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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RATIONALES BETWEEN
COMMUNITY SPORT AND COMMUNITY ARTS.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Sports and the arts are distinctly different leisure forms which are regarded as mainstream leisure activities. They are generally provided for, and administered separately. Other than by the fact that they are both loosely leisure, they are largely pursued as separate disciplines, offering different experiences, with specific requirements of their own.

In addition to mainstream sports and arts provision, community sport and community art are also provided for (once again as separate activities). But are they really so distinctly different? They have separate origins, histories and funding, and are generally practised in isolation, but they do have something in common. They are both doing "something" with, or in, the community. Quite how similar or different this "something" is that they are both doing is not common knowledge. To what extent the focus on "community" binds them together has hardly been researched. It is the aim of this study to investigate precisely that and to determine how closely they are related.

This study will compare community sport and community art and determine to what extent they share common rationales and are engaged in the same socio-cultural process. It will consider; are they pursuing the same aims? Can they both be accommodated under an umbrella concept of community leisure? And, if so, would their joint provision be desirable?

To pursue its objective, this study will compare two local community projects, one sports and one arts. It will also draw general comparisons between community sport and community

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art. The two projects will be studied in depth and compared in the light of general trends and salient issues. This study will attempt to develop a concept of community leisure. It will emerge from the research findings and be tested against issues evidenced in general practice. It will be examined in relation to dominant models of provision in community sport and community arts. It will also be examined in relation to concepts of participation and human needs which form much of the backdrop to community provision. The social theory of hegemony (Gramsci 1971, Williams 1977) will be employed to aid the identification of issues and to address their analysis.

This study will be presented as a broad piece of comparative analysis. It will consider various concepts in turn; firstly on a theoretical basis, and then in relation to research findings and working practice.

Chapter two describes the research method and methodology. Chapter three gives a brief outline of the two projects under study. Chapter four establishes the theoretical base to the study. It considers concepts of leisure, community, community sport and community arts in the light of hegemonic theory. Progressively, it arrives at a concept of community leisure. Chapter five considers rationale behind community sports and arts provision. It does this by considering the concept of planning for leisure and theoretical models of intervention. Chapter six considers leisure participation and human needs in leisure. These concepts are central concerns for community sport and community art. Chapter seven considers joint provision in the light of the research and from conclusions drawn from previous chapters. Chapter eight will summarise previous chapters, return to central themes and form general conclusions.

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If community sport and community arts can be seen to share common rationales whilst engaging in the same socio-cultural process, there are implications for future community leisure provision. Initiatives aimed at joint provision rather than separate provision may emerge as attractive propositions. They may address community leisure needs from a broader perspective and offer a wider range of means and opportunities through which to pursue those needs.

CHAPTER TWO RESEARCH METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

Community provision in sport and the arts has evolved separately from provision in the mainstream. Despite the fact that both approaches have co-existed there has been little research to examine the relationship between the two. It has been the aim of this research to do precisely that and to focus in particular upon, and probe deeply into, their respective rationales.

METHOD

In addition to a review of literature, this study conducted research amongst two community leisure organisations, one sports and one arts. They were "Action Sport", based in Chapeltown and Harehills in Leeds, and "South Leeds Arts Base" ("SLAB"), based in Hunslet and Beeston also in Leeds. The organisational research was carried out in such a way as to identify parallels between the two organisations. This research took the form of multiple qualitative research methods. In all, four research methods were employed. These were; two sets of semi-structured in-depth interviews which differed slightly in purpose and therefore in format, observations of sessional work, a semi-structured group discussion and post-draft feedback. It

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must be stated at this point that the views expressed by respondents, throughout this study, are those of the individuals themselves and not necessarily of their employers.

The review of literature began before any of the other research methods. It was expected that the literature would unearth issues to be raised throughout the research and help to define the conceptual and theoretical framework. The review of literature therefore continued throughout the research up to the point of the write up of the report. In this manner the literature review was designed to be able to contribute to an emergent style of research. It was to inform the theoretical context and subject area of each stage of the research which in turn was to reciprocate by directing the next line of literary enquiry through each stage of findings. In this manner issues raised from the literature were set against findings from the interviews and vice versa. The literature review covered leisure theory, community leisure, community sport, community art, related research and literature from the two projects themselves. The literature review took place between August 1991 and April 1992.

The first set of semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with "key respondents" who were identified by their position as coordinators of the two organisations. These interviews were longer and more in-depth than others and carried out on more than one occasion. In total they consisted of six interviews, about ninety minutes in length. Two of the interviews were conducted with the "SLAB" coordinator and two each with the two "joint" Action Sport coordinators. This imbalance in input, four to two, was compensated for by additional interview of an arts worker in the next set of interviews. The project coordinators were chosen as the principle respondents as they offer a unique key link between policy rationale and practical work. In this respect they could be questioned significantly on the accuracy of the translation of policy rationale into working practice. To this end the respondents were questioned in depth on a philosophical level and challenged to elaborate

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on common-sense or organisational "assumptions", to expose "rationales" and guard against "rationalisations". During the course of the interviews policy, practice and rationale were set against one another as a picture was built up of how and why each project functions. The first set of in-depth interviews took place between November 1991 and February 1992.

The second set of in-depth interviews were with field workers in positions of less authority within the organisations and with line managers supervisory to the organisations. These were one-off interviews and less lengthy in duration. In total there were seven interviews, each about sixty minutes in length. Two of the interviews were with Action Sport workers, three were with SLAB workers, one was with the Sport Development Officer responsible for supervising Action Sport and one was with the Area Continuing Education Officer responsible for supervising SLAB. The interviews with the project field workers were not as probing as those with the coordinators in the sense that they were more confined to areas relevant to their job specifications. The interviews with the supervisors were equally as probing as those with the coordinators but were not as prolonged, partly due to the refinement of the research subject area which had taken place at this time and partly as their involvement with the day to day running of the projects was necessarily one step detached. This set of interviews took place in February 1992.

The observations were of sessional activity work carried out practically by the two organisations. There were four observations, two separate ones with each organisation, each lasted about ninety minutes.

The semi-structured group discussion was conducted with representatives of both organisations, after completion of the individual interviews. The discussion was designed to take place between the three project coordinators and one other arts worker, and be chaired

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by the researcher. Unfortunately, and without notice, an emergency meant that one of the Action Sport coordinators was unable to attend. Though methodologically desirable, it was not practically possible to reschedule the discussion at another date. The discussion nevertheless took place, seemingly without hinderance, and was about two hours in length. The agenda for the discussion arose from conclusions based upon the research findings already gathered and from the literature review. These were mainly of theoretical models which could be applied to either Community Sport or Community Art, or both. This was the only opportunity for research upon both projects, which previously had been consulted in isolation, to converge. The discussion enabled a dialogue between the project workers to compare and contrast their particular projects and community leisure in general. The discussion took place in April 1992.

The post-draft feedback was the last research conducted and took place with the two organisations prior to the final report being submitted, and separately with each. The post-draft feedback allowed the organisations to view the drafted report in its entirety and to comment upon, or request amendment to, research findings before the final submission. In this manner the post-draft feedback allowed the interview subjects the facility to comment upon or criticise the way their views were represented and reported. The post-draft feedback took place in May 1992. A summary of the research timetable is given in appendix A.

METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, it proved more profitable to research in-depth on a microscopic level than to generalise on a macroscopic level. This approach risks non-replication but gains in achieving a more intimate understanding of the operations of projects beyond the rhetoric espoused in policy documents. It was of particular concern that research did not prove to be purely an exercise for the respondents in the recital of their documented policy aims, but that

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they were encouraged to think laterally about what they were doing and the rationale behind it.

Findings from the "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977b) confirm that there are some difficulties in the replication of small-scale findings. However they also conclude that observations can be made on subjects which are of macroscopic interest and that careful generalisations can be made. The literature review certainly enabled a comparison with macroscopic trends and acted as a safeguard against non-typical findings as well. Quantitative research methods were unlikely to be able to gather or unravel the philosophical nature of the data which was sought. The approach of classical "scientific" research methods would have been too constricting and so qualitative research methods were chosen.

To pursue the research objective of a qualitative piece of small scale research between two locally based projects, one community sports and one community arts, "Action Sport" and "South Leeds Arts Base" were chosen. They were chosen as they share certain elements of context and frame which allow broad comparisons to be drawn. Both projects are based in inner city areas with their share of social problems. Both practice outreach work, offer a multi-activity approach and have similar organisational structure. In this respect they offered a potential for some fairly direct comparison.

The "leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977a, 1977b) used multiple research methods including meetings with organisers, observation of action and survey. The most commonly used method was meetings with organisers. Similarly, this research also used multiple research methods and relied heavily on information gathered from coordinators for the bulk of its data. The use of multiple research method was designed to aid the process of corroborating

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findings. Research findings were triangulated with different methods. This enhanced the viability of the findings which were generated. Burgess (1984) used similar multi-research methods in his "Bishop MacGregor" school study. In this case they were not only to guard against misrepresentation by individuals, but also to enable input from differing levels and perspectives from within the organisation. These levels can be differentiated as those of the coordinators planning and administering fieldwork, the supervisors managing the coordinators and overseeing the projects, the workers practising in the field and the participants taking part in activity sessions. This "layering" of perspectives is common to most organisations but is particularly significant to those carrying out any form of "community work". This is because these organisations are by nature expected to be flexible and receptive to the needs and demands of their client group. They are juxtaposed in their planning between being organisationally directive and client centred. It was imperative that the research method could take this complexity on board, and accommodate any differentiation between perceptions of what was really going on.

The literature review was principally responsible for the theoretical framework which was adopted for analysis and forming conclusions. It permitted comparisons to be made with other organisational initiatives in the field. In an emergent style the literature review also served to refine the relevance and urgency of issues explored on the agendas of the in-depth interviews and discussion. In addition, the literature offered a macroscopic arena within which to assess the typicality and likelihood of replication of the interview findings.

In-depth interviews were chosen as they offer a facility for the researcher to explore issues and rationales behind practice and as an efficient means of gaining incisive access to the pressures and motivations affecting the formulation of working practices. In this respect they allowed the analysis to dwell upon the crucial nexus, or interpretative area, between policy and

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practice. The distinction between the two sets of interviews is important in terms of the sorts of data generated. There were very definite and deliberate overlaps but there were also very distinct differences. The first set of interviews, with coordinators, focused most deliberately upon the interpretation of policy into practice because their positions in the organisations make them particularly active in this area. These interviews were therefore greater in number and in length. The other set of interviews could be described as being closer to the fringes of the interpretative area. This was represented to both extremes with the supervisors being closer to policy and the workers being closer to practice. These interviews were accordingly not quite as lengthy.

The observations were important in realising the context within which the interviews were passing commentary and analysis. It is important to stress that there was no desire to evaluate the project's working method through observation, but merely to confirm interview findings. Without the observations the interviews could have passed as abstract analysis baring no resemblance to actual practice. As it was, the observations were able to substantiate conclusions drawn from the interviews.

The semi-structured in-depth discussion permitted the respondents to confirm or invalidate comparisons being drawn by the researcher between the two projects. In particular, the discussion proved invigorating in terms of exploring and forming conclusions to be drawn from the research as a whole. It took place at a stage when most of the research findings had been shaped, and dwelt upon the conclusions at a penultimate stage to definitive formation. The discussion also provided a less structured forum in which the respondents could be more directive in defining the research agenda and focusing the nature of the analysis.

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The post-draft consultations further enabled the respondents to contribute to the research conclusions and to validate findings in a similar way to research by Whyte (1955), Shipman (1974), and Hyatt (1986). It was certainly not designed that this research should have been a piece of "action research", but that is not to say that it could not contribute to working practice. During the interview phase the respondents frequently commented upon how useful the interviews had been to clarify their own ideas, to "get them thinking", and asked whether and when they could see the final results. The post-draft consultations were important not just as a validating exercise but as an opportunity for the respondents to utilise the findings for their own benefit if they so desired.

Data analysis was performed throughout the research process in a "cycle of analysis" as described by Wimbush (1986) and by Miles and Huberman :

"(Analysis) can be a healthy corrective for built-in blind spots; and it makes analysis an ongoing lively enterprise that is linked to the energising effects of fieldwork"
(Miles and Huberman 1984 :p49).

This research took place over nine months from the beginning of the literature review to the final report. It did not set out with a hypothesis, nor was it impatient to form any. In many respects it was emergent in nature and so hopefully was openly sensitive to an accurate representation of issues, rationales and models upon which a concept of community leisure can be understood.

APPENDIX A Summary of research timetable.

Aug Sept Oct Nov Dec Jan Feb Mar Apr May

Literature " " " " " " " " x
Review

Key X X X " " " X X X

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Interviews

Additional X X X X X X " X X X
Interviews

Observations X X X X X X " X X X

Discussion X X X X X X X X " X

Post-draft X X X X X X X X X "
Feedback

CHAPTER THREE THE TWO PROJECTS UNDER STUDY

There is no desire at this point to directly compare the two projects. This will occur later in this study. This chapter will outline their framework, aims, and character in order to enable an informed consideration of the projects throughout the study.

SOUTH LEEDS ARTS BASE (SLAB)

Slab is a "Youth Arts" project. Before Slab, some arts work had been tried in the south Leeds area. Youth and community workers felt that an arts project could deliver anti-racist work. A special grant from the Department of Education and Science was applied for and won. The project has been administered through Leeds City Council Youth and Community services.

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In line management terms, the project is supervised by the Youth and Community Area Coordinator. The Area Coordinator plays a supporting role and helps to identify community needs. In general Slab is managed at an "arm's length". The project is run in the field by a project coordinator who is a "face to face" worker as well as being responsible for finances, which gives the project considerable freedom. The coordinator describes his role as "an enabler, facilitator and initiator". The coordinator had enough funding for another three quarters full-time worker, but chose instead to fund multiple part-time workers as and when needed by the project. This was an important decision in terms of the consequent work undertaken and the working method adopted. It is also significant that one permanent worker is able to maintain a consistent philosophical approach, but that temporary workers may bring differing values into the project with them. In this sense there is a hegemonic process within the organisation whereby a dominant philosophy exists which exerts controls, but there may also be opposition to it which may lead to resistance or incorporation. There are varied numbers of part-time workers involved according to the budget, but there are usually about five initiatives on the go at any one time. The project also liaises and works with other agencies, youthworkers, detached workers and social workers.

Slab is an "outreach" project which shares an administrative base with other youthworkers, but its own brief is to specialise in arts work. The Beeston and Holbeck areas of south Leeds are the catchment area for Slab. This is an established boundary area for youth and community work. Beeston and Holbeck are inner city areas with housing and social problems including a lack of resources for young people. Slab practises Community Arts.

Slab aims to provide an alternative, arts based, curriculum for youthwork. It aims to bring different cultures and communities together. It aims to do "issue based" work, particularly

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addressing racism. It aims to help young people explore and express issues which are of concern to them and to assist their personal development. It also aims to develop resources and training for youthworkers. Slab aims to do high quality, specialised "arts work" in departure from "traditional" youthwork methods.

Slab prioritises "developmental" work. It does not seek to do one-off arts activities. In this sense it seeks to encourage "community art" rather than "art in the community" (Kelly 1984). "Developmental" implies that there is some form of "learning outcome" that is linked to the "personal development" of the participant. The coordinator is conscious and wary of merely imparting and developing middle class culture, and guards against this by promoting user centricity in work. Slab focuses on young people gaining confidence in personal communication through the medium of the arts. Participants are encouraged to identify for themselves, practical and personal skills that they may develop, information that they want and attitudes which they support. With any particular initiative; aims, objectives and goals are negotiated with the participants in order to reflect participants interests. In this sense decision making is partially devolved. Many initiatives are based upon increasing the self-confidence of participants. A group with learning difficulty are provided "a setting where they can choose" in an arts session fostering self-advocacy through creative decision making. This session is contracted out to "Skippko", an independent community arts group. In another session young Bengalis are encouraged to consider different career options other than traditional work in restaurants. This is communicated through the medium of video. The participants are learning how to make a film, titled "Options", which will challenge traditional attitudes and career paths, and be shown to the wider Bengali community in South Leeds. It will no doubt challenge, and be in conflict with some of their views.

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Individual initiatives arise either in response to demand or through initiation by the project coordinator. Slab has a flexible approach to picking up themes and issues, and to working with different client groups. Most of Slab's work is done with youth, fourteen years upwards, as well as specialised work with young women. Slab's work has been mainly drama and video, but has also included photography, playwriting and mural. Slab will try to consider any art form appropriate to the needs of the type of initiative. The "skippko" sessions use multiple art forms including printing, painting, photography as well as discussion; "the art form is a side thing. It's not all important... certain basic skills are taught then people work within that structure". Skippko renegotiated their aims with the group and are devolving control to the group; "gradually, we're withdrawing and giving less direction". The "Options" video initiative has involved funding from the "outside agencies" of Leeds City Council Equal Opportunities, TEC limited and Yorkshire Arts. It was important to the project worker not to be seen as another "teacher" and to encourage informality and fun in the sessions prior to addressing the greater project goals. In this sense moving cooperatively from a leisure to an educational format.

Slab is typical of some community arts approaches but there are many others as well. Slab uses art as a tool for social objectives. The social objectives are the primary concern and the art is a vehicle for their pursuit and attainment. Slab's "developmental" bias is highly "educative" in rationale, although great efforts are made to ensure that this learning process is as participant-directed as possible. Not all community arts initiatives are as explicitly "educative" as this. Slab focuses on a particular age range and not all community arts initiatives distinguish participants in terms of age, or focus on this particular age range. Nevertheless, Slab is undoubtedly characteristic of the community arts and captures their essential essence in its approach to arts work.

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ACTION SPORT

Action Sport has a national history going back to the early 1980s. This study focuses mainly on Action Sport as a local initiative in the Chapeltown and Harehills areas of Leeds; this chapter focuses exclusively on the Chapeltown and Harehills project.

Action Sport commenced in 1987 funded jointly by the Sports Council, Leeds City Council, Task Force and the Manpower Services Commission. In late 1988 the Manpower Services Commission withdrew, as did Task Force in 1989. Since April 1992, when the Sports Council withdrew (during this study), Leeds City Council have been the sole funders. This study considers Action Sport throughout each of these periods. As a response to urban unrest, it was decided that something had to be done to increase opportunities to participate in sport in Chapeltown and Harehills. Action Sport is a community sports project targeted at disadvantaged groups. The target groups were originally agreed with the Sports Council as the unemployed, ethnic minorities, women, people with disability, people aged fifty and over, and young people. Since the Sports Council withdrawal, Action Sport has continued to target and monitor these groups.

The staffing of Action Sport has changed throughout its history, but it remained fairly constant in the period before and during this study. The project is supervised by a Sport Development Officer from Leeds City Council Leisure Services. The Sport Development officer has overall responsibility for management and finances, and sets general policy via the Leisure Services Sports Committee. The Sport development Officer is at pains to point out that this is not a prescriptive process, and that it also incorporates incoming information from the field; "I don't think that I've stressed enough that this is an outreach organisation... an enabling, facilitating role". The day to day running of the project is done by two Assistant Sport Development Officers. They act as project coordinators, communicators with other organisations and as face

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to face workers. Their role is described as "proactive, but not determining what happens".

There are also one full-time and three part-time Sports Leaders who mainly run activity sessions and act as "sports motivators".

Action Sport works in the Chapeltown and Harehills areas of Leeds. They are inner city areas with social problems and significantly large ethnic minority populations. The decision to base Action Sport in Chapeltown and Harehills was influenced by a five thousand pound grant, on top of the project's agreed budget, from the government inner city "Task Force" which supported work in that area. There were two other Action Sport projects in Leeds but they did not survive the withdrawal of the Manpower Services Commission. With less funding, greater priority was given to Chapeltown and Harehills. This is because they provide a particular political focus for Afro-Caribbean minorities, as well as carrying significant populations of the other target groups.

The aim of Action Sport is to increase sports participation, and opportunities for participation, amongst the designated "target groups". These groups have been identified as traditionally high level non-participants. The project aims to sponsor fun in participation above all else, and certainly at the expense of more competitive instincts. It also hopes to promote a spin off of a more healthy lifestyle associated with participation in exercise. An additional aim is to develop "sports leadership" in the community;

"It's felt that certain people in those areas are catalysts, leaders... they can achieve something and motivate people",
(Action Sport worker).

Action Sport will consider any sports activity and some which are hardly sports at all and are more leisurely. In the main, Action Sport activities incorporate some form of physical

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movement and recreation. Action Sport is predominantly concerned about the initial threshold to participation.

"We're concerned about the quality but not about the competitiveness. We're not looking for any Gary Linekers. We're concerned about fun and safety",
(Action Sport worker).

Enabling non-participants to cross this threshold may include "networking" the community, giving demonstrations, offering "taster" sessions, providing creche facilities, providing transport, discussion, and confidence building.

Much of the rationale for Action Sport seems to have been in response to the urban unrest in the early 1980s. At a national level, it was felt that community sport could in some way alleviate some of the social problems found in the inner cities. Action Sport is undoubtedly typical of these national initiatives in community sports. Action Sport projects have been replicated in other areas of the country, but they are not "perfect" replicas of each other. Different projects have focused on, and adapted to, specific communities, but they are certainly very similar in organisation and approach. In terms of community sports in general, Action Sport is thought of as a leading example, although not all initiatives have organisational machinery in the same abundance as Action Sport does through the Leeds City Council, and did have through the Sports Council.

CHAPTER FOUR COMMUNITY LEISURE

It is essential to develop a strong concept of community leisure. For the purposes of this study, an "umbrella concept" of community leisure must comprise constituent elements of leisure, community, community sports and community arts. This chapter will consider each of these concepts in turn, as socio-cultural processes, progressively arriving at a concept of community leisure. Socio-political processes will be addressed more fully in chapter five.

LEISURE

Despite "common sense" assumptions that leisure is simply what is done in "free-time", leisure is conceptually problematic and this chapter will examine its' conceptual and theoretical construction, and analysis, at length. This process is necessary in order to justify the theoretical perspective that shall be adopted throughout the rest of this study. Sport and the arts are sub-sets of culture, and so too is community leisure. This analogous assumption is important to clarify in terms of subsequent analysis which will commute from term to term as context befits. Culture will be taken to encompass Mathews (1981) definition as "all those practices whose principal function is signification", the institutions that organise them, and the agents that operate them.

Leisure relations need to be seen in the context of both structure and agency. Social structures influence leisure relations, as do the discriminatory powers of individual human agents. Structure and agency work with and against one another to influence outcomes. Community leisure is a form of provision which illustrates this. It is sensitised to the needs of the community as perceived by the providers and as expressed by the community itself. It is a form of provision which is influenced structurally by the providing organisations and by wider social

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reality. It is also flexible to adapt and respond to human agency determined from the community. It is both "top-down" and "bottom-up".

A "leisure theory" needs to take account of this "duality". Two theories which do so are; Gramsci's theory of "hegemony" (1971), and Giddens theory of "structuration" (1979). They bridge the complexity of duality in a way which the "conventional wisdom" of positivist functionalist and interactionist theories (Roberts 1970, Parker 1971), and structural Marxist theories (Marcuse 1964, Althusser 1971), do not (1). But, whereas hegemony does, structuration does not seem to take full account of the economic and ideological nature of social structures, or inequalities in the power of individual agency (2). Gramsci's theory of hegemony (1971) is a much fuller explanation of the duality of culture;

"Hegemony works through ideology but it does not consist of false ideas, perceptual definitions. It works primarily by inserting the subordinate class in to the key institutions and structures which support the power and the social order of the dominant order. It is above all in these structures and relations that a subordinate class lives its subordination",
(Gramsci 1971,p 164).

It is not the object of this study to test a hypothesis of hegemony. Hegemony will be used to identify, illuminate and address issues concerning community leisure. As such, it will provide the theoretical back-bone to the rest of this study. It is therefore neccesary to consider hegemonic theory fully.

HEGEMONY

Community leisure implies some form of dialogue between the provider and the community. The quality of dialogue and the relative power of either party to influence outcomes is varied and obscured. An analytical perspective focusing on leisure relations, and indeed community leisure relations, as a site for hegemony and cultural struggle will enable analysis and conclusion to accommodate dynamic elements within this dialogue. Hegemony encompasses

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cultural relations between the powerful and the weak, the dominant and the subservient. Hegemony also encompasses the varied range of social and cultural processes between these two extremes.

A strength of the concept of hegemony is reinforced by the assertion that it reconciles the two oppositional paradigms of Structuralism and Culturalism (Bennett 1981a). It reconciles through accepting that cultural forms which exhibit patterned regularities can be grasped as structures. Hegemony has been taken on and developed further by other theorists, most notably perhaps by Williams (1977), and in sport by Hargreaves (1986). For a concise explanation of the duality described in hegemony, it is best to go to Williams;

"(Hegemony) is the lived system of meanings and values - constitutive and constituting - which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality... It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a "culture" which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes", (Williams 1977, p110).

In this sense the dominant class does not rule society, it merely leads it (Bennett 1981a, 1981b) (3). Hegemony describes a "sphere of exchange" (Bennett 1981a), perhaps unequal, between the cultures and ideologies of dominant and subordinate social groups or classes. The dominant class attempts to engage the support of other classes fostered around its own dominant values, and lead by consensus rather than by coercion (Kelly 1984). In the face of outright opposition it may well resort to more overtly directive forms of coercion or social control. The state is able, through hegemony, to play a major role in shaping and directing a "national culture". This may be done as much incrementally as it might be done ideologically. Its discriminatory powers of sanction and legitimization through resource funding and the legal system enable it to construct a specific dominant culture (Kelly 1984) (4).

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When popular cultural forms arise, alternative to the dominant culture, it is in the nature of hegemony for them to be "incorporated". This may occur through market forces like commercialisation (Mason 1980, Critcher 1986), or directly by the state (Kelly 1984).

RESISTANCE

Hegemony accounts for the deterministic tendencies of the dominant classes to structure or frame the conditions for human practice but not to be able to dictate results. Human agents are still able to "make" their own culture by responding to the situations they find themselves in.

"We operate within constraints, which we are free to change, but we are not free to abolish the principle of living within constraints",
(Kelly 1984, p4).

"Resistance" is as much a part of hegemony as conformity and control. Kelly (1983) identifies different "interaction situations" some of which are highly structured and some less so. The capacity for interpretation and reaction, agency itself, is dependent upon the situation. It is despite the centralising tendencies of cultural production that individuals and groups have found alternative, and sometimes radical, cultural expression in opposition to the status quo. Hall and Jefferson (1976) point out that leisure has provided "a more negotiable space" for agency than other spheres of life. As such, leisure has emancipatory potentialities which Hargreaves (1986, p220) describes as the "extent to which the politics of the popular provides a point of resistance to bourgeois hegemony".

In the manner that hegemony can accommodate both elements of resistance and control, it must be seen as a dynamic concept. Recognition must be given to the "whole social process" (Williams 1977), beyond ideology, in which the controllers of production seek to impose control and subordinate groups offer resistance. As such hegemony is a site of contest (Hargreaves

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1986), or of cultural struggle (Williams 1977), between dominant and subordinate groups. Leisure provides a potential arena in which this cultural struggle can be acted out (Clarke and Critcher 1985) (5).

Hegemony is a never-ending process. It is continually assembled and re-assembled (Kelly 1984), reproduced and secured (and setback!) (Bennet 1981b) (6). Hegemony is never completed:

"It has continually to be renewed ,recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted limited, altered challenged by pressures not all its' own" (Williams 1977, p112).

In proposing hegemony as a cultural process, Williams (1977) identifies "traditions", "institutions" and "formations" as key aspects of that process. In terms of epochal analysis, Williams (1977) further proposes that the internally dynamic relations of processes must consider "dominant" processes alongside "residual" and "emergent" processes like community leisure. Hargreaves (1982) also distinguishes different hegemonic processes. They are "economic", "political" and "cultural" processes (7). Leisure may function in all three processes. People's leisure experiences reflect a range of institutions and processes which constitute common experience, cultures or ways of life within social totality.

COMMUNITY

In using the term "community leisure", the concept "community" itself must be considered. It is certainly a most deliberate use of the word, "community", so what is being implied by this term, "adopted" by leisure? Its main features can be identified as "locality", "common identity" or "shared experience", and "collective action" (Hillery 1955, Sussman 1959, Kaufman 1959, Bell and Newby 1971). These differing interpretations are all evidenced in working practice, sometimes distinctly, sometimes integrated. Action Sport and SLAB exploit this flexibility and

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integrate provision in all three senses of community. Action Sport and SLAB are both bound by geographical notion of locality; Action Sport in Chapeltown and Harehills, whilst SLAB goes as far as to embody "South Leeds" in its name. Neither project consider a purely geographical interpretation of community adequate, and consider further sub-communities of shared identity and experience. SLAB describes "commonness" outside locality as "dispersed". SLAB believes geographical notions of community are historically idealised (8). Contemporary community is based less upon people's identification with locality. SLAB and Action Sport identify shared identity and experience in; age, sex, ethnicity, culture, and through social experience like unemployment. An Action Sport worker commented;

"People are not unified because they live in one area... It

is a network of individuals who have something in common.

Their location is fluid".

Action Sport and SLAB also identify community through collective action. Collective action needs to be seen as a dynamic, interactive process, rather than the previously more static demographic interpretations of community (Kelly 1984). Action Sport describes collective actions like playing, working and living together and sharing opportunities for experience. SLAB is working towards a more prominent sense of community and "togetherness".

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The concept of community as a "dynamic" and its' incorporation into forms of social or leisure provision is suggestive of an interventionist direction towards "community development";

"Community development is about involving the people themselves in the context of the community's overall needs and developing responses for themselves. It is not simply the delivery of services to the community... (it) can empower local people to take an active part in defining both needs and solutions... (engaging) local people directly in dialogue and partnership",
(AMA 1989 ; p8;11).

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Community development can be viewed on a developmental scale based upon the level of intervention. This scale ranges between the "external" imposition and the "internal" formulation of community action. The "external" is a "top-down" deterministic model of intervention (9). The "internal" is a "bottom-up" interactive model of intervention through self-help, co-authored by "enabling agents" and the community itself.

Both community arts and sports openly engage in "community development" (A.M.A. 1989). In this research, when asked how much their work was community work as opposed to sports or arts work, responses were divided. Action Sport workers saw a very large and significant part of their work as being community work. In balance, they saw sports work as fractionally the dominant. One worker described community sport, conceptually, as a part of community work (10). The SLAB workers were divided almost equally between those whose responses were similar to the Action Sport workers (but in respect of arts work), and others, perhaps significantly those most senior, who saw community work as the dominant occupation. All concerned concluded there was a lot of overlap. It has been said that outreach community sports leaders need to possess counselling skills in greater measure than sporting skills (D.O.E. 1989). Similarly, "animation" has been described as "socio-cultural community development" (Kingsbury 1976). Both sports and arts are recognised as valuable tools with which to pursue community development (A.M.A. 1989).

SPORT and ART

In considering community leisure housing constituent elements of sport and art, we may encounter the "aesthetic / athletic overlap" described by Rees (1978). It is not at this point the aim to prove that sports and arts are one and the same thing. They have certain distinct differences, but they do also share some features. Arts are implicitly and explicitly, predominantly aesthetic. There can be said to be an aesthetic in sport but it is more

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peripheral. Sports are essentially athletic, but arts are not necessarily athletic (except perhaps in the case of dance). They are both cultural activities most commonly pursued as leisure. They both perform a symbolic signalling function (Carrington and Leaman 1983, Pridgeon 1984, Robertson 1984, Critcher 1986, Hargreaves 1986, Pick 1986, Willis 1990). In the arts, this function is both implicitly and explicitly recognised. In sport this signalling function is perhaps only recognised by academics. Both art and sport can be appreciated either through participation or through observation.

Research findings from the Chapeltown and Harehills Action Sport project revealed emancipatory descriptions emphasising human agency. Sport was understood as a physical form of leisure, and a source of enjoyment, self-expression and fulfilment, and a cultural universal. One respondent even went as far as to champion "Cartesian dualism" which describes the harmonious union of mind and body expressed in sport.

Research findings from the Slab project revealed a relative consensus in what is understood intrinsically by the arts. Understandings of art by the respondents spanned the hegemonic ends of the structural influences of communication and the subjective discriminating perceptions of agents. Foremost as an explanation was art as a "medium for communication". One respondent described the arts as "the intelligence of feeling".

At first prompt, structural aspects of sport and art were barely considered by respondents as they emerged in perception as autonomous and beneficial cultural practices. Structural aspects will be considered in detail in chapter five. Despite structural influences, sport is commonly felt as "liberating" and separate from the "real world". This dichotomy reflects hegemonic tensions upon sport which, as a site for hegemony, is structured by cultural relations and accepted or resisted by participating agents. The arts are also a site for

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hegemonic contest. They offer dominant cultures the power to organise the prevailing frameworks of understanding (Sinfield 1989), structuring the aesthetics of a "national culture", and yet have the potency to transform society (Parry 1986) (11).

ELITISM

Both sports and arts have been charged with allegations of elitism, which has been a partial legitimisation for community leisure. Elitism in sport has been associated with elements of its competitive nature and framework. Action Sport workers believe elitism exists as a media product. Elitist connotations in sport insinuate a high skill threshold of entry into the activity which does not fully account for the less competitive socialising aims and ends of many participants. Mainstream provision often only caters for the highly competitive participant but Action Sport is pitched at a much less competitive level. Action Sport believe they have been successful in communicating a low skill threshold of entry to sports.

That elitism exists in the arts is broadly accepted (Baldry 1976, Kelly 1984, GLC 1986, Lewis et al 1986, Parry 1986, London Strategic Policy Unit 1987, Willis 1990). Great art has traditionally been seen as the possession of only a few gifted individuals (Baldry 1976). As such it becomes a category of "exclusion" rather than "inclusion" (Willis 1990). Berman (1983) describes this as;

"an upper class, imperialist trick... a small group of people have, over the years, been able to persuade or trick, an even smaller number of people who have their hands on the levers that an eighteenth century folk art is somehow normal or normative for twentieth century British society. That smaller group of people, through a host of agencies of governmental processes have then also managed to persuade, or trick the rest of society into believing that folk art is normal for our society and deserving of subsidy, whereas really it is not" (12).

This elitism was justified by a philosophy of nurturing "few but roses", but was later countered with a call to "let a million flowers bloom" (Kelly 1984). Elitism in the arts illustrates how

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hegemony includes cultural forms and dominant meanings within particular artworks, as well as dominant groups (GLC 1986). The absence of popular "participatory" cultural forms has been attributed to erosion through commercialism and exclusion through the mystification of high culture (Parry 1986). Preoccupation on the part of providers with high art has led to a counter campaign for a popular culture (GLC 1986, Corner 1991, Frith 1991). Community art could be said to be a wing of this movement (13). SLAB accepts descriptions of high art as elitist. A worker commented that the art "ordinary" people produce is the real "high art". Needless to say SLAB sees itself as more than just a de-mystifying filter for high art, and promotes "people's art". As such SLAB is in opposition to the dominant hegemony in the arts and is a focal point for resistance.

Community leisure has been a site of contest between the dominant cultural hegemony operating through sport and art, the alternative hegemony of community projects like SLAB and Action Sport, and individual points of resistance by participants and non-participants.

COMMUNITY SPORT

Community sports (often subsumed under the title of community recreation) arose out of the realisation that traditional participation patterns were dominated by "advantaged" sections of the population. State initiatives were led by the Sports Council who proceeded to attempt to raise participation rates amongst groups who were identified as non-participants. Community sport has focused on these commercially "disenfranchised" individuals. Haywood and Kew (1989) emphasise the flexible, proactive style and process of community sport. Despite laudable aims to be flexible, reactive, open and informal, Haywood and Kew (1989) are critical of the package which is being offered. They describe it as "old wine in new bottles"; it is the same "sport", frames rules and regulations, as practised in the mainstream.

Action Sport conforms fairly comfortably with the common understanding of community sport. In reference to the "old wine in new bottles" argument, one worker replied, "Sport is sport. It's just sport in the community". The same worker refuted accusations of perpetuating elitism and described how the Action Sport approach avoids this. Action Sport promotes a sense of informality and a feeling of "ownership" amongst its participants; "We try to cater for people on their own terms". Action Sport started off offering mainstream activities but left space, and has successfully provided, for other activities like "Chairobics" and "Kabbadi". Action Sport is about enjoyment. That is stressed repeatedly as the "bottom line". Workers were critical of "serious" participation. They described how Action Sport brings people together, contributing, in a general sense, to community spirit (although it was pointed out that competing concepts of "community" are not discussed). They saw Action Sport promoting socialising and interaction, and making people happier. Action Sport is concerned with the process from start to finish although participation is the most important thing as ultimately that determined if people came back again. The basis of Action Sport is social and the consultation process is important in developing the sense of ownership. Action Sport provides an organisational framework sometimes lacking in the community. It emphasises an initial low level ability threshold to participation. Any ability fostered towards excellence is channelled towards other forms of provision. Through its outreach work, Action Sport "bridges the gap" in participation between people and facilities (which are predominantly local and may be unconventional). The hegemonic challenge for Action Sport is to promote its philosophy that participation in sport is good, and to extend the participatory franchise within the community.

COMMUNITY ARTS

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The general aim of community arts is to increase participation in the arts amongst traditional non-participants. The community arts are somewhat critical of elitism inherent in the high arts and have sought to develop new ways of working, independent of the high arts (Kelly 1984);

"Community Arts is neither a populist, low-quality attempt to transform people into "artists", nor is it artistic missionary work bringing enlightenment to those outside the mainstream culture... Community Arts is a lateral rather than a vertical or hierarchical way of thinking about creative arts activity",
(Yorkshire and Humberside Association for Community Arts 1983).

The emphasis is much more upon "community" than it is upon art (Arts council of Great Britain 1974, London strategic policy unit 1987), and deprived communities in particular. The history of community art is linked to its relationship with the state, which is its largest funder (Kelly 1984). Community arts' relationship with the arts establishment has been somewhat volatile. Its prioritisation of the needs of participants, above art itself is a radical departure from the needs of the artform or institution (Mulgan and Worpole 1986).

Attempts have been made to define community arts in different but not incompatible ways;

"The central philosophy remains - that skilled and sensitive artists working alongside other members of a community can help to unlock the wealth of creative energy latent in any group of people, and can help channel that energy into constructive and confident revitalisation of such communities",
(Shelton Trust and CORAA 1982).

Community arts often aim to provide a "sense of community". There is a desire to activate communities to create change (Yorkshire Arts 1989). In this sense there is recognition of the potential of art to transform society (Parry 1986). This has led to assumptions that community art can be, or is, political or even revolutionary (Kelly 1984). Against this, the hegemonic power of the dominant order to incorporate the opposition must be measured. There is an emphasis on the active production rather than purely the passive consumption of culture

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(Shaw 1977, Yorkshire and Humberside Association for Community Arts 1983, Yorkshire Arts 1985). There is also an emphasis on popular culture or the particular culture of a community (Simpson 1976a, Yorkshire and Humberside Association for Community Arts 1983, Parry 1986). There is a desire to involve the general public in the creative process (Haworth 1979, Barraclough in Corner 1991), and to consider process and skill learning as important as product (Arts Council of Great Britain 1974, Singh in Corner 1991). In this sense there is an abandonment of the abstract aesthetic criteria in traditional art which canonises professional judgement (Parry 1986). The role of "animators" has been important in taking art into the community and unlocking creative potential;

"What matters most is not an organisational form, nor bricks and mortar, but the commitment and the dedication of the individuals involved",
(Arts Council of Great Britain 1974, p7).

Animators and of community art have been criticised for using art for non-artistic purposes, for promoting an artistic content which is sloppy or absurd, and for not promoting the cultural heritage (Walker 1978). In defence, community art has been described as potentially the most sophisticated of all art forms in its flexible response to the demands of the community as the market (London strategic policy unit 1987).

The range of uses and interpretations of community art are wide and varied. It is not surprising that any singular initiative cannot encompass all its dimensions. SLAB encompasses many, but perhaps its most distinctive emphasis is that of being educative. SLAB is housed in the local government youth and community work sector, which is in turn a part of the education department. SLAB is seen as a departure from mainstream provision in this sector. It does not see itself as hegemonising the community into conventional education. The traditional activity curriculum consists mainly of recreational activities such as pool and table tennis. SLAB sought to utilise arts work innovatively to support and enhance "issue-based"

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work. SLAB is seen as a tool for educational and developmental work. It is not educational in the traditional sense. It is accepted that it has to be enjoyable for participants and that educational goals are supplementary to this bottom line. Educational aims are not concealed from participants, in fact they are commonly negotiated, but there is a sense in which participants are there for fun and workers are there to facilitate education. In this sense it can be disputed whether SLAB is leisure, education or both;

"It's implied that leisure time isn't educational. I would dispute that. Many things done in leisure time are very educational. The line between leisure and education is very wavy. We draw them in for leisure, but we provide an educational package".

SLAB is critical of passive consumption in mainstream arts. The process is more important than the end product, and active participation is emphasised. People are judged far more by how much effort they've put in than by a yardstick of good or bad. Perhaps in contradiction, the coordinator was also conscious of the need to show some end product to funders. He also thought it gave participants a fuller sense of having achieved something. He was not judging the quality of product, or reducing the importance of process. He was utilising product instrumentally to reinforce the project.

Despite this SLAB offers a particularly broad range of aims. SLAB sees community art as a potential platform for communicating messages and issues of concern to the community. As such it can offer a political platform for the expression of issues and opinions. This empowering role is extremely important to SLAB. Community art can give a voice to individuals or groups who are ordinarily disempowered from the organs of the political or journalistic media. For some people art can be an easier form of communication and articulation for issues of importance. Community art can be a medium to enable the building of self confidence and esteem through the opportunity for personal challenge or to challenge others. Art makes

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people think and can be a journey in self discovery, developmental for the self or for a group. SLAB uses groupwork to promote cooperation, the acquisition of social skills, and creative decision making which can be applied to other areas of life. Through community art people can celebrate or challenge their community, local area, culture or experiences in life. SLAB claims to offer people an opportunity to value their culture or to forge a cultural identity. In so doing SLAB attempts to promote a non-elitist, "working class" culture. By encouraging people to be creative SLAB introduces people to aesthetics, which may be the "first rung on the ladder" to making art more accessible. SLAB emphasises active participation and involvement in the production of art. It is focused on people and not art. It is not "art in the community". It is "the community in art".

COMMUNITY LEISURE

To form a concept of community leisure it is necessary to compare community art with community sport. This can be done firstly through comparing SLAB with Action Sport, and revealing shared aims and distinctive differences. They are both reactions against social inequalities in mainstream participation and barriers to participation. They both emphasise a low ability threshold to initial participation and are critical of elitism. They are both orientated towards the needs of the participant and community rather than the activity; leisure, sports or arts. They both identify a market of disadvantaged groups who are priorities in targeting. They identify the inner city as a priority community and broadly agree upon which social groups are most in need. They both employ outreach work, "sports leaders" or "animators". Rather than working from a facility base, they take leisure out into the community. They both emphasise the consultative process with the community and avoid being prescriptive.

"An essential part of any leisure strategy is the recognition of a need to move from a facility dominated approach to a people centred or people led approach which places a premium

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on outreach work to identify unmet leisure needs and encourage takeup where there is an under representation of different sections of the community",
(A.M.A. 1989, p31).

Community sports and arts see leisure as a tool for some other means. They both target promoting enjoyment, building self-confidence and community, social or cultural development as objectives. SLAB distinctly puts emphasis on developmental or educative work, whereas Action Sport describes itself as being about fun. They both see the participation process as being as valuable as any ends achieved. They differ in that community arts work has undergone a fundamental reappraisal of art's forms and has been innovative in selecting appropriate or new forms. This structural assessment has not correspondingly taken place in community sports which are relatively conservative of existing sports forms (Haywood and Kew 1989). This may be unimaginative on the part of community sport, or it may be that sports are inherently less elitist than arts, and owe this historically to their practice as a mass working class pastime, albeit inadequately representative of women's experiences. A final difference is that community arts encompass explicitly political forms of expression whereas this is not explicitly true of community sports.

Having compared community sport to community art, and Action Sport to SLAB, can a concept of community leisure be formed? Haywood and Kew (1989, p19) offer a definition of community recreation;

"Community recreation is about identifying perceptual barriers to participation by identifying community need and subsequently providing for them".

Concepts of what is meant by identifying need, and to what extent it is identified by the community, or provider, will be covered in detail in chapter six. Walker (1978) identifies challenges for community leisure. There is a growing demand for informal neighbourhood facilities and for animators. There is pressure for more intensive usage of existing facilities and

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a reluctance for investment in prestige centres. There is a growth of more democratic leisure forms and popular demand. And finally, there is a common objective of helping to improve the quality of life for individuals and for the community.

Despite common challenges, some community arts workers are still uncomfortable with the umbrella of leisure. One SLAB worker declared;

"Art isn't necessarily leisure. I'm working in an educational, community context... I wouldn't call what I do leisure".

The worker was comfortable with the umbrella of culture but not entirely with leisure. The worker saw leisure as laidback entertainment and unimportant, and art as leisure in the form of flower arranging and amateur dramatics. Other than through some forms of community celebration, the worker did not think a leisure model was entirely appropriate for understanding community arts. The worker did admit that community art might be perceived as leisure by the participant, and after discussion was prepared to reconsider his original position. An Action Sport worker described leisure as non-working or free time and went on to say that community leisure could not be differentiated from that. Critcher (1986) believes leisure can link the level of analyzing the boundaries of sporting practice within the level of culture in general as the creation and contestation of meaning. The same can surely be said of the arts. Critcher goes on to identify a "leisure culture" which is a culture within leisure in the context of culture as a whole. Simpson (1976a) questioned whether there would be more chance of arousing popular interest in a campaign called "culture for all" rather than "sport for all". Such an umbrella would surely incorporate the arts and thereby community arts. Whether "leisure for all" would do this is open to dispute by some community artists. Theoretically, the term "culture" would be a larger category for "inclusion", but it cannot be overlooked that, at present, culture is perceived as a category of "exclusion" for many.

SUMMARY

In conceptualising community leisure, the inherent duality of social relations must be taken into account. Hegemony describes these dualistic relations in leisure as a site for cultural struggle. This perpetual conflict is acted out between dominant, residual and emergent cultural traditions, institutions and formations (Williams 1977). Community leisure is a movement away from mainstream, or dominant, cultural provision and its focus on leisure forms and product. Community leisure focuses on the participant and the participatory process. It is targeted at the initial threshold to participation. It is a reaction against elitism and inequality, and is person or community centred. Community leisure can be seen as a part of community or socio-cultural development (Kingsbury 1976, AMA 1989). As such, leisure forms, whether sport or art, are tools towards these developmental aims. Community leisure is a movement from "top down", deterministic models of provision towards "bottom up" community led provision. The community and provider may become "co-authors of destiny". Community leisure can be a concession of power by the dominant hegemonic order. This can be seen as a means towards the incorporation of dominant groups into the dominant culture, or as recognition of independent sub-cultures.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Positivist theories fail to account adequately for structural determinants like economics, politics, gender, race and class (Clarke and Critcher 1985). Structural Marxist theories have a tendency to hide behind "conspiracy theories" which make caricatures of the governing classes and cultural dopes of the working

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classes (Whitson 1984).

(2) Structuration theory over emphasises the power of the individual to influence structures. Oppressive structures are perpetuated by supposedly "knowledgeable" actors. Structuration theory does not fully explain the complex struggles and interaction which takes place between interest groups, and in the construction, or membership, of the dominant order.

(3) In the hegemonic model, the concept of dominant classes or cultures is less deterministic than those of either Althusser (1971) or Marcuse (1964).

(4) Hargreaves (1986) describes how the development of the Sports Council and its sport for all policy came about as socially democratic values hegemonised the political scene but have since been superseded by an authoritarian populism and the "rolling back of the welfare state". In this same manner, contestation over the meaning and control of sport has taken place within the dominant classes rather than between social classes; what Critcher (1986, p102) describes as "predominantly a hopeless struggle of nineteenth century amateur ideals against the remorseless logic of twentieth century commerce".

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(5) Some theorists, like Gorz (1982), go as far as to suggest

that it is now leisure and not work that is the central sphere for self-realisation in capitalist society, and that leisure relations are now the key site for neo-Marxist inquiry.

(6) In this sense there is "ideological work" to be done,

extending and adapting dominant modes of interpretation (Hall 1980), and "cultural work" to be done, legitimising and incorporating new forms, whilst marginalising and suppressing others (Clarke and Critcher 1985).

(7) The economic processes are the production, distribution

and control of resources. The political processes are the mobilisation and organisation of perceived interests.

The cultural processes are habits, customs, pastimes, rituals and styles of life (Hargreaves 1982).

(8) The use of analysis of community by locality is

diminishing in the eyes of many theorists as society and social relationships transcend locality;

"Contemporary community is less about locality, due to mobility, and more about association with organisations which socially express common beliefs, values and meanings",
(Boothby and Tungatt 1978 ; p8:1).

(9) The deterministic model identifies community as a place

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or a group of people. In this sense it is a tangible entity. It can be seen. It can be quantitatively defined. The deterministic model is perhaps that which has traditionally courted more favour from policy makers and is in greater evidence in working practice. In this approach the state has traditionally taken a leading role in identifying "deprived communities" and in targeting groups of "disadvantaged people". The deterministic concept of community has connotations of working class, shared experiences and the inner city (Haworth and Veal 1976). The inner city itself is further characterised by high unemployment, high density, poor quality housing and social disadvantage. Community development is of course neither exclusively urban nor exclusively with the working class but these are the dominant images.

(10) It is interesting that in one of the "Leisure and the quality of life experiments" (D.O.E. 1977b) the offer of an arts worker was rejected in favour of a community worker. Clearly, the two are not the same.

(11) Sinfield (1989, p129) illustrates this ambiguity well; "It's a pile of bricks when it's in the street, but an artwork when it's in the Tate (Question: What is it while it's being carried through the door? Heavy!"). Suffice to say aesthetics confuse interpretation as they are subjective and qualitative in nature. In hegemonic

terms, the arts are characterised by structural contests
of interpretation impeded by the subjective experiences
of aesthetic agents.

(12) Berman (1983) uses the term "folk art" to describe art forms which were originally popular with the masses, but were patronised and adopted as the "court arts" of the upper classes. They no longer command support as popular folk forms.

(13) Frith (1991) describes popular "art" as art produced "for", "of" or "by" the people. Popular culture incorporates new forms of production, aesthetic egalitarianism and "cultural industries". It is a movement of support away from "excellence" and towards the conditions of production. It is a movement away from the culture of the dominant and towards the culture of the popular.

CHAPTER FIVE INTERVENTION RATIONALES

The overwhelming majority of community leisure initiatives have been funded by the state. This has been directly from central government, indirectly through the leisure quangos, and from local government. The Sports and Arts Councils have played roles as "lead" bodies developing policies and directing provision, but the nature of community sports provision has been more closely directed than that of the community arts (Rees and Parker 1978). Community leisure provision has seldom been funded for its own ends and has largely been legitimated for instrumental reasons (Glyptis 1989).

Community sport has operated as an arm of the Sports Council's aim of "Sport for all" (Hargreaves 1986). It looks at sport from the standpoint of the social function it fulfils (Council of Europe 1971), and, as such, is as much a part of social policy as it is of leisure policy (D.O.E. 1989) (1). State funding of community art was principally "legitimated" by the Baldry Report (Arts Council of Great Britain 1974) which skilfully interpreted community art in relation to aspects of the Arts Council's charter concerning accessibility (Kelly 1984). Since then it has often been considered a "poor relation" to other artistic forms and has been legitimated for many reasons but scarcely for its own intrinsic worth and value (Corner 1991).

Models of intervention in community leisure relate closely to those found in community development (Community Development Project 1975). These models incorporate rationales which can be divided between those which legitimate purely and directly on social grounds and those which are concerned with extending the participatory franchise, which may in turn be indirectly linked to social rationales. Social rationales may be further subdivided into those which perform a function of social control and those which safeguard social welfare. The extension of the participatory franchise can be further subdivided into rationales which are

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conservative of the status quo, and promote a democratisation of culture, and those which are critical, and promote cultural democracy.

This chapter will examine four models of intervention in more detail to assess how accurately they characterise community leisure provision. They are community leisure as "social control", "social welfare", the "democratisation of culture" and "cultural democracy". It is not an intention for these models to be contrasted against one another exclusively, but for them to be seen as operating simultaneously, and to varying degrees of influence. In this respect they reinforce the notion of community leisure as a site for cultural and hegemonic struggle rather than as a static consensus. The four models of state intervention describe attempts by the dominant culture to influence the leisure culture of the masses, some less democratically than others. This struggle takes place both independently in each model and interactively between them. They are contested and resisted within the dominant culture, by sub-cultures, and by individual agents. Not all, but some community leisure has also been seen as a radical sub-culture of resistance against the dominant order. For this reason, in addition to the four models of dominant cultural intervention through the state, the radical opposition of community leisure as a hegemonic sub-culture will also be considered. But firstly, the very concept of "planning" for "leisure" will be addressed.

PLANNING FOR LEISURE

Community leisure, like leisure provision per se, is a paradoxical combination of control, through state intervention and planning, and freedom, as expressed by the individual "at leisure". Leisure is an aspect of life over which people are believed to exercise considerable autonomy and freedom. If not, is it leisure at all? This interpretation of leisure as freedom is at some odds with the evidence of state planning and particularly of social control (2). There

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is an ambiguity of rights to participate being provided for in co-existence with more prescriptive concerns.

Long (1980) is satisfied that a coherent leisure theory should be able to encompass dichotomies; "that leisure can be both a tool for community development and an opiate" which ameliorates deprivations. This position is supported by Hargreaves (Undated, p60);

"Leisure is unique in its capacity to provide surrogate satisfaction for an alienated mass audience, while at the same time perpetuating its alienation and functioning as a means of political socialisation into the hegemonic culture".

The sophisticated hegemonic state is quite aware of this dichotomy and does not hesitate to take cunning advantage of its utility. The state is able to form a coalition of support for its policies and unite diverse interests behind its dominant project;

"A social admin approach would point to the political need to "collect and combine" issues to provide an "economy of remedies" within one policy in order to gain a broad base of support",
(Coalter et al 1986, p92).

The concept of community leisure as a dichotomy, and intervention policies which promote an "economy of remedies" and thereby a combination of rationales, demonstrates the hegemonic power of the state.

In a positivistic vein, the Sports Council has been preoccupied with the ends rather than the means of participation. As MacIntosh and Charlton (1985, p20:6, 20:7) point out;

"There is here a paradox : if sport is promoted and pursued as an end in itself it may bring social benefits which elude the grasp of policy makers if they treat it as little more than a clinical, social or political instrument to fashion those very benefits... a social policy for sport should now be based on twin principles expressed in two slogans - "Fit for life" and "Sport for fun".

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The Sports Council has hardly promoted sport as the carefree enjoyment, which it is to many people. Despite the fact that Action Sport workers were insistent that they promoted sport purely for fun, one worker observed that we may have far less freedom than we think. Conscious of the controlling role of the state, and that of Action Sport in community sport he commented:

"There are certain ways of behaving and attitudes towards people that have to be fostered, that are of paramount importance to the survival of the community, survival of the people".

Accusations of being over prescriptive are not unique to community sports. The same could be said of some community arts projects which are claimed to be so educationally biased that they lose sight of the leisure experience. SLAB workers described how they were careful to balance elements of fun and education in their sessions. Educational objectives were not hidden from participants and fun was promoted as a prerequisite in sessions before educational work took place. Fun and education seemed to go hand in hand;

"A social agenda doesn't necessarily inhibit the leisure experience. It depends on workers as individuals, and their skill to introduce educational elements. Education is implicit rather than explicit",
(SLAB worker).

SOCIAL CONTROL

"Social control" is performed by the state directly and indirectly, manifestly and institutionally. The state intervenes directly to legislate for and against particular leisure forms. The state preserves its position as the dominant hegemonic culture by pursuing its hegemonic project and responding to hegemonic opposition. The state maintains capitalism by preserving the market over which transactions occur and intervenes "in pursuit of distributive justice"

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(Roberts 1978) without fundamentally changing the infrastructure. The responsive state is the hegemonic state which incorporates resistance and preserves the social order (3).

Sport is used explicitly as a form of social control. The Sports Council ("Sport and leisure" 1982, p3) openly believes, "Kids in sport don't throw bricks" (4). The police have taken an open interest in involvement in community sport (Haywood 1983). So much so that Carrington and Leaman state;

"Community policing and community sport would appear to share an identical logic and perform an identical ideological function",
(1983, p10).

Sport is used as surrogate violence, channelling aggression into a socially acceptable activity. Hargreaves (1986) describes how community sport describes various categories of potential user, but it is clear that the main concern is the "potentially troublesome" (5). The salient impetus for Action Sport, nationally, has been a response to the urban riots of the 1980s. The respondents from Action Sport, Chapeltown and Harehills, were overwhelmingly in agreement that they owed their existence to the fact that there had been riots in Chapeltown. One worker commented that if there was another riot their budget would be doubled;

"We act a little like community policemen... We walk the beat. We go back to our "station house" and fill in our forms",
(Action Sport worker).

Another worker said he felt responsible to motivate people to get a job. Another worker said that because Chapeltown is known as a racially "black" area, politicians responded in an institutionally racist way, providing community sport because they were "black". Despite being overwhelmingly aware of their use as a potential instrument of social control, Action Sport workers were uncomfortable with this and recognised their own ability for resistance and to carry out their own objectives;

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"We're not just a bunch of "jolly non-whites" doing the bidding of faceless bureaucrats!".

One also pointed out that the drug pushers went back to their trade after doing their sport, a rather morbid failure of control over agency.

Social control is less explicit in the community arts. There is definitely an element of using leisure time "constructively". One SLAB worker described how users could "better themselves" whilst another commented;

"I really am opening up a new world for people... people don't seem to do anything new or challenging... people need to be educated to using their leisure".

Community art may diffuse anxieties through channelling their expression, but nevertheless, social control can hardly be said to be as much a part of community art as it is of community sport.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Much attention has been drawn to the importance of community leisure as a form of "social welfare". The Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1989) view community arts and sports as vital to community development. Others have questioned whether art for art's sake is not justification enough (Early in Corner 1991)? Denis Howel (quoted in Coalter et al (1986) when Minister of sport) declared that without a social purpose; sport would be irrelevant. The Sports Council (1978) has sought to integrate sport and social policy. And Bernard Atha (1978, p14), when Vice Chairman of the Sports Council, stated;

"Deprivation takes place in many forms - social, educational, cultural, housing, emotional, and recreational to mention just a few. This deprivation exists at great cost to our society, a cost most easily seen in terms of crime and vandalism, but more serious in terms of loneliness and alienation".

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In this mood, Glyptis (1989) points out that the 1975 White paper on "Sport and recreation" (H.M.S.O. 1975) heralded a shift from policies of "recreational welfare" to the use of "recreation as welfare".

Both Action Sport and SLAB paid great attention to the value of their work in terms of social welfare and the contribution it could make to the quality of life of their users. Action Sport workers described how people gained a sense of achievement and self determination which they could apply to other areas of their lives. People were able to enjoy themselves, to self actualise and increase their feeling of self worth. Action Sport workers agreed that they were facilitating people's rights to the opportunity to participate. They were mixed in reply as to whether what they were doing was promoting a "leisure ethic". A SLAB worker described how people were able to use the medium of the arts to communicate about themselves and about their lives, and that the feeling of taking control and shaping, "masked" by art, gives a sense of identity and value;

"I remember doing a community play; people divorced!... if that's not change, what is? Hopefully they were positive changes!".

The impact of SLAB work is reinforced by the "developmental" focus which uses "art as a tool". The educational aims and learning outcomes ensure that a personal or group development is "managed", either by the worker, or by the individuals or group themselves. Community leisure initiatives certainly have the potential to bring about change in people's lives, but individual projects are more likely to stimulate personal change, than effect any structural change.

DEMOCRATISATION OF CULTURE

The model of the "democratisation of culture" is most commonly talked of in relation to the arts, but it can equally be applied to sports. The concept of the democratisation of culture

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presumes that there is a national culture which, though not fully appreciated, understood or participated in by large sections of the population, can be spread from the top downwards through the "demystification" of the participatory process. Community leisure can act as a tool to overcome social barriers and demystify through participation. Once integrated "softly" into participation, the enlightened can then consume cultural goods of a "higher" quality. The national culture is promoted as a source of "national pride" and its supporters believe other less prestigious cultural forms substitute quality with relevance (6);

"The redistribution of cultural goods should be of the real thing, not some "cod's head soup" cheap substitute... to encourage people to write their own poetry instead of reading Elliot or Philip Larkin, is to encourage blinkered narcissism and consequent cultural impoverishment",
(Shaw 1987, p129, p135).

Some community leisure initiatives are premised on the idea that the community is a homogenous entity and aims to integrate those unattached into participation (Hargreaves 1986). By extending the franchise to participation it is intended that benefits will accrue in generating audiences with new impetus and fresh stimulation (Corner 1991). The democratisation of culture is unashamedly an attempt by the culturally dominant "cognoscenti" (Boothby and Tungatt 1978) to extend their hegemonic control over the masses. Needless to say, in true hegemonic fashion, it is passionately resisted by the majority of the masses (7).

SLAB workers were divided over the merits of trying to support dual cultures of "high art" and popular culture. They saw their work as focused on popular culture. Action Sport workers were also divided by the merits of integration. Two workers felt that Action Sport could be a "stepping stone" or "foundation" to mainstream sport. Another worker pointed out that integration could be oppressive for groups like Asian women who could see it as infringing on their rights to their beliefs;

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"People should be aware of others' cultural needs. If people were aware of those differences it helps, not just sport, but many other things as well".

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

The model of "cultural democracy" is, in part, a critique of the democratisation of culture which is seen as a paternalistic and elitist idea of handing the best down to the masses (Simpson 1976a, Parry 1986). The democratisation of culture can thus become; "a foredoomed and wasteful effort to graft an alien culture onto tissue where it cannot thrive", (Simpson 1976, p50).

In the arts, cultural democracy describes a more fundamental challenge to the means of cultural production. It interprets production as going beyond the consumption of traditional forms and believes in awakening the potential creativity of the masses. It also advocates a devolution of power away from centralised agencies and back to the people. It argues for a plurality of access to the means of cultural production, against passive consumption rather than against "high art" itself (Kelly 1984). Cultural democracy implies a broader appreciation of creativity than that enshrined in the "cultural heritage" (Yorkshire and Humberside Association for community arts 1983). It accommodates art from sub-cultures not claiming universalities in aesthetics or social experience (Sinfield 1989) (8). Cultural democracy supports the finding of the "Leisure and the quality of life experiments" (D.O.E 1977a, p161) that;

"The lessons of the experiments may be that a true community applies its development opportunities across the whole spectrum of interest groups rather than in trying to provide a homogenised mass leisure".

It is in recognition of the specialised needs of sub-cultures and sub-groups that a cultural democracy is proposed. Calls for a decentralised and more democratic and representative structure of leisure management, allowing for effective participation in decision making by

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the community, has been called for in sport (D.O.E 1989) and the arts (Labour Party 1977). Devolved strategies promote "ownership" by, and "co-authorship" with, the community. Outreach sports leaders and animators have gone out into the community to assess needs and demand. Cultural democracy, so far, has largely been more a proactive than a reactive pursuit (Yorkshire and Humberside council for sport and recreation 1989). Simpson (1976a, p66) believes a proactive stimulus has been needed because;

"A stimulus of this kind seldom arises spontaneously in modern urban or even rural societies, and it has to be contrived as something additional to the normal circumstances of everyday life".

In interview, Action Sport workers described how they have provided an "organisational framework" for the community and have employed animation techniques to give people "the drive to get up and go", a "sort of injection". Action Sport is critical of the notion of a homogenous national culture and of policy which is over prescriptive. One worker described Action Sport as being like a "local Sports Council". Action Sport justifies the initially prescriptive nature of its history with the national Sports Council as having been necessary as at a time when something had to be done. It has subsequently become far more community-led, although it was pointed out that even its initial premises were based upon extensive research by the Sports Council. The initial idea that sport should be chosen to meet a "social" need was explained as a community demand. At first, and importantly, to facilitate a bond and an in-road to the local community, Action Sport employed workers who were "co-cultural" with the community. The staff team reflected the main target of the project in persons mainly from an Afro-Caribbean ethnic background. A female worker has also been an imperative to access certain groups and provide a role model. Having been running successfully for some years now, "co-cultural" workers are felt less essential, but perhaps with the exception of the female worker.

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SLAB is unanimously behind the idea of cultural democracy. One worker claimed community art is known as cultural democracy in the United States and added;

"I'm a believer in people creating and sharing their own culture rather than having someone else's imposed upon them".

SLAB workers saw their work as set in a multi-cultural context. Empowerment is an important part of SLAB's work. The coordinator described how he guarded against compromising what participants wanted when "selling" individual projects to possible funders. In this respect, despite having to use "another language", he made sure that the process was not taken away from the people. A worker who specialised in video work described his concern as "media education". He felt that video was a powerful medium in which to get issues across, and that the final process could be "self-advocacy" for participants.

RADICALISM

In contrast to the four state sanctioned models of community leisure, radicalism represents an intervention in the community which is politicised against, rather than on behalf of, the state. Whereas cultural democracy represents a challenge to artistic values, radicalism represents a challenge to social values. Radical cultural agendas in this country have mainly been carried out by small groups or individuals (9). Baldry (1976) and Simpson (1976a) have both described a certain inevitability that cultural programmes concerned with community development and concepts of change can become political programmes. There is a history of radicalism in the community arts which is not equalled by the history of community sports (Kelly 1984). This does not mean that there is not a potential for radical action in community sports, and this will be considered later. Certain community artists and companies are overtly radical in their outlook (10). Kelly (1984) maintains that the role of community arts is to "topple capitalism". Kelly advises that community artists should explore alternative modes of cultural production, distribution and reception, and have a clear analysis of their work as part

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of a revolutionary programme committed to cultural democracy. Kelly believes that after a cultural democracy has been achieved "high art" should be obliterated;

"Storm the citadels, and tear them down brick by brick; to demolish the oppressive and imperialist structures and to build in their place a series of smaller haciendas where activity and participation are encouraged and welcomed, and the only activity which is prohibited is the building of citadels",
(Kelly 1984, p138).

Kelly concedes that this radical programme for community arts, lacking coordination, has been diluted by assimilation into the arts establishment in a legitimated form, in which radicals have become foot soldiers in their own movement;

"We came as invaders, but without a language of our own we were soon acting and talking like the natives of the citadel",
(Kelly 1984, p29).

This polemic analysis demonstrates the hegemonic power of the dominant culture to incorporate and disarm even the most radical of opposition. It also illustrates the potential for alternative and oppositional hegemonic cultures to emerge in a sub-cultural form.

SLAB workers recognised a radical or revolutionary potential for the community arts, but also that pragmatic organisational and self-preservation pressures conspire against this, and that much community art is not radical or even "agit prop". One worker described how community art was bound to be described as radical and anti-establishment by those in establishment whose position was threatened. The same worker continued that community art offered a constructive criticism which could be deemed to be pro-establishment of a different kind. Action Sport workers did not really see what they were doing as being radical despite the fact that its community led approach could be described as a radical departure from mainstream provision. One worker did see himself as "infiltrating" with an agenda to change. He was conscious of his ability to resist and interpret "top-down" policy and carry out

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his own mission saying, "the bosses don't visit the coal face". At a later interview he corrected, "it's not radical at all. It's very liberal". He went on to say that there was a potential for radicalism but it can't be made public. He described using "dual language" as "one for bureaucrats and one for practitioners". Clearly both SLAB and Action Sport illustrate a potential for opposition to the dominant hegemonic order, but highlight the difficulties of resisting assimilation or expulsion and marginalisation.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Nationally, Action Sport has been a "demonstrative" project showing the "legitimate" role sport can play in urban regeneration by "super-concentration" on a few streets (Glyptis 1989). The social agenda of community sports is particularly well documented (Sports Council 1982, MacIntosh and Charlton 1985, Haywood and Kew 1989, D.O.E. 1989, Yorkshire and Humberside council for sport and recreation 1989).

(2) Coalter (1989), Gamble (1981) and Long (L.S.A. 1981) have all described how leisure operates as a dichotomy riddled with "conceptual couples"; "liberation and control", "freedom and constraint", "the public and private sphere".

(3) This notion of a "responsive state" has been used to explain the failure of Marx's prediction of a revolution in Britain (Held 1980).

(4) Research reveals that the sports player tends to be

conformist in nature (MacIntosh and Charlton 1985,
Coalter 1991).

(5) Hargreaves (1986) goes on to describe how a cadre of

sports leaders are developed, who are "co-cultural" with
users, to enable infiltration and the exercising of
influence by the dominant culture.

(6) There is a presumption by the Arts Council that it is

possible to institutionalise a value neutrality of
aesthetic excellence and expect all to culture the same
taste (Parry 1986). Research has disputed this notion of
neutrality (GLC 1983), and it is interesting that the
culture of the masses is generally provided by the
commercial sector whilst the more privileged are provided
for by the state (London Strategic Policy Unit 1987).

(7) The democratisation of culture is a rather crude form of

hegemony and can perhaps even be associated with the
ideological apparatus described by Althusser (1971);

"Many of the attempts to democratise "resources" have
simply given an opportunity for the middle classes to
increase their share and consolidate their ideological
power",
(GLC 1986, p142).

- (8) In this respect structural relations such as class, gender and race are recovered to cultural analysis. The need to recover these relations to analysis is common to sport as well as art (Critcher 1986).
- (9) Perhaps the only significant attempt to implement a radical cultural agenda by the state was that of the GLC between 1981 and 1986 (Bianchinni 1989b). This was cultural action by the local state against the national state.
- (10) It is interesting to note that in the biographies of contributors in the Arts Council discussion document on community arts (Corner 1991, p20) two contributors describe themselves as; "a born-again cultural democrat and inspirer of people" and "a cultural bandit committed to the redistribution of cultural goods".

CHAPTER SIX PARTICIPATION AND NEEDS

The DART and IFER study of "Leisure provision and Human Need" (1976) found the concepts of "leisure", "needs" and "participation" highly interdependent. Needs may or may not be satisfied through participation. Who participates, and the very nature of participation, must be brought into question. This chapter will focus on participation and needs in leisure.

PARTICIPATION

Participation is not just a quantitative concept referring to the number of people who take part in an activity. It is also a qualitative concept referring to the degree of involvement or active participation. There is a value judgement in community leisure, that the greater the degree of participation, the better;

"Certain values hold good. For example active experience is better than passivity: critically constructive participation in community affairs is better than total preoccupation with individualist, including family, pursuits: that in recreation, entertainment and the arts, whatever evokes personal involvement of mind and heart is better than that which merely lulls and distracts",
(Simpson 1976a, p66).

Attempts have been made to stratify this amorphous concept of participation, or involvement (Arnstein 1969, AMA 1989). The term participation has also come to infer a developmental aim in community leisure towards self-determination by the community;

"We understand the term participation to be the act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals... participation involves doing as well as talking, and there will be full participation only where the public are able to take an active part throughout the plan-making process... publicity alone is not participation, but is the first essential step towards it",
(Skeffington 1969).

Choice is an important element to participation, as without a full range of choice the experience of participation is restricted. A very restricted experience of choice has been

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described as "cultural poverty" (Simpson 1976b). In this sense people possess "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1977). Structural relations like gender, race and class determine that some people have more cultural capital than others, and are able to use it to exercise greater choice. Participation in the arts, and even some community arts, is dominated by an educated elite, or cognoscenti (Boothby and Tungatt 1978, Lewis et al 1986, Mulgan and Worpole 1986). "Cultural signs" mystify arts provision from those who have not been educated to understand those signs (GLC 1986, Lewis et al 1986). The community arts are a means of de-mystifying the processes of cultural production and consumption. In the meantime the dominant cultural experience of most people in the arts is watching television.

Community leisure is a critique of passive leisure consumption. It is about active involvement. Commercial leisure provision reinforces consumptive participation. In the ideology of the market place consumer choice substitutes for leisure opportunities (1). The commercial division of culture into process and product, creators and consumers, has promoted excellence and spectatorship at the expense of participation (GLC 1986). But, as Shaw (1987) points out, "a good spectator also creates". Nevertheless, this is a poor justification for the majority of the population being excluded from the productive process, women in particular (Lewis et al 1986). Community leisure is both the process and the end product of participation (Shelton Trust and CORAA 1982, Torkildsen 1986). Community leisure is concerned about democratising and redistributing the means of cultural production as well as increasing participation.

INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION MAKING

Participation by the public at the level of decision making involves a considerable devolution of power on behalf of providers in the spirit of "creating a climate of dialogue" (AMA 1989). This is a concession of hegemonic power on behalf of the dominant order, but can also be seen

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as part of the incorporation necessary for domination by consensus (Gramsci 1971, Williams 1977, Kelly 1984). The "Leisure and the quality of Life" experiments (1977a) and the GLC (1986) attempted to devolve provision. The GLC, in loosening its hegemonic reins, encountered volatile competition between sub-cultures over provision and funding. Hall (in Mulgan and Worpole 1986, p89) described this as;

"The ding dong, complaint, pressure, pushing and response between the movements and the politicians is the positive sound of a real, as opposed to a phoney and pacified, democracy at work".

Hall's observation is that of an open hegemonic struggle between emergent cultural groups seeking legitimization by the dominant order. This is significantly different from a challenge to the dominant order. It is the "lived subordination" of emergent culture seeking incorporation (Gramsci 1971, Williams 1977). A lack of participation by the public, and thereby a lack of communication and knowledge, can lead to isolation and lack of control over events, which in turn fosters a passive mentality (Merseyside Youth Association 1984). Community Leisure is about activity, not passivity, about involvement, expression, participation and change (GLC 1986). In order to bring out these qualities community leisure fosters "empowerment".

EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment employs the provider as an "enabler", enabling communities to achieve things for themselves. What is done for the community, by the community, is often powerful and desirable (DOE 1977a, Greater London and South East Council for sport and recreation 1978, Corner 1991). Self-help is necessitated by the decentralisation of power and resources, and the promotion of democracy. Community leisure workers act as animators, empowering members of the community to identify and express their own needs. A truly empowered community will have reduced its own dependence upon outside help to meet its needs. Empowerment can happen for groups and for individuals. Community leisure most

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commonly works with groups, and through collective work, promotes cooperation and self-expression (Yorkshire and Humberside Association for community arts 1983, AMA 1989). Animators are careful not to impose their own ideas, but to look to the community itself for leadership and control (Shelton Trust and CORAA 1982). The "disenfranchised" may not emerge as leaders or have their views expressed for them (2). The animator endeavours to "network" the community, to search out the "disenfranchised", and to empower them.

Action Sport are conscious of the need to involve the community in the planning process. Action Sport are wary of being prescriptive. The initial brief given nationally, and the need to report back to the Sports Council to some degree also, had prescriptive overtones. One worker described how in the early stages there was far more need for the project to initiate proactively. The project is now in a better position to react to demand as it has a higher profile in the community. Workers described how they did not initiate without consultation. Workers may make suggestions to the community, but they wait for feedback before acting. Sometimes the project consults with other "professionals" or with local community leaders who can act as "catalysts", although the fact that they are not always representative of the "disenfranchised" is borne in mind.

SLAB were also keen to involve participants in planning. The whole developmental and educational philosophy in SLAB is geared towards empowerment. Participants have an influence in project planning and in assessing and evaluating outcomes. Workers are expected to be responsive to the articulated needs of the community , and to employ animation skills to bring about that articulation. The SLAB video worker said that in the final analysis the project would belong to the young people, and that he would only have supervised the technical side. Through issue based work, participants are given; "a chance to

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say what I want to say, to be listened to, to be heard". The issue of "ownership" is important to SLAB;

"I think it's really important that the group feels as if it's their project, and that we're not just doing something to them",
(SLAB worker).

Participants are encouraged to devise the projects themselves "within certain limits". The project coordinator said that he had ideally wanted a project committee to emerge from the community. The committee could have been formed from interested parties, who could then have steered the project from the grass roots. The coordinator continued that although there had been individual developments, the committee had not been forthcoming. Undoubtedly, the intention was there.

ASSESSING NEEDS

In focusing on community rather than leisure, and in promoting active involvement, community leisure attempts to address people's needs. There are many different sorts of needs, but this chapter will focus mainly on "human needs" (3). Human needs which are mainly satisfied in leisure might include play, symbolic interaction, compensation, and self-expression (DART and IFER 1976).

So, given that community leisure is addressing needs, how are these needs assessed? The commercial sector tends only to respond to demand so it is the public sector which is left to lead or innovate in the realm of specialised needs (Travis 1979, Hargreaves 1986). There is sometimes a presumption on behalf of providers that what they perceive as people's needs really are, or can be induced to be, what people want or will accept (Haworth and Veal 1976, MacIntosh and Charlton 1985). Due to its position as a national initiative, there has been extensive research behind, and evaluation of, Action Sport (Haywood 1983, Rigg 1986a, 1986b,

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Sports Council 1986, DOE 1989, Glyptis 1989). These papers reveal that there are a set of assumptions, preconceived objectives and a "process" underlying Action Sport. In this sense Action Sport provides a "demonstrative" model which can be adopted elsewhere, based on conviction rather than hypothesis (Rigg 1986b) (4). This demonstrative model can be seen as an attempt by a dominant culture to hegemonise the opposition. Similarly, though not as well documented, there are general claims made about needs in the community arts;

"Everyone needs arts. If they are not involved in some way I think they're lacking something",
(Merseyside Youth Association 1984, p16).

Attempts have been made to devise quantitative methods of assessment which can be applied broadly to leisure provision and assess "community preferences" (Greig 1976) or the "quality of life" (Carr-Hill and Linott 1991). Such methods tend to be unwieldy and qualitative analysis remains the most useful. Knox (1991) believes it is necessary to clarify leisure objectives into a format which is amenable to both quantitative and qualitative analysis to assess outcomes.

Action Sport, Chapeltown and Harehills, have used surveys to determine community need. Consultation prior to participation is important and commonly carried out. Wary of the prescriptive nature of the Sports Council, sports leaders set out to determine what people need at a local level. Workers admitted that there were initial presumptions about need. One of the biggest needs identified was simply for organisation. Action Sport has provided this. As a guard against being prescriptive, workers were somewhat reluctant to define how people benefitted from sessional work;

"They determine what they take away. I could tell you if we had a set programme, but they get anything they determine",
(Action Sport worker).

One worker described how his perception of who the project was aimed at differed from that of the Sports Council. The worker thought that sometimes the Sports Council seemed only to

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respond to those who shouted the loudest, who were not, in the worker's view, the most needy. Another worker admitted that at times he thinks "for the people", because he himself was unemployed and because it was easier than doing a survey. Another worker described how, after consultation, she spent the first session with a group purely finding out what they could do. The same worker is now in the fortunate position that there is such a demand for her specialised women's work, that she no longer needs to initiate, and can respond purely to demand which is over subscribed.

SLAB was set up as much to fulfil an absence in terms of youthwork as it was a need for the community. The absence was for issue based work which indirectly was perceived as a community need. Asked why there was a need for an arts project, workers admitted that the community had not demanded it. But, this comment was typical from workers;

"How does an individual know they need something if they have not experienced it?".

The workers described themselves as initiators, who once it had been generated, could respond to demand. Workers described how they sometimes had to convince people that something would be good for them, trusting that it was. They continued that they really couldn't force their ideas if people didn't like them;

"They make their own minds up. It's an interactive process" (SLAB worker).

The coordinator described how there was never ending process of evaluation going on in the project. This process involves the participants as much as the workers.

DEMAND

In terms of mainstream leisure provision attention has been mainly directed towards demand rather than need;

"Need appears to be conceptually "woolly" and operationally elusive, "demand" appears tangible, measurable, even

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"predictable",
(DART and IFER 1976, p3:14).

Lavery (1971) considers demand in three forms; as "effective" demand through participation, as "deferred" demand from those who choose not to participate, and "potential" demand from those who cannot. Community leisure, including Action Sport and SLAB, is concerned partly with "deferred" demand, but mainly with "potential" demand through the creation of opportunity. It is these areas of demand that must be addressed, if "the fit" between leisure provision and people's needs is to be closed;

"The body of knowledge on demand does not fully indicate people's preoccupations, interests or needs. The information on demand does indicate, however, that significant groups of the population are served less by leisure facilities than most; and these groups often coincide with those who have been found to be at greatest risk of low life-satisfaction",
(DART and IFER 1976, p26).

It is precisely at these groups that community leisure is aimed, and it is their needs which it is addressing.

WANTS

So far, consideration has only been given to people's "needs" and not to people's "wants". What of people's wants? Should community leisure be seeking to provide for "wants" as well as "needs"? In so doing it may be in danger of providing unevenly for those who shout the loudest. Community leisure, and leisure provision in general, has been far more successful in providing for needs (MacIntosh and Charlton 1985) (5). MacIntosh and Charlton (1985) describe differences between "wants" and "needs", and distinguish between "material" needs and wants, and "non-material" needs and wants. They believe leisure providers have been more successful in providing for needs than wants, and in providing for the "material" rather than the "non-material". They further contend that public policy should focus on all four domains. Swift (1976) believes wants can be identified and met through examination of

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existing leisure programmes, "taster" methods, "open" meetings with the public, and survey work.

SLAB responds to wants with reservations. Further examination might be necessary to establish a deeper motivation or a correlation with project aims. Action Sport workers disagreed about whether they could provide purely for wants. One said, "Wants is not enough. Needs is a priority". Others said, "Someone wants. We provide". Action Sport appeared to be more willing to respond purely to wants than SLAB. This is probably due to SLAB's "educative" aims, whereas the act of participation itself is enough for Action Sport.

TARGETS AND PRIORITIES

The "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977b, p161) expressed dissatisfaction with assumptions of being able to provide prescriptively for a homogenous "mass leisure". They advise community led initiatives;

"To regard statutory agencies as a resource to be used by people rather than impersonal and apparently irrelevant machines; and to make the best use of reserves of resourcefulness, vitality, compassion and enthusiasm with which all communities are endowed - and by which the quality of life is ultimately measured".

Demographic research has shown there are socio-economic groups with "pronounced activity relationships" (Cherry 1976). It is common for community leisure initiatives to demarcate potential and actual participants into groups for prioritisation. This is common to community arts (Haringey Council 1985, GLC 1986, MacDonald 1987), and to community sports (Sports Council 1982, 1983, 1986, 1987, Haywood 1983).

Demographic analysis and targeting have been criticised for being too simplistic and deterministic in nature (London Strategic Policy Unit 1987), homogenous (Mulgan and

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Worpole 1986), stigmatising (Haywood and Kew 1989), invidious (DOE 1977a), and because static definitions of groups imply that active groups are never quorate (Kelly 1984). There have been calls to move away from structural determination and to focus on behavioural aspects of participation, to move away from quantitative research and demographic analysis, and to engage in more qualitative research and micro-sociological analysis of the relationship between demand and supply;

"Research now has to focus rather more on the importance of personal preferences and choices and the social network of constraint and opportunity",
(Cherry 1976, p3:2).

SLAB works with "priority" groups. SLAB follows Leeds City Council's identification of "learning priority groups"; "It's easier to target". Slab also has a flexibility to identify its own target groups, which is most commonly done in liaison with other community workers. Within the general brief of "inner city" SLAB identifies groups in terms of special interests, discrimination, and physical, mental or racial "restriction";

"They are oppressed groups. They shouldn't be. We can give support to help them get out of oppression, to feel valued, to value themselves",
(SLAB worker).

SLAB monitors sessions closely, evaluating the work, noting attendance, and the group composition. Workers often go to groups who are already formed and admitted difficulty in reaching those who are further disenfranchised. Workers were aware of criticism concerning homogeneity. They still maintained that there was value in working with established groups, but were conscious of the need to move beyond this.

Action Sport also works with "priority" groups. Action Sport took its priority groups from those nationally identified by the Sports Council, but has also given a local interpretation. Action Sport monitors its sessions closely. Detailed breakdowns are given of the group composition and status. Action Sport value this process in terms of focusing their work and setting goals.

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Workers hasten to add that they're not in the numbers game and are concerned about the qualitative aspects of provision. One worker stated that the qualitative approach was purely local and that the Sports Council was only concerned about "bums on seats". Workers felt that the Sports Council could be accused of homogeneity, but felt that locally they were more aware of cultural differences within priority groups. This was expressed particularly strongly in terms of race. Workers, themselves black, felt that politicians and the Sports Council were hung up on the "black thing".

There is a ground swell of feeling in community leisure that it is not enough for providing agencies to determine what people need (Bacon 1975, Swift 1976, Labour Party 1977, London Strategic Policy Unit 1987, DOE 1989, Glyptis 1989). There are calls for more devolved models of provision which simply lend "an unobtrusive hand" to employ consultative methods to assess community need and vocalise demand (DOE 1977a, 1977b, Haworth 1979, Horn 1979, Marsh 1979, Travis 1979, Shelton Trust and CORAA 1982, Haringey 1985, MacDonald 1987, DOE 1989, Corner 1991, Singh in Corner 1991). The devolved model of provision employs animators in the identification of community needs. Animators can help communities to help themselves to information and resources, and to become self-determining groups.

BENEFITS

Given that community leisure is addressing people's needs, sometimes wants, what is it that "leisure" is providing for them? Leisure, arts and sports included, has been closely related to the quality of life (Roberts 1970, Parker 1971, DOE 1977a, 1977b). Support for leisure provision is often justified in terms of the benefit to the quality of life that it will bring to the community (DOE 1977a, 1977b, Greater London and South East Council for sport and recreation 1978, Haringey Council 1985, MacIntosh and Charlton 1985). Community leisure can certainly contribute to the quality of life, but the level at which it does this is disputed? Robertson

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(1984) doesn't believe we need the arts in the same way we need other basics. But perhaps the most outstanding claim for leisure is that it can come to substitute for employment (Gorz 1982, Haringey 1985).

The main benefits that SLAB workers believe participants take away are an increase in self confidence and esteem. This is linked to the self development sought through SLAB's educative programme. To test the validity of such claims would require extensive research outside the scope of this study. Through issue and communication based work it is also hoped that participants gain in self advocacy, and have a greater sense of their own options and opportunities. These benefits are linked by workers to improving the quality of a person's life. In addition to this SLAB offers a chance to participate in an arts based activity that otherwise a person may never get.

The benefits that Action Sport workers believe participants take away include socialising and developing friendships, perhaps an improvement in physical health due to fitness, gaining confidence, releasing tension, a leisure interest, access to sport, and enjoyment. These are all related by the workers to the quality of a person's life. One worker philosophised, "Life is a sport... taking chances". Another worker was more sceptical about the project meeting people's needs;

"A need is a job. I sometimes wonder if what we're involved in is some sort of panacea".

MEETING MACRO OBJECTIVES

Arts policies have been criticised for veering from macro objectives to micro means. Also between prescriptive, descriptive and reactive styles (Pick 1988). The same criticisms can be pointed against sports policies, and for that matter community leisure policies. Despite these

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macro objectives, leisure hasn't always delivered the goods. MacIntosh and Charlton (1985) point out that, despite claims to the contrary, sport hasn't really decreased coronary heart disease, or vandalism, or reduced urban boredom and frustration. They question the very premise that sport can fulfil social functions. In contrast Haringey Council (1985) see leisure as a catalyst for social interaction, and the development of interests, which may lead to the development of the community as well as of the individual. Long (1981) describes how leisure marginally improves the quality of life without effecting any real change. Long sees leisure as allied to the mode of production, providing a notion of the "good life" whilst mitigating against any qualitative change. Leisure is used as a panacea for social ailments caused outside the sphere of leisure itself. Such provision aims to cure the symptoms without reference to the disease. It does not address the causal structures and is used as an opiate;

"More sports centres, cheap facilities, and changing the attitudes of non-participants are preferred to raising the incomes of target groups or lowering the prices of key resources which they lack, such as land prices in the inner city. The structure disappears and what is left is individuals with problems",
(Hargreaves Undated, p29).

Rigg (1986a) believes that at least as long as there is urban deprivation there will be a need for community leisure, even if it is for the wrong reasons. Community leisure has the power to emancipate and liberate if it can be provided away from purely instrumental concerns. Long (1981, p164) offers some cause for optimism;

"Leisure itself is unlikely to change the world, but it may put men and women in a better position from which they can go on to instigate some change".

Action Sport workers were sceptical of the ability of community sports to address macro problems;

"It's not going to cure all the problems, it's just going to calm people down and stop them causing havoc. This is not the answer to unemployment, but at least it's something".

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Workers felt that at least community sport could contribute in some way to raising people's confidence and morale. One participant told a worker that if he hadn't been in a session, he would have been selling drugs on the "front line". Another worker said that community sport only partly addresses social problems, and that in terms of "Maslow's hierarchy" (1968), most basic needs were income related. Another said that it was successful as leisure policy but not as social policy. Another felt strongly that policy makers had to get their house in order about what they thought the project was about, as the rationale behind policy was not reflected in fieldwork;

"(Policy makers)... You better polish up your act, or you'll have to come and polish up ours. If you want to carry on reporting back the lies, you can carry on reporting back the lies".

SLAB workers were more optimistic about the effect they might be having in terms of empowerment;

"It's not just a band-aid. It's much more revolutionary than that, helping them to take power over their own lives".

Another worker felt that because a lot of the work was issue based, its effect took place over a long period of time. He thought they were sometimes working against larger forces of family and peers. The effects of change may not be noticeable by the end of a session. The worker felt real changes, in terms of "great strides", took place over generations;

"You ask those young people, when they're bringing their sons or daughters to the group, and you ask them what they've learnt; and they'll remember it as a lot more than painting or drawing".

SUMMARY

Participation has been demonstrated to be a qualitative process. This includes involvement by the public in the production, and not simply the consumption, of leisure. This can be achieved through devolution of the means of decision making. Needs for leisure can be

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satisfied alongside needs extrinsic to leisure. To avoid prescription, and allow the public to determine and express needs for themselves, devolved methods of assessment, like animation, are required. Separating wants from needs is problematic, but leisure providers must address this issue. Re-assessment may be in order to determine which are being, or should be, provided for. Targeting provision at those most in need is desirable, but concern should be shown to avoid homogeneity and to network the disenfranchised. Finally, there is some doubt whether the benefits accrued from participation match the macro objectives set by some providers beforehand.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Passive, consumptive leisure patterns service the needs

of the market. Individuals are seduced into consuming by images of pleasure associated with materialistic possessions and consumptive experiences. These in turn are made meaningful culturally through the cult of consumerism. Leisure is portrayed in these terms and patterns of participation emerge which are based on this consumer model. This illustrates the hegemonic power of the market upon leisure forms (Clarke and Critcher 1985).

(2) There is a danger here that the community activists that

emerge are not always reflective of the hidden, or real, needs of a community (AMA 1989).

(3) Maslow (1968) and DART and IFER (1976) give extensive

breakdowns of "human needs".

(4) A demonstrative model is preferred to an "experimental" model, which might have been more flexible to change. An experimental model was preferred in the "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments. The "freedom to fail" was highly valued in pursuit of the best approach (DOE 1977a).

(5) MacIntosh and Charlton (1985) tell us that in the first Sports Council document on "Sport for all" (1972), the word "needs" crept up fifteen times, whilst the word "wants" was used only four times.

CHAPTER SEVEN JOINT PROVISION

So far, this study has compared community sport and art extensively, and has considered an umbrella concept of community leisure. This chapter will consider to what extent community art and sport are part of the same social process, and whether it is viable or desirable for them to be provided jointly. This was discussed extensively in the research discussion. Consideration will restrict itself mainly to matters related to rationale and social process.

The "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977b) revealed that most people did not see leisure needs as divided between arts and sport. The findings went further to promote a common approach for leisure services in the interests of community. Some projects did not fit comfortably into either category of art or sport. In particular, the findings stressed the value of the devolution of provision and the value of self help. So, to what extent do sport and art satisfy the same social need and pursue the same social goals? Boothby and Tungatt (1978) brought up questions of cultural consumption when they discovered that arts participants would do sport, but sports participants would not do art. They attributed this to sport being historically accessible to the masses, but art has been dominated by a "cognoscenti" and can alienate as it is a cerebral rather than physical activity. English (1978) describes this division between art and sport as "cultural apartheid" and artificial.

COMPATIBILITY

An Action Sport worker mentioned in interview that sport was too limiting a concept for him. He preferred a broader concept that might incorporate both sports and arts. The "fit" between sport and art was pursued in detail in the discussion. This was done firstly through

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direct comparison of Action Sport and Slab, and then of community sport and community art in general. The respondents highlighted various areas of similarity between Action Sport and SLAB. They both worked with low and non-participants in similar target groups, principally; youth, women and persons with disability. They were both concerned about empowerment and building confidence. They were both concerned about devolving leadership, though SLAB tended to do so to other community workers and Action Sport to "natural" leaders from the community. They both employ outreach work techniques. They both promoted accessibility. They were both unconcerned about fostering "excellence", though Action Sport had experienced accomplished participants passing through the project and onto more elite provision. They were both concerned with promoting active participation and the initial threshold to participation. They both used their form, art or sport, as a tool for social objectives, although this tended to be more implicit to Action Sport and more explicit to SLAB. They were both concerned with providing fun, although SLAB had a more educative bias. They were both also conscious of "talking two languages", one to participants emphasising more of the fun element, and one to funders emphasising social benefits. This illustrates the hegemonic position of community leisure, as a site of contest (Hargreaves 1986) or cultural struggle (Williams 1977), between the dominant culture and individual agents.

DIFFERENCES

The main differences were highlighted through discussion of community sport and arts in general. These were the differing emphasis on creativity and competitiveness. The Action Sport worker quoted, "Sport can be the subject of art, but art cannot be the subject of sport" (exceptions exist like gymnastics and skating). The discussion then identified functional ends in sport which marginalised creativity although a strong creative element was identified. The

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Action Sport worker gave two examples which contradicted his earlier thoughts but emphasised the balance in football and badminton;

"You can have creativity; "goal of the season", but the worst goal of the season is as important... there's a very creative element but that's secondary. If you ever watch people playing badminton in slow motion, then the movement is like dance. The Malaysians teach them how to dance first. At the top you've got to be like a dancer to move well. You can still win rallies with "God-awful" shots".

All agreed that dance was an interesting crossover between sport and art. They identified aerobic dance as being nearer an interpretation from sport, and contemporary dance as being nearer art. Dance straddles the divide between art and sport. They agreed it was an interesting activity within which to pursue further examination (1). They went on to compare transcendental notions of "flow" in sport and "Shamenism" in the arts, which were both forms of escapist expression. One of the SLAB workers summarised their findings;

"In sport you've got a structure and you lose yourself within the structure. Comparing it to creative dance; you can create structures, but there are none".

It was agreed that competitiveness is more a feature of sport than art. But it was also pointed out, and accepted, that there are elements of personal competitiveness and indirect competition between artists in the arts. Competition is more explicit in sport. There is differing emphasis on competitiveness, related to challenge, in both forms. They concluded that there was a need for an umbrella concept, maybe leisure, maybe culture, maybe "time free from obligation". The "value" attached seemed to be the most important thing. It was mentioned that "two good things" don't necessarily make "one brilliant thing", but that art and sport were more like "sugar and spice" than they were "water and oil". The views expressed here need to be distinguished as those of the providers rather than the participants. Joint provision would seek to promote its unified ideology. This hegemony may be resisted by individual agents who drew allegiance to a singular form.

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UNIVERSALITY

The discussion respondents seemed willing to refute the notion of "cultural apartheid" (English 1978) and dismiss it as an artificial division. They were able to do this on the grounds of the many similarities in their respective works and in the main differences being mostly questions of emphasis. An absence of division is an opening for the growth of universality. John (1978) talks of a "universal man", schooled in sport and the arts (4). Universality encompasses a breadth of expression; physical, mental and emotional; body, mind and spirit, which transcends specialism in one discipline or form. A similar value was attached to "cultural synthesis" in the "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977a), where arts and sports were fused by joint provision. The site for cultural synthesis, or apartheid, is perhaps best illustrated by dance.

The concept of universality was mentioned in interview by one Action Sport worker. He referred to "Cartesian dualism" whereby the mind and body act as one in a "non-monistic" way. He also found the name "Action Sport" too restricting and pointed out that some of the other national teams had changed their names in order to broaden their concepts to provide for leisure in general. In discussion both projects had found common ground in encountering dance as a possible activity. The Action Sport worker mentioned that he had organised a sports day at which jugglers had participated as well, inviting a mix of cultural expression or a "cultural pick n' mix". A SLAB worker recalled an initiative that he knew of whereby a teacher of outdoor pursuits and drama had combined the two and taken people on "creative journeys". In discussion the respondents considered the merits and feasibility of joint sports and arts provision. This was considered in terms of a hypothetical merging of Action Sport and SLAB, and as a general proposition for community sports and arts. The respondents were all enthusiastic about this idea. They agreed that the brief was all important and that this would

be significantly conveyed in the title of the project. There were three main contenders for the title;

- "L.I.A" - Leisure In Action
- "LUCAT" - Leeds Urban Community Action Team
- "Re-Creation".

All the titles were agreed as offering slightly different merits. They were all quite liked because they implied a broad and unrestricted approach to community centred leisure provision. All three respondents agreed that a mixture of arts and sports would be desirable in offering a more flexible response to community needs and in promoting universality.

MacIntosh and Charlton (1985) admit that many of the functions that "Sport for All" was intended to fulfil could easily have been done through other activities. They also point out that the "quality of sporting life" cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of life and features of a high quality are available in other leisure pursuits. A flexible approach to community leisure provision, offering a breadth of activities and leisure forms, is supported for offering a choice to participants and for being focused on community need, rather than upon leisure form (DOE 1977a, John 1978, Mcloy 1978). This has been described as activities "of" the people, not "for" the people (Boothby and Tungatt 1978). In their joint publication "Getting it Together" (1987), the Sports and Arts Councils suggest seventy separate activities that could possibly take place in "community leisure buildings" (2). Travis and Hudson (1978, p6:9) believe that the key to an effective service for community provision lies in organisation;

"Earnest consideration should be given to the grouping together of leisure services into one department, not so much for any economies in the scale of operations or the provision of common services... but because of the free vision that an integrated provision can give to meeting leisure rights of the community; and the much reduced risk of falling between two stools".

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Simpson (1976a) believes that liaison and cooperation between community sport and arts is dependent on agreement upon common aims envisaging the all round development of the human personality.

In discussion, all three respondents agreed that a joint approach with a basis focusing on community needs was desirable and each commented to that effect;

"It would be good if we all worked together looking at human need and matching what we've got to it... it fits in with the idea of making mediums accessible by making them relevant to people - how they are or how they want to be... cultural democracy",
(SLAB worker).

"We've got a larger battery of artillery to tackle human need",
(Action Sport worker).

"We're thinking more about people",
(SLAB worker).

They saw how SLAB could respond directly and flexibly to particular social needs, but had more difficulty seeing how Action Sport could do this other than by providing a network of opportunity in the community providing a sense of community belonging and combating alienation. They saw their joint role as offering choice and promoting universal well being.

ORGANISATION

Integrated approaches to sports and arts provision have already been adopted by some agencies. The GLC (1986, p79) is one example who described it as, "an exciting, problematic, thought provoking prospect". The "Leisure and the quality of life" experiments (1977a) suggested local Sports and Arts Councils or a local Leisure Council who, in addition to public provision, could coordinate and support local voluntary provision. There are many different forms and descriptions of joint or linked provision. The many different typologies and

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interpretations of joint provision ironically illustrate the lack of a coordinated view towards combined provision (3).

If it were to be broadly accepted, there are certain organisational implications of joint provision for the leisure services. Rees (1978) suggests the advantages might be shared costs and administration and the disadvantages might be conflicts over resources, detraction from specialised provision, re-training for providers, and confusion with government structures. The organisational disadvantages need to be weighed against the fuller social and recreational benefits which might accrue. The recent appointment of a government Minister with combined and direct responsibility for sport and the arts may help to clarify any confusion over governmental structures at a central level. This may also have its drawbacks, as Hodson (1978) forewarned that a "Minister for Leisure" might simply have too much power at the expense of local autonomy. Either way we are still faced with separate Sport and Arts Councils, and many local authorities have their arts and sports provision in separate departments. In their combined document (1987), the Sports and Arts Councils highlight challenges and rewards from joint provision. They point out that in many respects the arts and sports have similar requirements for ancillary services. They believe likely benefits may be; a wider range of services, fuller use of facilities, attracting new people, extra income, challenges for staff, and opportunities to learn new skills.

In discussion, the Action Sport worker described how he'd had to decline requests from members of the community whose leisure interest could not be termed sport. The respondents although supportive of the idea of joint provision were concerned about how it should be organised and administered. They saw staffing problems if the joint project was not set up sensitively. There could be an organisation split down the middle. Community art and sport in the same office, but sharing little else. They thought workers who were heavily biased to

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sport or art might need "de-briefing", then "re-briefing" so that the organisation was pulling in one direction. This illustrates the interest of the "prospectively" dominant culture to hegemonise opposition within the organisation. Another important consideration was which council department would it be accountable to? They felt it was necessary for a cooperative central approach. The respondents didn't agree who, between the leisure and education departments, should be the main funder, but did agree that it would have a broader base of support. The respondents agreed that if their projects were to be merged satisfactorily it would need a lot of planning. Twelve months was suggested as a likely estimate. One respondent concluded;

"As long as we have funding, backing and time to plan, I think it would be a good idea",
(Action Sport worker).

The question over whether there are humanistic benefits to joint provision are rather academic if, like Rees (1978), you believe economic rationale would dominate the argument. Indeed, John (1978) projected savings in net expenditure by combining provision (7). Travis and Hudson (1978, p6:1) believe integrated provision is most commonly a "bureaucratic mopping up operation for administration and structural tidiness". They believe that a less economic outlook would enable leisure research to experiment, and if necessary fail, in the same invaluable way as scientific research. The Sports Council and Arts Council (1987) point out that there are financial pressures upon local authorities which restrict experimentation or extravagance. A social administrative approach promoting an "economy of measures" (Coalter et al 1986) is an advantage, and is a feature of joint provision;

"At a time of growing demand for leisure, but scarce public resources, it is vital that existing sports and leisure buildings should be used as fully as possible and that new buildings should be flexible... housing arts and sports activities in the same buildings provides a wider range of services for the local community at less cost than two separate buildings; and facilities are used more fully",

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(Sports Council and Arts Council 1987, p1, p21).

SUMMARY

Community sport and art seem to be engaged in a similar social process. Joint community sports and arts provision could lead to a valuable cross fertilisation of benefits (DOE 1977a, Walker 1978, Rees 1978). The benefits could be as a combined lobby for investment in community leisure, or for community centred approaches by animators, or, by creating opportunities for mixed participation, vitally universal aspects of human development, fulfilment and potential would be addressed.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Tolley (1986) describes how problems were found trying to reconcile whether dance was leisure or not when applying for funding for the Yorkshire Dance Trust. When applying, Tolley emphasised participation, teaching and targets to the Sports Council, and form, knowledge and appreciation to the Arts Council. Surely Tolley was selling the same activity. The division was purely in the eyes of the funders.

(2) In terms of dual use, it is interestingly more common to hear of sports facilities being adapted or used for arts provision than the converse (John 1978, Sports Council and Arts Council 1987).

(3) Different types and forms of joint provision have been considered by John (1978), Morgan (1978), Rees (1978), Walker (1978), MacDonald (1987), the Sports Council and Arts Council (1987), and by the Yorkshire and Humberside Council for sport and recreation (1989).

(4) John (1978) calculated that the cost of converting an ancillary sports hall to do drama would be ten per cent extra, net one hundred and ten per cent for the converted hall. This is a considerable saving on the net two hundred per cent that it would cost for two separate halls.

CHAPTER EIGHT CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to compare community sport and community art, and in particular to identify to what extent they share common rationales and are engaged in the same socio-cultural process. This was done through comparison of two local projects, general comparison between community arts and community sports, the construction of a community leisure concept based around hegemonic theory, and the identification and in-depth consideration of community leisure in relation to salient models of provision, and related concepts and issues. Additionally, this study aimed to assess the desirability of joint provision based upon the extent to which community sport and community art do share common rationales. This final chapter will summarise the findings on each of these counts and form conclusions.

HEGEMONY

The concept of hegemony is central to theorising around community leisure. It spans economic, political and cultural processes (Hargreaves 1982). It accounts for the inherent duality of structure and agency implicit in the "sphere of exchange" between provider and community (Bennet 1981a), amongst leisure providers, and within the community itself. It describes a dialogue, "top-down" and "bottom up", "constitutive and constituting" (Williams 1977). It reconciles the oppositional paradigms of "structuralism" and "culturalism" (Bennet 1981a). It accommodates the dichotomy of planning and autonomy (Hargreaves Undated). It describes incomplete attempts by dominant cultural groups to incorporate opposition, and resistance by that opposition (Williams 1977). And it distinguishes between the positions of dominant, residual and emergent hegemonic groups as traditions, institutions and formations (Williams 1977).

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Community leisure is sited directly in the midst of cultural struggle, whereby the dominant order, through projects like Action Sport and SLAB, attempts to enfranchise disassociated sections of the population. This may be an attempt to incorporate opposition, or to legitimate sub-cultural interests. Action Sport and SLAB are both conscious, at times, of being "piggy in the middle" between policy makers and the community. They are conscious of carrying out the aims set by policy makers, and yet are responsive and supportive of leadership and self-determination from within the community. In hegemonic terms, that position, in limbo, will never be resolved (Williams 1977, Bennett 1981b, Kelly 1984). The struggle is ongoing; top down control and bottom up resistance. Individual workers are able to discriminate, within certain confines, on the balance they wish to achieve between these contradictory aims.

MODELS OF INTERVENTION

Each of the four models of intervention described earlier; social control, social welfare, the democratisation of culture, and cultural democracy, as well as radical influences, are evidenced in community leisure. They are each mediated by the dichotomy of planning and autonomy in leisure (Long 1981). Leisure has provided a means of performing "social engineering" projects whilst placating, compensating, and boosting the social morale of the public (Hargreaves Undated). The close relationship between leisure and the quality of life can be said to ease the cohesion of instrumental and emancipatory concerns.

Functions of social control have been predominantly carried out through community sport rather than community art. Community sports projects, like Action Sport, have been used to target the potentially troublesome and provide "constructive" use of "free time", and a channel for frustration and aggression (Hargreaves 1986). Often this is performed in isolation from the social structures which lead to unrest in the first place.

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Community sport and community art have both been used to carry out social welfare programmes. Once again the close relationship between leisure and the quality of life has been exploited. Community leisure policies have been used to alleviate urban deprivation (DOE 1977c). Action Sport is no exception. There have been strong links between community art and education. Community arts initiatives have often been funded from educational sources and have carried out educative programmes. SLAB is an obvious example. But like social control, leisure based social welfare policies can be cosmetic in relation to the structural reality of social problems.

The democratisation of culture has been carried out through both community sport and community art. Sport has been promoted in a more accessible, appealing light to the disenfranchised. Haywood and Kew (1989) have described how the "old wine" of traditional sports forms has been repackaged and resold. Action Sport is a leading example of this. Community art has sought to demystify the creative process in a similar way. Sections of the population ordinarily excluded from either the consumption or production of art have been encouraged to participate. SLAB has worked exclusively with such groups.

Cultural democracy has occurred much more through community art than community sport. Community sport has undergone the same reassessment of its form and content that community art has (Haywood and Kew 1989). Community art has recognised the multicultural nature of social experience, and sought to promote the uniqueness of specific communities and their lived experience. The means of cultural production have been devolved in the community (Kelly 1984). SLAB has focused on the particular experience and needs of its target groups, and sought to tailor artistic form and content to suit those needs.

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Like cultural democracy, radicalism is much more evident in community art than community sport. Sometimes overtly political agendas, contrary to the dominant hegemony of the status quo, have been carried out through community art (Kelly 1984). Social awareness and social action have often provided the subject matter, and art used as "agit prop" to carry out political aims. Though certainly not overtly political, SLAB puts a great emphasis on "issue based work".

Each of the above models have legitimated or rationalised community leisure provision at different times. Some community leisure initiatives have been based purely on one model, but more often they have operated simultaneously, and to varying degrees of influence.

ADDRESSING NEEDS

The meeting of social and leisure needs has had a high profile in the aims of community leisure initiatives. The whole participatory process has been brought into question (Simpson 1976a, GLC 1986). Apart from raising consumptive participation, great emphasis has been put upon active participation in the production of culture. Devolved models of provision have sought to encourage the community to get involved in the decision making process (DOE 1977a, 1977b, GLC 1986). Collaboration and consultation between community and provider have provided more accurate assessments of need. In addition to reacting to demand, have sought out and tried to empower the disenfranchised. Action Sport and Slab have both followed this example. But despite the sincerity of this process, community leisure has often set itself macro objectives which, through the influence of social structures, may be outside the micro means of individual projects (MacIntosh and Charlton 1985, Pick 1988).

ACTION SPORT AND SLAB

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In comparing SLAB and Action Sport, there are many similarities, and some differences. SLAB is part of the Council Education department and Action Sport is part of leisure services. They were both set up as temporary projects which had to reapply for continued funding. SLAB used an experimental model, whereas Action Sport used a demonstrative model of provision (Rigg 1986b). SLAB arose within a local sector of council community provision, but Action Sport was originally a product of the Sports Council's organisational machinery. Both projects were initiated as a response to issues about "race". The projects are similar in size, context, organisational method and staffing, although SLAB employs part-timers and Action Sport full-timers. Both projects are "outreach", sited in the inner city, and work within a defined geographical community. They both liaise with other agencies and operate in a variety of community facilities.

Action Sport and SLAB are both concerned to promote opportunities for participation. They differ in that they focus on separate leisure forms, sport and the arts, and have differing emphasis in their inherent composition, especially on "competition" and "creativity". They both use multiple activities in their work. Both projects are aware of structural inequalities in participation, such as class, sex, race, age and disability, and identify similar disadvantaged "priority groups". SLAB differs in restricting itself to working with a restricted age group. The projects are aware of criticism concerning homogeneity, and identify communities of interest in addition to communities of identity. The projects both aim to develop ownership and leadership within the community. Action Sport and SLAB are both focused upon the initial threshold to participation. They are critical of elitism and do not attempt to foster excellence. They are concerned about the quality of the participation process and not necessarily the end product.

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In an attempt to identify and meet needs, the two projects consult extensively with the community, assessing prior to participation, monitoring sessions, and evaluating work afterwards. Additionally, Action Sport attempts to respond to wants as well as needs. Both projects see their leisure form as a "tool for social objectives". As such they are more concerned about the "community in leisure" than "leisure in the community". Both projects engage in "socio-cultural developmental" work. They differ in that SLAB puts more of an emphasis on developmental work, particularly issue based "educative" work, and Action Sport, on fun. There is undoubtedly some crossover on each of these counts. And finally, both projects are concerned to build individual self-confidence, and to empower the community to realise its human potential.

COMMUNITY LEISURE

From the research findings and from literature it is possible to construct a concept of community leisure. It is form of socio-cultural intervention based on a "bottom-up" model of provision (AMA 1989). It is community centred, using leisure as a tool for socio-cultural development (Kingsbury 1976). It is responsive to the needs of the community, as expressed by the community, and uses animation techniques to amplify that expression. Consultation with the community, and an organisational framework, are employed to extend the participatory franchise (AMA 1989). Active participation is promoted to involve the community, in not just the consumption, but in the production of culture (Kelly 1984, GLC 1986). The means of cultural production are devolved, and a sense of "ownership" promoted, with a view to co-authorship with the community in the output of cultural production (AMA 1989). The initial threshold to participation is emphasised, as are qualitative aspects of the participatory process, at the expense of abstract or empirical judgements about the quality of the end product. Structural barriers to participation are recognised and disadvantaged groups identified, and prioritised, in the provision and allocation of cultural services and resources

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(GLC 1986, Sports Council 1987). There are challenges for community leisure in its capacity to transform, liberate and emancipate through socio-cultural development. It must endeavour to involve and animate the public, to devolve provision, to identify needs, to bring about empowerment, and to promote ownership, and to promote a cultural democracy.

JOINT PROVISION

In as much as the aim of community leisure is to bring about socio-cultural development, the joint provision of community sport and community arts, under the umbrella of community leisure, is desirable. Community leisure, which is community centred, needs to respond flexibly to community needs. In order to make the fit between supply, need and demand, provision and need, a broad concept of form and activity is desirable. The broader this concept, the more flexible the response. A broad concept of community leisure needs to bridge cultural apartheid (English 1978), seek to offer choice, promote the benefits of a cross-fertilisation between arts and sports, and focus on "universal" wellbeing (John 1978). To make divisions between cultural forms is ultimately to the disservice of the community which, in theory is being emancipated or empowered;

"Self-determination will be real only to the extent to which the masses have been dissolved into individuals liberated from all propaganda, indoctrination and manipulation, capable of knowing and comprehending the facts and of evaluating the alternatives",
(Marcuse 1964, p252).

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