welfare state</p>	<p>1976 onwards pressures on local govt. spending: 1977 White Paper <i>A Policy for the Inner Cities</i></p>	<p>Squeeze on local govt. and Arts Council spending: growth in inner city schemes, 'Football and Community', 'Leisure and Unemployed'; Countryside Commission given quango status and marginalised</p>	<p>Emphasis on leisure expenditure as 'social consumption' gives way to leisure expenditure as 'social expenses'</p>	<p>Concentration of leisure investment in few multinationals, diversification of companies across leisure sector; vertical integration</p>	<p>Restricted corporatism: 'voluntarism' within the state as vol. groups deliver services previously supplied by the state</p>

(continued overleaf)

Table 1.1 *Cont.*

<i>Chronology</i>	<i>Illustrative social and economic policies</i>	<i>Illustrative leisure policies</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of state in leisure</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of commercial sector in leisure</i>	<i>Emphasis in role of voluntary sector in leisure</i>
1985-97 State flexibilisation and disinvestment (the post-Fordist state)	Centralisation of powers to achieve decentralisation or marketisation (i.e., flexibilisation) of provision. Establishment of UDCs, EZ: facilities); abolition of GLC and Met. Counties: community charge and rate/charge capping; Education Act 1988, Citizen's Charter	Reduction of local government budgets; compulsory competitive tendering; local management of schools (control of educational curriculum) GB Sports Council reduced and split into functional division UKSC and ESC: Arts Council reduced in function and funding National Lottery funding largely replacing core grants	Marketisation of service provision; leisure (and tourism) employed as a tool for economic rather than social regeneration; residual provision with leisure as social policy tool in the inner city Promotion of English/British national identity; sporting excellence and youth (education) through core curriculum effectively reduces school timetable for PE	Flexible accumulation strategies adopted by corporate organisations: buy-outs, divestment, divisional autonomy as a reaction to diseconomies of scale, and lack of flexibility in large-scale organisations	Free market pluralism: Voluntarism 'outwith the state'; voluntary organisations, governing bodies of sport, arts organisations pushed towards sponsorship as alternative to state subsidy

<p>1997–2000 + : in search of the responsible market through regulation and partnership.</p>	<p>Minimum wage reintroduced. Britain signs up to Social chapter of the Treaty on European Union</p> <p>Modernisation of government programme</p> <p>Budget limits of Conservatives adopted in manifesto pledges up to 2000.</p> <p>Devolution to Home Nations and potentially to regions</p>	<p>Promotion of economic benefits of sport: support for England World Cup bid; London Olympic bid</p> <p>Restrictions on local government spending remain</p> <p>Lottery remains but with disadvantaged areas more firmly targeted</p> <p>Sport and social inclusion made a policy issue for UK and EU under Britain's presidency</p> <p>Strategic planning for culture (including sport) at regional and local levels</p>	<p>Sporting excellence (national identity and youth (education)</p> <p>Sport and culture as tools of economic regeneration</p> <p>Sport and arts as tools of social inclusion</p> <p>Reduce bureaucracy, work through third sector, decentralise to the regions</p> <p>Regulate the excesses of large scale capital (e.g. BSKyB and Manchester Utd. take-over)</p>	<p>Globalisation strategies seeking partnerships and synergies e.g. inter-penetration of media and professional sports ownership</p> <p>Extension of commercial sector activity into previously dominant public sector areas of the market (e.g. health and fitness, indoor tennis)</p>	<p>Lobbying activity at the transnational level e.g. to add sport to the competences of the EU in the Treaty of Amsterdam</p> <p>Growth of Trusts as a means of incorporating the 'third sector' – an extended concept of the voluntary sector</p> <p>Funding of voluntary sector through the Lottery</p>
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