

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE PROVISION OF LEISURE FACILITIES  
IN EDINBURGH

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I declare that this thesis is my own original work.

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## CONTENTS

	Abstract p IV
	List of Maps, Tables and Diagrams p V
CHAPTER ONE	The Scope of the Study p 1
PART ONE:	THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDOOR PROVISION SINCE 1850
	Introduction p 6
CHAPTER TWO	The Period 1850 to 1914 p 13
CHAPTER THREE	The Period 1918 to 1939 p 42
CHAPTER FOUR	The Period 1945 to 1980 p 63
CHAPTER FIVE	The Characteristics of Supply p 104
PART TWO:	THE CASE STUDIES
	Introduction p 139
	PRESTIGE PROJECTS p 141
CHAPTER SIX	The Opera House and Theatre Provision in Edinburgh p 142
CHAPTER SEVEN	The Provision of Facilities for the Commonwealth Games in 1970 p 204
	COMMUNITY-RELATED PROJECTS p 244
CHAPTER EIGHT	The Provision of Community Centres, Indoor Sports Centres and Libraries p 246
CHAPTER NINE	The Provision of Leisure Facilities in Wester Hailes p 284
CHAPTER TEN	Conclusions p 332
Appendix 1	Inventory of Leisure Facilities p 349
Appendix 2	The Case Studies: Methodology p 354
Appendix 3	The Provision of Cinemas in Edinburgh p 361
Appendix 4	Further Research p 370
	Acknowledgements p 373
	References p 374

## ABSTRACT

Behind contrasting urban leisure policies are conflicting political arguments which influence choice of provision, the allocation of resources towards a particular policy, and the judgements in the formal arena of local government. This enquiry considers the distributive principles and the approaches to, and justifications for, the provision of indoor leisure facilities in Edinburgh, and explores the micropolitical setting of the supply of facilities. The format is a series of case studies covering the provision of specific facilities, and associated events, by the public sector in the period 1960-1980. The case studies, which cover prestige and community-based projects, examine the bargaining process over resource allocation: they identify the extent to which the values of civic prestige and the professions involved with leisure facilities, and the external political, economic, and cultural factors, predominate. The studies include the opera house and theatre provision in Edinburgh, the facilities for the Commonwealth Games, the leisure facilities in Wester Hailes, and the provision of community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries.

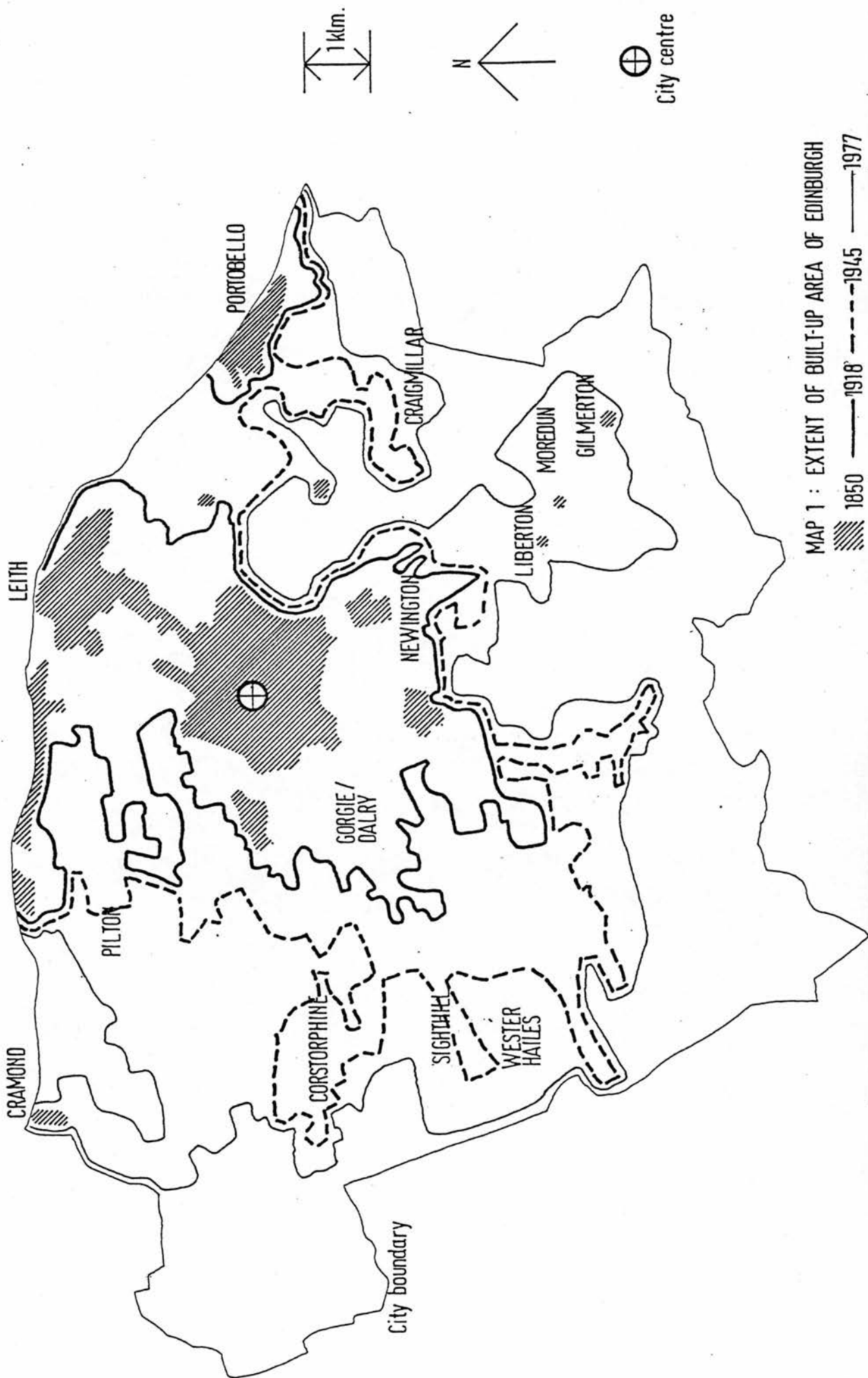
The case studies are preceded by a description of the relative contribution of voluntary, commercial and public sectors since 1850 to the pattern of leisure provision: an historical commentary identifies the evolving roles of the supplier groups, their relative influence over time, and the development of the inherited stock of leisure facilities and cultural traditions. This section also includes a measurement of the current contribution of each of the supplier sectors to the provision pattern in Edinburgh, as well as locational characteristics.

The enquiry concludes by suggesting four broad categories, as sources of policy justification and political argument over the supply of leisure facilities. These interrelated categories are called:

- a. political conservatism, as the traditional position in, and political culture of, Edinburgh, relying on the voluntary and commercial sectors to supply the majority of the facilities.
- b. restrained intervention, by the public sector, with an emphasis on the prestige project and the pursuance of excellence in the arts and sport.
- c. comprehensive idealism, referring to a synoptic view of the redistribution of community surplus through a centralised system of allocation by the public sector.
- d. radical alternatives, e.g. socially relevant-theatre, consumer participation, and community self-determination, as policies directed towards the poorer communities in the City.

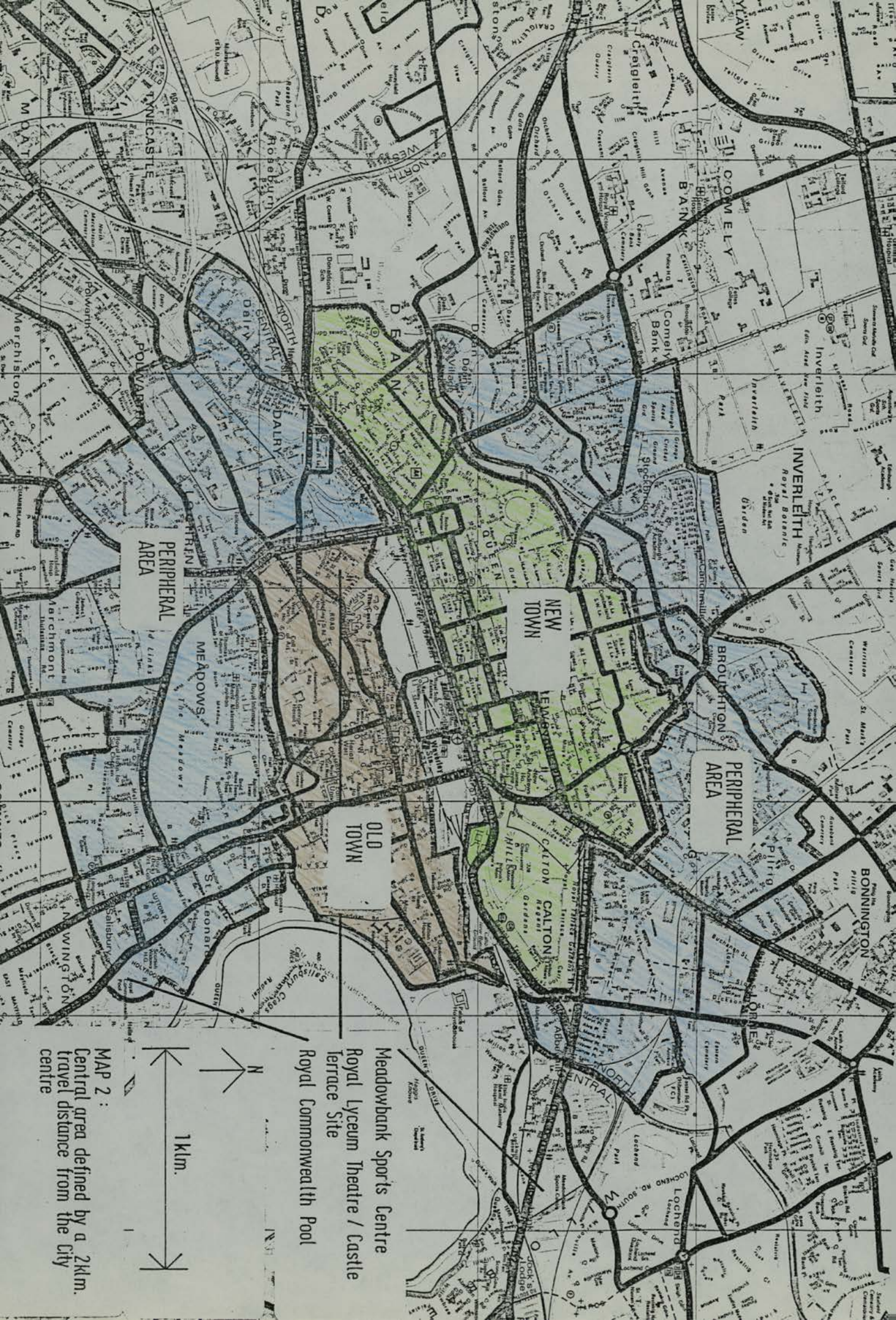
LIST OF MAPS, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

VI	MAP 1	Extent of built-up area of Edinburgh : 1850, 1918, 1945 and 1977
VII	MAP 2	Central area of Edinburgh defined by a 2klm. travel distance from the City centre.
67	TABLE 1	Popularity of leisure activities among the population over 15 years of age in 1976.
109	TABLE 2	Number of leisure facilities in 1977 in Edinburgh.
117	TABLE 3	Number of visits at meeting places for hire in 1977.
106	DIAGRAM 1	Comparison of years facilities opened by provider.
111	DIAGRAM 2	Distribution of Leisure facilities in 1977 in Edinburgh.
121	DIAGRAM 3	Year facility opened: voluntary organisation, sport and other.
124	DIAGRAM 4	Year facility opened: cinema.
127	DIAGRAM 5	Year facility opened: public house, restaurant and hotel function room.
135	DIAGRAM 6	Number of adult education classes.

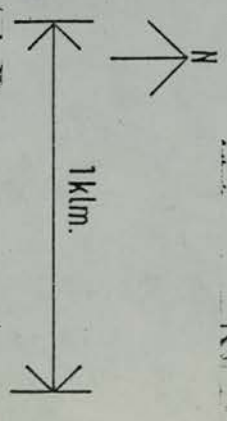


MAP 1 : EXTENT OF BUILT-UP AREA OF EDINBURGH  
 1850 ——— 1918 - - - - 1945 ——— 1977





- Meadowbank Sports Centre
- Royal Lyceum Theatre / Castle Terrace Site
- Royal Commonwealth Pool



MAP 2 :  
 Central area defined by a 2km.  
 travel distance from the city  
 centre



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

A clear distinction may be seen, given similar funding, between, for example, the provision of a single Olympic-standard swimming pool located centrally in the City, and the alternative policy of the dispersal of many small low-cost pools located in housing estates. A third approach, requiring further funds, is to provide a hierarchy of swimming pools from local to Olympic scale. Variations include the concept of 'self-build' local pools, financed by community groups, while the centrally-located pool could form part of a comprehensive redevelopment scheme financed by the commercial sector. Behind these contrasting urban leisure policies, there are conflicting political arguments over distributive principles which influence the initial choice of urban leisure provision, the allocation of resources towards a particular policy within the public budget, and the political judgements in the formal arena of local government. The distributive principles cover such concepts as equity, income redistribution, social justice and, in the case of urban leisure provision, prestige, in addition to the degree of user participation from complete control of resources to consultation, if at all, in the formal decision-making procedure, <sup>and</sup> the social controls on the commercial and voluntary sectors, such as restrictions on the number of bingo social clubs or the licensing of a tennis club. Differentiation with respect to the distribution of resources and social controls within a city are the result of a complex interaction between the circumstances surrounding a decision, alternative policies available, past experience, political ideology and cultural traditions of the city. This normative order results from collective bargaining, not relying on consensus or solely on demand studies, but a product of the balance of power between those concerned in the decision-making and of their calculation of what, for

the time being, is the most advantageous position they can achieve (Goldthorpe 1974 p 224). This calculation is based on experience, current financial opportunities and anticipated future, and on the political and cultural history of an area (Pahl 1975 p 205). Those in power politically, the ruling political group in local government, gain an advantage in the allocation of resources, with those in power subject to the demands and influences of constituency, officials, bureaucracy, and ideology, as well as the policies of central government and its agencies, enabling legislation and other external factors beyond their immediate control, such as inflation (Alford 1967).

Basic to the actual resource allocation and facility distribution in urban areas is the micropolitical setting, and yet little academic attention has focused on the procurement of leisure provision. Urban leisure research has either concentrated on feeding the policy-makers with base information usually in the form of user and household surveys, or has been included in a broad description and understanding of the leisure phenomena. Increased leisure demand in the post-Second World War period, and the rise of public intervention over supply in the 1960s and 1970s, accelerated policy-related research, mainly sponsored by local and central government (Dower and Downing 1975 p 53). This increase prompted a quickening of academic attention in the social sciences, with the theoretical emphasis on the relationship between work and leisure time and leisure and the life cycle, as summarized by Roberts (1970) and Smith, Parker and Smith (1973 pp 3-9). Examples of policy-related studies included those by Maw (1969, 1974), Sillitoe (1969), Birch (1971), Burton (1971), Veal (1971) and the North West Sports Council (1974). These studies described the recreation patterns and measured demand characteristics as factual information for the policy makers acting within a political procedure. A recent shift among academics occurred in urban analysis (Harvey 1973, Dear 1974, Pahl 1975) to increase involvement in policy issues and to display

social relevance (Prince 1971), with the shift moving the research philosophy from a positive to a normative base (Smith 1977 p 14). A result of this move has been the examination of the distributive principles underlying urban public services (Rich 1979, Massan 1975), covering the provision of such services as education, health, law enforcement and so on. Urban leisure provision though received only a nominal attention with the library service the main recipient (Martin 1969, Lineberry 1977, Darcy and Ohri 1975).

This study explores the political dimension in the supply of urban leisure provision in Edinburgh in the form of a series of case studies covering the decision-making procedure and the identification of interest groups and issues surrounding the provision of specific facilities and events by the public sector in the period 1960-1980. The case studies, which include prestige and community-based projects, examine the bargaining process over resource allocation, to establish the distributive principles which determined the pattern of leisure provision by the public sector, and the extent to which the values of civic prestige and the professions involved in leisure facilities, and external political, economic and cultural factors, predominate.

An historical dimension invades the budgetary allocation and policy formulation (Alford 1967, Boaden 1971). First, the sequence of past social and economic conditions produced the current social composition and physical characteristics, and the functions and spatial distribution of a city reflect, in part, the success of competing groups in the past:

"The built environment is the result of conflicts, in the past and present, between those with different degrees of power in society - landowners, planners, developers, estate agents, local authorities ...." (Pahl 1970 p 16).

Second, the current patterns of leisure provision are historically determined and leisure policy is constrained by



the extent and quality of inherited facilities. Built form has resulted from a particular cultural, social, economic, political and technological setting with the extent and quality of existing leisure provision reflecting the values of the dominant sections of the prevailing society (Harvey 1973 pp 157-162), and the attitudes towards the inherited building stock by subsequent generations, with buildings adapted, extended and replaced or use changed over time (Wagner 1978). Third, cultural traditions are also historically defined. Cultural tradition refers to an amalgam of individual and group display of life styles and values, the enterprise of those with financial power and the degree of solidarity among social and interest groups, which find expression in leisure provision. Cultural traditions are seen as shared experiences by all or part of a society against which different forms of behaviour are judged: culture is "... a selection and configuration of interests and activities, and a particular valuation of them ...." (Williams 1965 p 64). Cultural traditions have been institutionalized into certain leisure facilities (theatre, swimming pool, working mens' social clubs), agencies (the Arts and Sports Councils, the Club and Institute Union), events (festival of the arts, miners' gala days) and formalized attitudes (temperance, conservation). Working-class and middle-class cultural traditions, as further examples, refer to a collective mode rather than social divisions solely associated with economic distinctions although initially defined through a form of economic integration. The traditions display a plurality of interests developed by the various supplier groups in urban leisure provision. The case studies are preceded by a description of the relative contribution of the three supplier groups, voluntary, commercial and public, since 1850: an historical commentary identifies the evolving roles of the supplier groups, their relative influence over time, and the development of the inherited stock of leisure facilities and cultural traditions.

The specific tasks included in this enquiry into indoor leisure provision in Edinburgh were:

- a. the identification of the process of development of cultural traditions and leisure provision, in relation to the social and economic changes, since 1850.
- b. the measurement of the current contribution of each of the supplier sectors, voluntary, commercial and public, to the provision pattern in Edinburgh, including locational characteristics.
- c. the role of each of the supplier groups in the provision pattern.
- d. the decision-making procedure within the public sector taking empirical studies in Edinburgh over the 20 year period of the 1960s and 1970s.
- e. the public policies pertaining to leisure provision in relation to cultural and political concepts.

Two associated studies to these tasks were, first, the inventory of leisure opportunity in Edinburgh preceded by an exercise to categorize provision and the suppliers, with the study and methodology summarized in Appendix 1, and, second, an overview of cultural and urban political theories and methodologies, with this overview and description on the methodology adopted in the case studies summarized in Appendix 2.

Part One discusses the role of the supplier groups, their development from 1850 and the current pattern of supply. Part Two, the case studies, concentrates on the period 1960-1980 with those leisure facilities and events considered by the public sector. Conclusions on the policy implications and the nature of provision are contained in the final section: conclusions though relating to specific historic periods or issues are distributed through the presentation within the relevant sections.

## PART ONE

### THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDOOR LEISURE PROVISION SINCE 1850

#### INTRODUCTION

In Part One, the historical commentary discusses broadly the relative contribution of each of the supplier groups since 1850 in relation to significant developments in legislation, technology, population characteristics, physical expansion and external social and economic influences. The period 1850 to 1977 has been conveniently divided into three sections by taking the First and Second World Wars as intervals of physical development in Edinburgh and also as accelerators of social change. The emphasis throughout the three periods, 1850 to 1914, 1918 to 1939 and 1945 to 1977, is on the development and role of the supplier groups and the emerging cultural traditions.

The year of 1850 has been chosen to commence an historical commentary since, in addition to the simple convenience of the mid-century date, the mid-19th century saw the initiation or rapid expansion of those cultural institutions currently enjoyed. Only a few types of indoor leisure facilities in Edinburgh, notably the public house, which existed prior to 1850 have influenced the current pattern of provision. Generally in Britain the decade, 1840-1850, had been a significant period in the evolution of cultural traditions (Williams 1961, 1965). Previously leisure provision in urban areas had been, except for the provision of the public house, the responsibility of the voluntary sector, but with only a few organizations providing their own facilities. The 1840s saw the emergence of commercial involvement in popular culture, with the music hall, the popular press and cheap fiction (Williams 1965 p 290), reformist legislation covering urban leisure provision by the public sector, and the expansion of the voluntary sector providing its own facilities. Hence 1850 saw the start of the multiple

strands of provision reflecting the interests of the voluntary, commercial and public sectors, and providing an enriched and pluralistic set of cultural traditions.

The mid-nineteenth century saw the development of a new social and institutional order with the emergence of a professional-based middle-class in Edinburgh planting a social wedge between the traditional wealthy of the aristocracy/landed gentry and the working class, the development of public administration and commerce, the rapid expansion of communications with the railway the first technological development, the appearance of public health and welfare policies, the rise of popular social and political movements and associated democratic franchise, and the distinctive characteristics of leisure pursuits by the middle- and working-classes. Edinburgh by 1850 consisted of two distinct sections: the Old Town, which was tightly-packed, varied and linear, and the New Town, with its more ordered, spacious and elegant layout. The New Town had been built between 1784 and 1830 on a site north of the Old Town for the landowners and lawyers who had been living in the Old Town and for other gentry living in Scotland (Youngson 1968 p 225), socially contrasting by the mid-century with the residual poor of the Old Town (Youngson 1968 p 267). The New Town encouraged a change in the urban life style in Edinburgh, with its population becoming better educated, philanthropic institutions created and a taste for a fuller life stimulated (Youngson 1968 chap. 8). By the mid-century, many learned societies had been founded including the Edinburgh Philosophical Association "to afford to its members the means of acquiring the most recent and complete information on all matters of commercial and general interest, of obtaining instruction in Science, Arts and Literature and of enjoying recreation" (Oliver and Boyd 1892 p 1078). The artistic community of Edinburgh established a series of public exhibiting societies with the Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts combining with the Royal Society of Edinburgh

and the Society of Scottish Antiquities in a new public building, The Royal Institution, along Princes Street, which, in its present form, had opened in 1835 (Youngson 1968 p 165).

By 1850, the public house had been controlled by legislation, with the Licensing Act of 1828 having been passed "to regulate the granting of certificates by Justices of the Peace and Magistrates, authorizing persons to keep Common Inns, Ale-houses and Victualling Houses....": drunkenness had been condemned by the Temperance Movement with the Memorialists (1845) writing that "where the numbers of low drinking houses exist, as they do in the Old Town (of Edinburgh) they are invariably surrounded by hundreds of wretched families, who were neither half fed nor half clothed, and who, with shattered and emaciated constitutions, live amidst filth and misery of all kinds"; the conviviality of the 18th century 'tavern', characterized by its social mix and numerous social clubs, (Ramsay 1868 p 61), had been reduced with the professional classes providing their own social clubs and the entertainments moving to the music halls; the old coteries which characterised the taverns of the Old Town had made way for the societies and associations of the New Town, with their greater interest in their social grouping than intemperance, as the (gentlemen's) society of Edinburgh "became less coarse, less boisterous, less drunk" (Youngson 1968 p 237).

The Theatre Act of 1843, allowed the commercial sector to develop the music hall tradition in existing and new theatres. The 1843 Act had repealed, in part, the Licensing Act of 1737 which had limited the number of 'legitimate' theatres in each provincial city: an unlicensed facility had become known as the 'illegitimate' theatre associated with the commercial interest in entertainment, an association which was to continue after 1843 (Freedley and Reeves 1962 p 287). In addition to the Theatre Act, the period 1840-1850 saw the commencement of



legislation relating to urban leisure provision with enabling Acts covering public museums in 1845, public parks in 1847 and public libraries in 1850, and the first legislation concerned with the reduction of working hours, with the Ten Hour Act in 1847. Chapman (1940 p 10) has referred to the Ten Hour Act as "by far the most important landmark of nineteenth century social history". Free time had been won from the working day, becoming also the first legislation initiated by industrial workers, in response to the demands of those most adversely affected by industrialization. Subsequent legislation reducing working hours, and, as a consequence, increasing leisure time, was initiated by trade union action (Burns 1973 p 43). The Ten Hour Act was also seen as a tangible example of a change of consciousness of the working class, acting on mutual aid and co-operation (Burns 1973 p 43).

By 1850 only 13 voluntary organizations had provided their own premises with the 5 masonic lodges by far the oldest (Lodge of Edinburgh opened in 1598 was the oldest in the world): the New Club had opened in 1787, the Edinburgh Chess Club in 1822, the Y.M.C.A. in 1826, the Edinburgh Philosophical Association in 1832, the Grange Cricket Club in 1832, the Caledonian United Club in 1825, the Edinburgh Bowling Club in 1848 and the Edinburgh Academical Club in 1850. The Old Town contained the poorer sections of society and the poverty had not encouraged the founding of voluntary organizations with their own premises. Reflecting the social conditions the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society had opened in 1836 in a hall in the Old Town where "pledges may be taken daily" (Oliver and Boyd 1850 p 1078). In contrast the Assembly Rooms in George Street in the New Town was by mid-century the centre of the social season of Edinburgh's society, with the main event the hunt ball: the assemblies were formal and for the wealthy and also for raising money for charity (Youngson 1968 p 250), organized by a committee presided over by "A lady of fashion.....to look after the points of etiquette

and decorum" (Fyfe 1906 p 39). The charitable nature of the assemblies continued through the nineteenth century. The seeds of a sense of Scottishness emerging through the nineteenth century were found in the cultural golden age of Edinburgh. Rait (1906 p V) had noted that:

"In the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth - from, approximately, the death of Samuel Johnson in 1784 to that of Walter Scott in 1832 - Edinburgh, rather than London, was the intellectual centre of the Kingdom".

The glories of the cultural golden age in art, literature and philosophy were passing by 1850, with the railway drawing talent to London (Smout 1979 p 485) but a residual consciousness of all things Scottish remained, mainly initiated by the written works of Sir Walter Scott and a romance of Scottish heritage (Ramsay 1868 p 18, Smout 1969 p 469).

The church experienced a revival of puritanism leading to the Disruption in 1847 and the formation of the Free Church "dedicated to religious conservation" (Smout, 1979 p 484). The Church of Scotland had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of religious attitudes until the breach of 1843. The church had been an influence, often negative, on the provision of leisure facilities by others, and had placed temporal and moral constraints on the choice of leisure activities. The main targets of church discipline were aimed at the Sabbath, drunkenness and sins of the flesh (Mitchison 1978 p 30). The church had not only restricted permissible activities on a Sunday to church-going but had repressed all other breaks from work including Christmas with only a few secular holidays remaining. Hogmanay became the most notable holiday with its orgiastic outburst a reaction to religious attitudes and constraints (Mitchison 1978 p 254). Sabbath observance, however, became more acute following the Disruption (Youngson 1968 p 254) and church attendance retained a popularity among all sections of society.

Schooling for all in Scotland had developed as an ideal since 1800, with the adverse social effects of industrial changes becoming increasingly evident during the nineteenth century and with education seen as an instrument of social change (Scotland 1969 p 259). The church had been the principal provider of education, with schools provided by philanthropists established for religious reasons (Scotland 1969 p 258). The parish schools had not reached all children which had encouraged education as an area of private benefaction. By 1850 there were more 'hospitals', schools for the poor provided from bequests in Edinburgh than any other city in Britain, beyond London (Steven 1845 p 41), while the Merchiston Castle School and the Edinburgh Academy had been founded for the secondary education of the sons of the rising middle-class. The Royal High School in Edinburgh was run by the Town Council but as a fee-paying school (Ross 1949 p 149): not until the late nineteenth century did legislation allow the public sector direct responsibility for the education of all, and then only for primary education.

The foundations of subsequent developments of leisure provision in Edinburgh had been set by 1850: the physical and social duality of the City, the enabling legislation, the commercial opportunities, the voluntary initiatives of the middle class in the New Town, and the cultural influences of Scottishness, the church and education, in addition to a political conservatism following temerity, and final bankruptcy, of the Town Council over the construction of the New Town (Youngson 1968 p 262). The period 1850-1914 was to experience major developments in the formation of urban leisure patterns in Edinburgh.

The suppliers of leisure facilities have been grouped under the three broad headings of

- a. the public sector, including the central government and its agencies, the local authority, and the local education authority.



- b. the commercial sector, and
- c. the voluntary sector, including the voluntary organization, the churches and the independent schools.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PERIOD 1850 TO 1914

The period from 1850 to 1914, the Victorian and Edwardian era, was a time of relatively high prosperity: an affluence however which did not affect all sections of society. In Edinburgh the physical division between rich and poor continued with the landowners and professional classes dominating the New Town as a place to live, with their servants in the attics and basements of the Georgian terraces, while the poor remained in the dense linear Old Town. The workers on the new railway (commenced in Edinburgh in the 1840s) who were mainly Irish immigrants, and refugees from the Irish potato famine, lived in the Old Town in, and about, St. Mary's Street (Docherty and Thompson 1975 pp 10-33). The population of Edinburgh doubled during this period, with the increased population accommodated, on the whole, in pockets of high density tenements to the N.E. and S.W. of the city centre in areas of industrial development, for the working class, while the middle classes were located in the medium-density housing estates mainly to the south of the Old Town, with smaller estates to the north of the central area: the built up area increased from 1900 acres in 1850 to 6500 in 1914 (Edinburgh Corporation 1969 pp 12-14).

This period saw the formation of many features of the current pattern of leisure provision and experienced the evolution of commercial entertainment, the development of club life by the voluntary sector, the changing social role of the church from education to leisure, the emergence of the local authority as a provider, benefaction as an initiator of public facilities by individuals such as Usher and Findlay and by public subscription, the formalization of sports and the appearance of professional sport, the expansion of the temperance movement following an increase in public house provision and drunkenness, the release of

the Saturday afternoon for leisure activities and the continued silent Sunday, the appearance of the large spectator containers of the sports stadia and theatres, and the increased importance of the family and home-based leisure. This period also saw a widening of facility types for organized leisure, with the expansion largely a middle-class phenomenon (Black 1973 p 153). Between 1860 and 1900, various outdoor sports, such as golf, rugby, tennis and bowls gained their modern codes of rules, with certain sports closely associated with different social groups. The middle class, through mainly their schooling and their former-pupil clubs, developed rugby, tennis and cricket. The working classes were associated with bowls, football and pedestrianism, with neither football nor pedestrianism requiring specialized facilities to be enjoyed as amateur activities and with both developing as professional sports and commercialized spectator activities. The urban middle class developed their own characteristics of social intercourse, with large cultural and learned societies. The commercial sector provided a new scale of theatre building, through the technological developments of the electric light and stage machinery, and the formalization, in the music hall, of variety acts previously found in the public house and circus (Williams 1965 p 291).

The increased available time, affluence and population of this period encouraged interest in the theatre dating in particular from the 1870s and 1880s. The commercial sector was quick to recognise that growing numbers in cities and the multifarious activities of urban life offered theatrical opportunities in the Victorian period, while the development of the railway eased the transfer of London-based professional shows to provincial theatres (Dyos and Wolff 1973 p 212). Improved public transport, with tramways introduced into Edinburgh in 1871, assisted to increase audience numbers attracted from a city-wide catchment, and

encouraged theatres of a high seating capacity to the economic benefit of the impresarios. The Savoy Theatre in London had opened in 1881 lit entirely by electric light, transforming the theatrical experience (Glasstone 1975 p59). The architect of the Savoy, C. J. Phipps, followed his London success with the Lyceum Theatre in Edinburgh, which was opened by Sir Henry Irvine in 1883. The auditorium was ornate and combined an intimate atmosphere with a high seating capacity of 1600 (Glasstone 1975 p 78). The owners were J. B. Howard and F. W. Wyndham, later known as Howard and Wyndham Ltd., who became the initiators and owners of a chain of large theatres for professional touring companies in Scotland and the north of England. The chain included the Kings Theatre (seating capacity of 1600) in Edinburgh. At the opening of the Kings Theatre in 1906, Howard and Wyndham Ltd., linked with a London company based on the Salon Theatre, from where the combined organization operated their chain of theatres until the early 1960s. The New Empire Palace was opened in 1892, on a site that had been used for entertainments since 1800 (Baird 1963 p 42), and was not only a large auditorium (2,300 seats) but was also the prototype for a chain of such music halls throughout Great Britain (Glasstone 1975 pp 90,91). All of these theatres were initiated by Sir Edward Moss. The New Empire Palace was an instant success, with a building that included the most advanced theatre technology of the time, to the design of Frank Matchum. The chain of music halls in most of the larger cities in Britain beyond London were incorporated in 1899 as the Moss Empires Ltd., which was the first national commercial company in the entertainment business, preceding Howard and Wyndham Ltd., by seven years. Moss, from a modest start of a theatre at 5 Chambers Street, in 1877, had become by 1899 the owner of thirty three theatres which included, in addition to the Empire and the other theatres in Edinburgh, the music halls in Birmingham, Newcastle, Sheffield, Glasgow, Cardiff, Newport, Swansea, Liverpool, Hull and Nottingham, and also the Hippodrome in London (Baird 1963 pp 42,43). Moss

changed the name of his first acquisition in Chambers Street, the Old Gaiety, to the Operetta House in 1892, (which continued as a theatre until 1939 when it was closed and subsequently used as a furniture store). While the Palace, the first new building by Moss in 1889, became a cinema in 1900. Moss also held an annual Christmas and New Year Carnival in the Waverley Market from 1885 up to his death in 1912. The foundations of Moss's fortune were laid in Edinburgh. In so doing he started the development of the skills of the impresario and the commercial tradition of speculative interest in profitable entertainment business. Moss was knighted for his services to theatre in 1905.

A local rival but lesser showman, F. A. Lumley, appeared to be more interested in sporting entertainments. His main acquisition was the Powderhall Sports Ground, purchased in 1903 (Jamieson 1943 p 123). He owned the Olympia Skating Palace in Annandale Street in 1909, (Baird 1963 p 937), with roller skating a particularly popular activity at the turn of the century (there were ten roller skating rinks in Edinburgh in 1910), and the Sports Emporium at 163-167 Leith Street (Baird 1963 p 599). He took over the Waverley Carnival after Moss's death, and during the 1914-15 Carnival included a "galaxy of champion lady boxers" with the chief attraction Georges Carpentier's sister (Baird 1963 p 600).

As well as the Lyceum, Kings and New Empire Palace, the other theatres built during this period were a Hall in Queen Street for 1000 in 1881 as a music hall until 1897 when it became the early venue for showing films; the Edinburgh Theatre, Winter Garden and Acquarian Company Ltd. constructed in Castle Terrace, the West End Theatre, in 1875, lasting two years as a theatre before the building was changed to a Synod Hall by the United Presbyterian Church; a theatre was constructed in Grove Street in the Fountainbridge area of Edinburgh in 1897, and was known until 1906 as the New Pavilion Theatre and noted for its

melodramas (Keir 1966 p 861); the Tivoli Theatre in St. Stephens Street was opened in 1901, in a building which had been an ice-rink, and remained a venue for musicals and pantomime until 1904 (Keir 1966 p 861); an Operetta House opened in Waterloo Place in 1861 but closed in 1878. A further theatre was the Palladium opened in 1886 in Fountainbridge <sup>on</sup> but the location of Cooke's Circus. Cooke had produced circuses on the site prior to the construction of a permanent building. Cooke's Circus became, with its closure in 1911 at the Palladium, the last of the resident circuses which had been a feature of entertainment in Edinburgh for over a hundred years, starting with the performances on the Broughton Street site in 1795 (Keir 1963, p 551). The Theatre Royal opened on the Broughton Street site in 1859 and was a further music hall, becoming the main location of the winter pantomime (Baird 1963 p118). This theatre was subject to a series of fires, in 1865, two more in 1875 and 1884: the theatre after each fire was rebuilt. A theatre opened in Nicolson Street in 1862 and was titled the New Royal Alhambra: the following year the name was changed to the Princes Theatre and again in 1886 to the Royal Princes Theatre and, in 1912, the building became a cinema (a function which still remains in 1980). McLaren (1950) noted that Leith, which was later to be annexed by the Edinburgh Town Council, had many music halls, of which most were in the public houses. The Leith Music Hall opened for a short period, 1865-1872, and the Theatre Royal in Leith was established in 1865. The Theatre Royal became known as the New Alhambra Theatre of Varieties in 1914.

From only one theatre in Edinburgh in 1850, the number had increased to thirteen with only the Lyceum Theatre not primarily a music hall, but by 1914 the number had reduced to four. Most of the theatres closed or were converted into cinemas. The first 'moving picture' in Scotland was shown at the New Empire Theatre on 13th April 1896 (Blake 1950 p 5), with the critic of The Scotsman (14.5.1896)



finding the display disappointing. Modern Marvel Co. Ltd., opened the Queen Street Hall for films in 1897, the Synod Hall was taken over in 1906 by Poole's Myiorama which included films, the New Pavillion changed to films in 1906, the Tivoli became the Grand Picture House in 1904, while the New Alhambra Theatre of Varieties (the Theatre Royal in Leith from 1867) became a cinema in 1914. In the Edinburgh Evening News in 1914, films were also advertised at the Marine Cinema Theatre in Seafield Road and the Lauriston Hall. So by 1914 Edinburgh had at least eight venues for silent films, replacing the music hall as the popular source of entertainment. The first purpose-built cinemas were to occur after the First World War in Edinburgh but by 1914 the film industry had devised the form of distribution control by the producing companies common today (Bennell 1950 p 34).

Commercial interests in sport were seen first with pedestrianism. The first enclosed recreation ground in Edinburgh owned and run by a commercial organization was known as the Powderhall Recreation Ground, opened in 1870, as the principal location for pedestrianism. Also known as foot racing and later as athletics, pedestrianism referred to running races over set distances, including the marathon, for cash prizes. Athletes were part-time professionals and working class: aristocrats, according to Jamieson (1943 p 17), ran incognito in pedestrian races by changing their names. Prior to 1870 and the opening of Powderhall, pedestrianism had taken place at the Royal Patent Gymnasium Grounds, Portobello Recreation Ground and the Newington Running Ground (Jamieson 1943 p 17). The popularity of pedestrianism was reflected in the large attendance figure, about 25,000, at the first meeting at Powderhall. Enclosed grounds with controlled entry and payment by spectators for association football followed pedestrianism, with both the Heart of Midlothian Football Club and the Hibernian Football Club opening their respective grounds in 1881: these two Edinburgh football

clubs did not become limited liability companies until the early years of the 20th century with the Heart of Midlothian Football Club Ltd., incorporated in 1905 and the Hibernian Football Club Ltd., in 1903. Initially football remained less popular than pedestrianism until after 1900. The Heart of Midlothian Football Club had commenced in 1874, playing their matches on the Meadows, the public park, located south of the Old Town (Mackie 1974 p 22). The Club became a member of the Scottish Football Association, and one of the twenty one clubs that constituted the Edinburgh Football Association in the same year of 1875. The game of football, in its various forms had had a long history: an act of parliament in Scotland in 1424 forbade the playing of football, but the legislation was not enforced (MacPhail 1958 p 290). The formalization of the modern game may be dated from 1862 when the rules were drawn up in London and the Football Association formed in the following year (Titterton 1965 p 7). Public opinion, according to Titterton (1965 p 7), had been against brutality in sports in the mid-century and the founders of the modern game of football laid down definite rules to make the game less aggressive. Competition between teams, usually school teams, also had encouraged the definition of common rules. The first game of formalized football in Edinburgh had been an exhibition match on the new playing fields of the Royal High School Former Pupils Club in Bonnington in 1873 between two teams from Glasgow: the interest in the game and the formation of teams led to the commencement of the Edinburgh Football Association in 1874 (Mackie 1974 p 24). Until 1881, the Hearts Football Club had played their home matches at the Powderhall Recreation Ground (Mackie 1974 p 38), when the club moved to Tynecastle Park, although not the location of their present ground of the same name. Their first ground owned by the Club was south of the Gorgie Road, moving to their present location, north of the Gorgie Road, in 1886, with an enclosed ground containing spectator accommodation for 2,600 (Mackie 1974 p 85). The Hibernian Football Club had started their



playing experience, as with the Heart of Midlothian Football Club, playing on the Meadows (Docherty and Thomson 1975 p 33). In 1869, the Catholic Young Men's Society, attached to the St. Patrick's Church in the Cowgate in the Old Town commenced, from which the local Priest had started a football team known as Hibernian, reflecting the Irish community which supplied its first players. The Irish, fleeing Ireland at the time of the potato famine, had congregated in the poorest sector of the City, along the Royal Mile. The formal Hibernian Football Team was formed in 1875.

Initially football had amateur status, with gate money used for ground improvements and to pay for travel costs. But professionalism (i.e. payment of players) was an increasing accusation focused on the teams (Mackie 1974 pp 76,77). with numerous appeals to the Scottish Football Association. In 1884, the Hearts Football Club was expelled from the Association for having two professionals in the team, as the first case in Scotland: the Scottish Football Association ruled that professionalism was retrogressive and that no team in the Association should play against any other containing any professionals (Mackie 1974 p 83). In the same year, 1884, the English Football Association had approved professionalism but it took a further eight years for Scotland to accept, during which time many Scottish players had moved south to play for English Clubs. The Football League had been formed in England in 1888 (Department of Education and Science 1968 p 32) and in 1890 in Scotland (Department of Education and Science 1968 p 53) to provide a controlled fixture list for its founder clubs, and produced the basis for the organization of professional football currently experienced.

The Saturday afternoon game of football, and also pedestrianism in Edinburgh, were watched from crude spectator facilities, and were entertainments geared at an essentially working class audience, all male, who ceased

work at Saturday lunchtime and then went to watch the local football team (Department of Education and Science 1968 p 41) or the pedestrian races at Powderhall and other enclosed recreation grounds. Jamieson (1943 p 72) has recorded that the 1880s, and in particular, the 1890s were important periods in the progress and popularity of pedestrianism, with crowds often in six figures. Not until 1885 did football attract five figure crowds and then only at key matches. The 1870s and 1880s had seen the reduction of the working week to 54 hours (Phelps-Brown 1968 p 161) with the free Saturday afternoon, which became "the best day of the week" for the working class (Wright 1867 p 184). Myerscough (1974 p 7) has suggested that the release of the Saturday afternoon did much to explain Britain's dominance in the influence of the creation of new forms of leisure during the latter part of the 19th Century. While the Saturday afternoon was released, free time available for the working man did not readily give the opportunity to take direct part in sport, and the enthusiastic support of the local clubs became a common feature of urban areas (Titterton 1965 p 10), as did the rivalry between supporters of different teams. In spite of this increased weekend activity, the Sabbath remained observed, with the view in 1880 that in Edinburgh:

"One woke on a Sunday morning to a city of silence"  
(Sillar 1979 p 67)

The concentration of population in urban areas in the nineteenth century had produced also centres of working-class recreation, with the sports of pedestrianism and football, and also boxing and wrestling, the main activities in Edinburgh. The formalization of these sports suited the requirements of competition and the urban condition of dense developments and assisted on-site betting, which was the main attraction for many spectators and a feature of the commercialized sports in their enclosed grounds (Jamieson 1943 p 17). Football and pedestrianism were easily adapted to urban areas and gained over, say, cricket, as being more economic in time and space and could be carried

out, as amateur sports, on hard or rough surfaces. Football became adopted by the state schools and may be seen as an important factor in its professional expansion. The economic benefits accrued from success in the professional sports, through talent rather than social class, motivated the young to escape their background: a motivation not only directed towards professional sport but other forms of commercial entertainment with 'show business' another route, providing, for those successful few, high salaries. Harry Lauder, from a poor family in the Portobello district of Edinburgh, by 1894 was a professional entertainer in the music-halls and was to become a successful international performer by 1914, while also representing abroad the image of Scotland (Irvine 1968).

The number of public houses, the backbone of the contribution made by the commercial sector, dramatically increased in Edinburgh through this period from about 70 to 485. The increase in the number of public houses occurred geographically in the minor streets of the New Town, along the radial routes into the city and in the pockets of dense tenement housing in the small industrial areas in the north-east and south-west of the City, and not in the Old Town which was already well endowed with 'taverns'. An article on the public houses in Edinburgh in the Evening Despatch (30.4.1906) expressed concern over the changing role of the public house:

"Whatever may be said of their drinking habits, there was at least a conviviality in the time passed away which we do not and cannot associate with the prosaic standing at the bar which marks the present era".

The same article referred nostalgically to the "free and easy" atmosphere for the spontaneous entertainment prior to 1870 in public houses in Edinburgh, with commercial interests transferring these into the music halls. The public house remained an exclusively male preserve, generally just housing a drinking activity in modest surroundings, and for

the working class the main location for recreation and social intercourse, for "the working man to recuperate after a hard day's work with a 'dram' of whisky, provided in small amounts for immediate consumption" (Mitchison 1978 p 114). The polarization of attitudes, acceptance and temperance, towards drink remained through this period (Mitchison 1978 p 159). Controls were placed on the public house by municipal and sanitary reforms, while the moral stance of the temperance movement continued through the Victorian and Edwardian period with the claim that:

"Better times are coming, when Britain shall be free,  
From the drunk contamination, the foe of liberty".  
(Cameron 1893 p 111)

The moral tone was reinforced by evidence of the misery and degradation that accompanied excess drink, with the public house, for many of the working class, the first resort in times of distress and the sole form of recreation beyond the home. The working class was a section of the population moving in and out of destitution and debt: this was especially the case in Edinburgh which had not sustained any large industry providing consistent wages (Mitchison 1978 p 117). In a false effort to reduce the adverse effects of drink, the closing hour of public houses in 1904 was set at 10 p.m., reducing the previous drinking time by one hour.

The fifty year period, 1864 to 1914, saw the addition of 100 voluntary organizations with their own facilities. Club life developed, especially after 1870, by the middle-class mainly based on social clubs located in the New Town and the social facilities associated with the sports clubs built adjacent to their open playing areas, usually within new residential areas or on the periphery of the built-up area. The 1870s and 1880s experienced a particular growth of social and sports clubs, and also literary and learned societies. This expansion coincided with the full

establishment of the middle-class as the dominant social group in Edinburgh, the peak of prosperity and rise in real income (Lythe and Butt 1975 pp 202,203), and also with the expansion of private transport (horse-drawn) and public transport (the Edinburgh Tramways Act of 1871 allowed tramways in certain streets). The pattern of club development showed the emergence of the distinctions within the middle-class and the provision of alternative clubs as bases for social activity with specific membership restrictions. The clubs became chauvinistic social enclaves with membership linked by political affiliation, artistic interests, literary interests, a specific sporting skill and so on. The centrally located social clubs provided a private environment with a discrete public face in the principal streets of the New Town in either converted residential property or in new decorative Victorian buildings in Princes Street. Social groups that had met previously in hotels, such as the Scottish Artists' Club in the Prince of Wales Hotel (MacKenzie 1974 p 13), were able to afford by subscription, fund raising and, in particular, bank loans, to raise the finance to purchase their own premises. Generally the centrally located social clubs were outward orientated, in that they took on a national role with membership not restricted to Edinburgh geographically, although restricted socially.

The patriarchal structure of the Victorian middle-class society, with women socially subordinate (Mitchison 1978 p 119) was expressed in the large number of social clubs and most of the sports clubs that had memberships for men only. The social distinction between male and female was seen also as an inherited tradition, with the New Club as the model for most of the new social clubs with their own facilities in the latter part of the 19th century: the New Club had started in the Baylis Tavern in Shakespeare Square in 1787 with a membership consisting of the well-to-do as early residents of the New Town who had enjoyed previously the conviviality of the Old Town Tavern. The New Club



moved into its own premises in 1809 in St. Andrews Square before its move to a lofty Victorian building in the centre of Princes Street in 1837 and remained the premier club in the City (Cockburn 1938).

The centrally-located social clubs were introduced mainly for those in business, in politics and in the professions: the premises usually had a lounge, a small bar from which drinks were served, a dining room, a reading room and a billiard room, with residential accommodation for country members. These clubs were the University Club founded in 1864, the Scottish Arts Club in 1874, the Scottish Liberal Club in 1875, the Scottish Conservation Club in 1877, the Century Club in 1892, and the Trout Anglers Club in 1899. The Northern Club had opened in 1839. Parallel to these gentlemen's clubs, the Ladies Caledonian Club was opened in 1875 and the Queen's Club in 1897, exclusively for women (known as 'gentlewomen' in their constitutions) mainly living in the New Town: the women's clubs were limited in number, "since many women have domestic duties to perform, they are less gregarious than men", (Keir 1966 p 562). The only social club not in the New Town was the all-male Gordon Highlanders Edinburgh Association, the second of the servicemens' clubs in Edinburgh, which opened in 1889 south of the Old Town in the Georgian residential area.

Special interest clubs commenced also in their own facilities in the New Town: the Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1861, the Musicians in Edinburgh Society in 1887 and the Royal Scottish Pipers Society in 1879. The Edinburgh Philosophical Association in their own facilities in Queen Street continued with "all matters commercial and general interest, of obtaining instruction in Science, Arts and Literature and of enjoying recreation" (Oliver and Boyd 1900 p 1075) and became the venue of a spread of learned societies with special interests in Scottish records, history, geography and bibliography (with Burns and Scott two of the selected literary figures) and the Old Scots

tongue from 1880. The style of interests reflected the interests of the educated groups and included the Scottish Text Society (1882). Scottish Geographical Society (1884), Scottish Historical Society (1886), Bibliographical Society including the Burns Club (1895), Scottish Record Society (1897), Citadel of Regional Geography (1892), and the Edinburgh Walter Scott Club (1894). Concern over the health and welfare of the citizenry and the conservation of the City (provoked by the arrival of the railway into the central area in the 1840s) prompted the initiation of voluntary organizations such as the Sanitary Protection Association, the Edinburgh Health Society, the Social and Sanitary Society of Edinburgh, and the Cockburn Association for the improvement of Edinburgh and its Neighbourhood (Oliver and Boyd 1900 p 1075). The only literary society to provide its own facilities was the Edinburgh Literary Institute which opened near the University of Edinburgh in 1870 (I.P.A. 1939 p 56).

By 1900, the voluntary sector had pioneered and established the majority of the formalized outdoor sports, including team games, bowling, tennis, water sports and athletics. The formalization of sports meant nationally-agreed rules and controlling bodies, with development of City-wide and national competitions. Those clubs with their own outdoor sports grounds formed an inner ring of privately-cultivated open spaces, with those concerned with water-based activities located on coastal or canal sites. The period 1900 to 1914 saw the introduction of the private club with interests in indoor sports such as swimming, shooting and carpet bowls, and clubs, with their own social facilities, specializing in new sports relying on new technologies of the motor car and cycle. Compared with the more traditional sports, these specialized clubs expected a large financial commitment to the necessary mechanical equipment by their members. The sport provision by the voluntary sector during this period became the basis for the current pattern in Edinburgh. As McIntosh (1963 p 216) has observed:

"Modern forms of inter-group games were formalized and in some cases invented in a revolution of games, which was a late concomitant of the industrial revolution, and occurred initially as a transfunction in the leisure of the Victorian middle-class, largely between 1860 and 1880".

The number of sports clubs rose from three in 1850 to seventy nine by the end of the First World War. From 1880 to 1900 the popularity of golf increased dramatically. The result was thirteen new clubs in Edinburgh during these two decades: Baberton (1893), Braids United (1893), Craigmillar Park (1895) Duddingston (1897), Harrison (1889), Kingsknowe (1898), Liberton (1890), Lochend (1891), Lothianburn (1893), Mortonhall (1897), Scotsman (1882), Thistle (1869) and Turnhouse (1900). A further four were added by 1914: Edinburgh Western (1903), Merchant of Edinburgh (1907), Murrayfield (1908) and Ravelston (1912). With the two clubs founded in the eighteenth century, the Royal Burgess and the Bruntsfield Links, nineteen of the twenty-five clubs in Edinburgh were open by 1914. The formal game of rugby was introduced into Edinburgh in 1851 at the Edinburgh Academy and the game was developed by the former-pupil club, the Edinburgh Academicals. Other rugby clubs were founded from 1868: those former-pupil clubs of the independent schools, Stewart-Melville (1875), Watsonians (1874) and Heriots (1890) in addition to Edinburgh Academicals; the former-pupil clubs of the two state secondary schools, Royal High (1870) and Boroughmuir at the end of the First World War; the clubs with open membership with the largest and oldest opening in 1868, Edinburgh Wanderers, and the Lismore (1901). These clubs developed extensive licensed social facilities, a prerequisite of rugby clubs for the few players and many non-players. The Scottish Rugby Union, formed in 1871, opened its first ground and stadium in Inverleith, before moving to its current location at Murrayfield in 1925 as the venue of international rugby matches: the first game between Scotland and England had been in 1871.



Lawn tennis in its present form dated from 1877, with the rules devised by the national controlling body (I.P.A. 1939 p 81), with, from 1880, ten tennis clubs opening in Edinburgh built mainly as an integral part of new middle-class housing areas: Dean (1880), Waverley (1886), Braid (1890), Corstorphine (1893), Murrayfield (1900), Trinity (1903), Barnton Park (1909), Henderland Road (1910), and Blackhall and Drummond opening during the First World War. Unlike the golf, rugby and also bowling clubs, tennis clubs were open to mixed membership: Titterton (1965 p 23) noted that Lawn tennis became a socially accepted game for women, who had little opportunity to enjoy outdoor sports, but with their freedom hindered by the playing attire of the long dress. By 1900, twenty-seven bowling clubs existed in Edinburgh, of which only one, the Edinburgh Bowling Club, had been formed prior to 1850 and with a concentration of new clubs dating from 1880. A further eight bowling clubs were added to the list by 1914, so that thirty-five of the forty-seven clubs existing in 1980 were open by the First World War, of those only three had closed memberships, with these three for the employees of a brewery. During the period 1850 to 1914, eleven sports clubs opened providing facilities for a range of interests covering rifle shooting, sailing, cricket, athletics, swimming, motor-racing, rowing and fishing.

For those living in the New Town and the residential areas south of the Old Town, the social season based on the Assembly Rooms continued through this period. Eleanor Sillar (1979 p 110), recording life in the New Town during the second half of the nineteenth century, described the Hunt Balls, with young ladies presented as debutants, in the Assembly Rooms as the entry into Edinburgh society of formal dinner parties and home-centred entertainments in the elegant surroundings of the New Town. The landed gentry passed their winters in Edinburgh, ensuring the proper education of their children and socializing, with society meeting at the assemblies during the winter season in the

Assembly Rooms. Meanwhile the Old Town saw the introduction of the voluntary organization with its own facility, other than the existing Masonic Lodges, but with varying characteristics to those in the New Town, reflecting the social conditions of the older section of the City with the Edinburgh Working Man's Club and Institute, the Scottish Painters Society and two divisions of the Salvation Army.

The late nineteenth century saw the growth of concern over youth welfare, with a voluntary movement closely associated with the Church, taking the responsibility. Organizations were formed for humanitarian reasons to counteract the adverse social conditions in the urban areas on the youth. The period 1885 to 1914 saw the establishment, and the growth, of the uniformed boys and girls groups, and the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. During the same period the Settlement movement established in Edinburgh the Pleasance Trust and the University Settlement: the Pleasance Trust, for example, opened in 1913 for the "spiritual, moral and physical welfare of the people of the South side of Edinburgh" (as stated in their constitution). The main influences appeared to have been the nationally-organized uniformed groups such as the Boy Scouts Association and the Boys Brigade. These groups were based on a quasi-military format and placed an emphasis on discipline: the discipline appealed to the Calvinistic tradition of the presbyterian churches in Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain, and the uniformed groups became closely associated with the expanding social role of the Church during this period. The Boys Brigade, the oldest uniformed youth group in Edinburgh, used church halls for their meetings: four troupes however provided their own facilities, between 1883 and 1900, located in the poor areas of the city. Similarly the Scout movement was closely associated with the Church with the church hall the base for the majority of Scout groups: three only had their own facilities before the First World War. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which were, as stated in their titles, Christian-based organizations, were introduced in to Edinburgh in 1876

providing separate facilities with social and residential provision in the centre of the city for young men and women. Also in 1876, a youth club for boys called the "Holly Tree" was opened in the poorest area of the Old Town by a local Minister.

Radical changes in education took place in Edinburgh in the 1870s, with the state control of elementary education through the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, taking the responsibility from the church to elected school boards, and the transformation of the charitable foundations, the 'hospitals', into secondary grammar schools for the middle class (Scotland 1969 p 268). The 1872 Act, allowed the independent system to continue but made the public sector the principal provider of schools and education. The Act established the timetable pattern of 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. school day, the 5 day week and the 200 day school year, with the administrative unit (until 1918) the parish. The 1870s saw the full eclipse of the Church as parish educator in Edinburgh by the public sector, with the legislation covering the general primary education for all, and with education becoming a local political issue through the elected school boards (Scotland 1969 p 90). With the charitable foundations, the governors considered the better use of their 'hospitals', questioning the value of the charity schools in Edinburgh which had been established for a few children at a time different to the prosperity of the latter part of the 19th century (Keir 1966 p 773). The Endowed Institutions Act of 1869 enabled governors to transfer their schools into fee-paying institutions. In Edinburgh, the opportunity was immediately taken. Similarly, Sir William Fettes, a tea and wine merchant and twice Lord Provost of Edinburgh had left money for another charitable school, but the trustees abandoned the request and opened in 1870 a school, patterned on the English public school, for the upper and middle class, known as Fettes College (Scotland 1969 p 293).

The transfer of the endowment schools as large fee-paying secondary schools meant that secondary education from the 1870s was available to many children in Edinburgh otherwise denied formal secondary education, with the charitable nature of the original schools remaining, in part, through the scholarship system. In so doing the 1870s also experienced the foundation of the bifocal nature of the educational, and associated social, characteristics of modern Edinburgh with the large concentration of independent schools and the parallel evolution and expansion of the state schools in secondary education.

Adult education remained a subject of voluntary effort and various organizations provided adult education classes, motivated by humanitarianism, religious sentiment or radical politics (Scotland 1969 p 134). Arthur Mansbridge started the Workers' Educational Association in 1903 to encourage Universities to provide classes for those denied the opportunity of full-time education. He saw that a link between the Workers' Educational Association and Universities would mean a fuller involvement of the working class in the political life of a community (Jary 1973 p 264). The first classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association in Edinburgh were opened in 1912 (Keir 1966 p 821), with the Association coming under the aegis of the Edinburgh and Leith School Boards to receive a direct grant from public funds (Barclay 1971 p 8).

A direct result of the 1872 Act was the establishment of the Church hall in each parish throughout Edinburgh. Eighty-one, or almost half of those church halls, still in use in 1980, were built in the period 1872 to 1914. Prior to 1872, the various church denominations, other than the Episcopalian had provided elementary education with the parish school and the clergy as educators. The transfer of responsibility to the public sector through the Education Act of 1872 not only allowed the Churches to be released from its traditional educational role but required the

various denominations to reconsider their social roles and to adjust their general contribution to education. Since 1872, almost all new church buildings were constructed with an adjacent church hall, and halls were added to those church buildings built prior to 1872. The number of denominations within each parish with their own facilities during this period, meant a proliferation of church halls serving the same local communities. The growth of church halls also coincided with a more relaxed and evangelical approach by most of the denominations. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, rigid Sabbatarianism started to be eroded and the puritanism that had looked on the arts and recreations with disfavour in previous centuries was becoming less influential. The concern of the church towards the youth, previously through formal teaching, was transferred to housing the uniformed youth organizations. In addition, the educational role was continued with Sabbath Schools, and the Women's Guilds were commenced in 1887 by the Church of Scotland and became regular users of church halls. (Oliver and Boyd 1912 p 787). The church hall took the function of local community centre, providing, as an extension of the traditional religious and educational roles, activities for all members of the family, but especially aimed at youth groups.

Three major public buildings for the display of works of art and antiquities opened during the second half of the nineteenth century: the National Gallery of Scotland in 1857, the Royal Scottish Museum in 1866, and, in a single building, the National Museum of Antiquities and the Scottish Portrait Gallery in 1889. Each of these institutions housed a national collection, and together produced a set of civic edifices whose running and acquisition costs were financed directly by central government and administered by independent Boards of Trustees. The collections, other than the exhibits in



the Royal Scottish Museum, were initiated by voluntary effort. The national fine art collection, the National Gallery of Scotland, was located on a prominent site off the centre of Princes Street. In 1847, an Act of Parliament had extended the Libraries, Museums and Gymnasias Act of 1945 to include art galleries. Money was allocated for the education in the fine arts. Central government contributed £30,000 to the new gallery in Edinburgh while the Town Council provided the majority of the site but at a modest cost and the Scottish School of Design gave £20,000 (Youngson 1968 p 283). The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland developed out of the voluntary Society of Antiquities of Scotland in the late eighteenth century. In 1851 the Society gave their collection to the nation on condition that a proper facility was found for public exhibition (Keir 1966 p 928). After a period in the Royal Institution, the collection was housed in a new Victorian Gothic building in Queen Street for both antiquities and the National Portrait Gallery. The building was financed by John Findlay, of The Scotsman. The portrait collection had grown out of the national fine art collection, supplemented from funds provided by Mr. Findlay and by donations of pictures. The present Royal Scottish Museum opened in 1866 to a building designed by Captain Fowke and with a collection based on a contribution by the adjacent Edinburgh University. The mid-nineteenth century had experienced a particular interest among the public in the display of the products of industrialization and associated industrial processes. The main event had been the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London in Hyde Park which had dealt for the first time in Britain with the display of industrial arts. The success of this exhibition and the recognition of the educational value of such displays prompted central government to encourage the provision of museums of the industrial arts in provincial cities (Scotland 1969 p 232). In Edinburgh, the Treasury in 1854 provided £7,000 for the commencement of an Industrial Museum of Scotland, later to become the Royal Scottish Museum.



During the period 1850 to 1914, the local authority provided six swimming pools, six public libraries and one local museum in addition to building a town hall in Portobello as a result of an annexing agreement and a concert hall funded by a benefactor. The local authority was given the Waverley Market by the North British Railway in 1869 (Gilbert 1901 p 145) which was converted into an exhibition hall (Keir 1966 p 659). As a condition of the Edinburgh Extension Act of 1896, Edinburgh Corporation was obliged to erect a hall in the annexed Portobello. At a cost of £13,000 the hall was erected on a site eventually acquired in the High Street of Portobello in 1913. In 1896, Andrew Usher, the distiller, gave the sum of £100,000 to the local authority for the purpose of providing a concert hall in Edinburgh: the hall was to be managed by the Town Council and used for concerts, recitals, entertainments and other performances of a musical nature. The hall could be used for other functions but required the sanction of the Town Council (Baird 1963 p 581). It took fifteen years to settle the primary issue of a suitable site provided by the Town Council, a condition of Mr. Usher's gift. A report prepared by the City Architect and Town Clerk to the Town Council (30.9.1898) outlined the difficulties of acquiring a suitable prominent site: nine sites were considered in detail but without success. Eventually a site became available in 1911 in Lothian Road. The concert hall, the Usher Hall, was opened in 1914.

During the Victorian period, cleanliness if not ranked next to Godliness, at least grew to be a high priority. Cleanliness received new scientific justification after 1870, with advances in the biological sciences. Dirt as a health hazard and the spread of disease through bacteria saw the need for sanitation and purification of water in urban areas (Mumford 1961 p 475). James Gowan (1885) in an essay on Edinburgh titled The Maintenance of Health of the People and the Beauty of the City emphasised the virtues to be gained from the cleanliness of the population,

lamenting the lack of baths in houses and general squalor of cities. The movement to provide public Baths in cities became part of the general concern over cleanliness. The Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846 had allowed local authorities to provide facilities to encourage personal cleanliness among the poorer sections of the population, and to compensate for the lack of baths and clothes-washing facilities, in the case of Edinburgh, in the tenement blocks. Not until 1887, did the local authority commence provision of Baths (later to be known as swimming pools) in Edinburgh: the Baths consisted of pools alongside rows of bathrooms. Six indoor Baths were constructed in Edinburgh between 1887 and 1901, and located in the poorer areas of Edinburgh on the periphery of the built-up areas at the time. The spirit of cleanliness was perpetuated by the reference to the swimming pools in Edinburgh as Baths by the local authority, with the senior official responsible for the swimming pools known as the Superintendent of Baths and Laundries officiating over a department of the same name. (The terminology within the local authority did not change from Baths to Swimming Pools until the Royal Commonwealth Pool was being considered in the late 1950s, and the officials title remained until the re-organization of the local authority in 1975). The first pool constructed by the Edinburgh Town Council, at Infirmary Street, was located in a particularly poor part of Edinburgh at the time. The Warrender and Dalry Baths were constructed to serve the tenement areas in the southern residential area of the City and built near to the perimeter of the built-up areas. The Stockbridge Bath was built on a piece of land owned by the local authority conveniently located about the incomplete, but formal, Saxe-Coburg Square and adjacent to the artisan dwellings known as the Colonies. As with the other Baths, those in Leith and Portobello were built within high-density residential areas, mainly consisting of tenement blocks constructed in the latter half of the nineteenth century characterized by the absence of bathrooms.

The Public Libraries Act of 1850 was extended to Scotland in 1853. The Act allowed local authorities to provide public libraries, free to their users, financed through the rates. The Act of 1853 was superceded by the Public Libraries (Scotland) Acts of 1854 and 1867 incorporating extended local authority powers. The implementation of the Act in Edinburgh was surrounded by considerable controversy, receiving, before the opening of the first public library in 1890 (47 years after the first Act pertaining to Scotland), well-organized political opposition. The first meeting to discuss the adoption of the Act was in 1867. This public meeting was prompted by a resolution in the Free Church Assembly Hall on 19th November 1867, which included:

"the same (the Free Library Amendment Act 1867) may be adopted by the citizens of Edinburgh as a means of promoting the enlightenment, recreation and general benefit of the community" (Mason 1880 p 16)

At the same meeting, a request was made to the Lord Provost to call a public meeting to consider adoption of the Act. Interest in the provision of a free library had existed in Edinburgh for many decades, and the discussion on the merits and demerits of such provision had been well rehearsed in the press some time before the request for a public meeting. The Scotsman as early as 2nd March 1825 had argued the case for a free library as the subscription libraries were seen to be too expensive except for a few. Opposition to the Act and the establishment of rate-supported libraries centred their argument on the lack of need since over 50 libraries already existed in Edinburgh, and on the rates burden (Aitken 1971 p 55). Indeed by 1867, libraries of various types existed in substantial numbers in Britain, and Edinburgh had a proliferation of libraries, such as the University, Advocates, Signet and others fostered by Institutes (White 1975 p 55). However these libraries were not available to the majority of the population and, in any case, contained specialist information (Library Association 1880 pp 19,20). The Town Council supported

the opposition view and rejected adoption of the Act in 1868 (Gilbert 1901 p 143). There was a widespread opposition against increased rates, including the evidence of petitions from various bodies representing the working classes (Aitken 1971 p 55), and from interested groups such as proprietors of circulating libraries and subscription libraries, who saw free libraries adversely affecting their business (Milne 1883 p 9). A new attempt to adopt the Act took place in 1880 (Library Association 1880 p 87), with, this time, the Trade Council, supported by a petition signed by working men, requesting that the Lord Provost re-consider the issue. (Aitken 1971 p 61). The opposition to the Act continued to be well-organized: men, for example, marched through the City with bill-boards stating in order to influence the result of the referendum,

"RATEPAYERS  
Resist this Free Library Dodge  
And Save Yourselves from the Burden of £6,000  
of Additional Taxation  
Return your cards marked "No"  
Be sure and sign your Names"  
(Library Association 1881 p 39).

The proposal to adopt the Act was defeated. (Gilbert 1901 p 157). The main arguments of the opposition remained the two issues of the extent of available books (in 1880 there were in the order of 7,500 books available to the public, although many were of a technical nature or there was a charge made before borrowing) and the rates burden. Not until 1890 did Edinburgh have its first free public library and it took a gift of £50,000 from Andrew Carnegie, given on the condition that the Act was adopted, for the building to be opened. Andrew Carnegie, through the Carnegie Trust, had since 1883 contributed substantially to the public library movement in Scotland, on the same condition that the Act was adopted. The first public library in Edinburgh was the Central Library located in the Old Town. The first branch public library was opened in Dundee Street in 1897: the Dundee Street library was a further example of money from a benefactor which encouraged library building.

Thomas Nelson (a printer) had left money to create Recreation Halls in the then poorer districts of Edinburgh and the Library Committee of the Town Council co-operated with the Trustees of the Nelson estate to provide a combined Recreation Hall and Library provision, as well as at Dundee Street, at Stockbridge (1901), McDonald Road (1904) and St. Leonards (1913). The local authority also provided a branch public library in Portobello in 1897, at the time of the annexing. Following the Libraries, Museums and Gymnasiums Act of 1845, a widespread foundation of public municipal museums occurred in Great Britain. The Act enabled local authorities to found and maintain museums, and during the period 1850 to 1914, a large number of museums were initiated. Prior to the Act there were not more than 60 private museums in Great Britain, whereas, by the end of the period, the number had risen to more than 350 (Department of Education and Science 1973 p 2). However, Edinburgh did not open a local museum until 1913. The restored seventeenth century building, Lady Stair's House, in the Old Town, given to the City by the Earl of Rosebery in 1907, became the first museum to display the City's collection, which previously had been located in a room in the City Chambers and not available for public view. Compared with the purpose-built museums and art galleries for the national collections, the single City museum, a converted house in the Old Town, was particularly modest.

Apart from the provision of swimming pools under the name of cleanliness, most of the facilities provided by the local authority had been the result of benefaction, bequests and gifts by individuals, with ratepayers apparently reluctant to see rates increased over the public funding of leisure buildings. Gilbert (1901 p 166) recorded the reluctance in 1887 to build a new hall as proposed by the Town Council:

"The Town having resolved to build a new town hall, 55 competitive designs were sent in. There being great opposition to the scheme, a plebiscite was taken; the result was declared on 29th March. 20,500 voted 'No', and 13,000 'Yes'. The scheme was accordingly dropped".



As a result of legislation restricting working hours through the second half of the 19th century, social life re-emerged for the majority of the population, but a social life that found its expression in new forms compared with pre-industrialized society. Leisure itself had become a product of contemporary industrial and commercial growth, with time compartmentalized into distinct periods for work and non-work, and the Church retaining its claim over the use of time on the Sabbath. Socially though, the Victorian period was predominately a middle-class era (Black 1973 p 153). The middle class had grown at a faster rate in Edinburgh than the other social groups and effectively advanced their values, such as piety, hard-work, achievement and family loyalty, upon all sections of society (Black 1973 p 153). The middle class attempted to emulate the upper class, while differentiating itself from the classes below. The luxury, social season, hunting and travel of the landed gentry and aristocracy proved to be a too expensive life style for the Edinburgh middle class to emulate, although some of the trappings, especially attitudes towards conspicuous display, were adopted (Black 1973 p 156). The evidence of wealth had become the "means of gaining the respect of others" (Veblen 1912 pp 37,38) in the latter part of the 19th century. Cultural institutions displayed conspicuously the accumulated wealth of their respective benefactors such as the National Portrait Gallery and the Usher Hall (and the MacEwan Hall and Fettes College) in Edinburgh. The Victorian middle class had experienced a rise in interest of new consumer products, new styles of urban living and new forms of leisure institutions dating mainly from the concentrated period of the 1870s and 1880s, with the chauvinistic preserves of social club, golf club, music hall, etc., contrasting with the increasingly family- and home-centred society. Social emulation, conspicuous display, and the accumulation of consumer products had meant that social welfare had tended to be neglected and that the lower classes were kept in their place physically and socially. In so doing Edinburgh displayed two faces:

"There was the polite, highly respectable facade, and behind it a life of squalor, vice and misery" (Masson and Eyre-Todd 1952 p 7). The middle class in Scotland, however, were slowly recognising during this period, 1850 to 1914, the social problems within cities, and institutions gradually adapted to cope with them (Mitchison 1978 p 137). An increasing fraternal attitude towards the less well-off developed as the century progressed with the Church taking a primary role in Edinburgh: this evolving attitude had found expression in the temperance movement, health and welfare legislation and the leisure provision for youth by the voluntary sector, and also was reflected in the education legislation producing compulsory primary education for all. Education was seen as an instrument of social change and social order, in addition to a necessary component in industrial and commercial development (Williams 1965 p 161): to the educational idealists such as Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century, education was the way "to do away with classes" with "men of culture.... the true apostles of equality". (Arnold 1963 p 161).

To make a clear distinction between those activities and attitudes of the middle class from the working class would not provide a full basis for the explanation of social life in Edinburgh in the latter part of the 19th century. Distinctions can be made, with certain social clubs, for example, clearly middle class. But the more commercial activities such as the music hall appeared not to have attracted a specific class exclusively. Many activities may be seen as pan-class. Best (1971 p 199) has suggested that in Victorian society, attitudes could combine economic classes with a division between respectable and non-respectable within all levels of society, with a choice, as examples, between drinking and temperance, and indulgence and abstinence. This moral distinction combined with class expectations and life-style appeared to be a characteristic of Victorian society in Edinburgh: the contemporaries of R. L. Stevenson would frequent the port of Leith from their

respectable New Town houses to enjoy the social activities not readily available in their immediate surroundings. McLaren (1950) noted that in the 1860s, Leith was able to boast taverns providing the conviviality and prostitution nostalgically remembered of the Old Town in the 18th century, of which inhabitants of the New Town would be visitors. The hedonistic haven of Leith was a convenient location, suitably distant from the New Town, and showed the moral duality, male defined, of Victorian society. (Miller 1975 pp 190-209). The theatres in Edinburgh were not the exclusive entertainment for either middle class or working class: the physical layout of the auditoria though reflected the social divisions, with the galleries having an entrance completely separate, for the lower social groups, while the main entrance and imposing flight of stairs led to the principal balcony for the higher social groups. The lower classes were kept in their place. The theatres encouraged large gatherings in urban communities which were also stages for the middle class to impress in front of the "transient observer" (Veblan 1912 pp 37,38).

The height of the aspirations of the middle class in this period was not matched by a sustained economic growth: by the First World War, the economic structure was disrupted. (Lythe and Butt 1975 c. 11).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PERIOD 1918 TO 1939

The first World War accelerated social, economic and political change. Evolving and new forms of leisure activities responded to these changes, with a developed popular form of entertainment by the commercial sector the principal characteristic of the inter-war period.

In Edinburgh the population modestly increased, during this period, rising by 1939 only 30,000 from 420,000 in 1918. The second half of the nineteenth century had seen the rapid expansion of population with recruitment from the whole of Scotland (Nimmo 1975 p 17). The inter-war period saw the migration out of Edinburgh the main population characteristic, especially among the young adults (Nimmo 1975 p 17), a result of the economic depressions through the inter-war period. The marked decline in birth-rate (Lythe and Butt 1975 p 239) also contributed to the reduction in the population increase. However, the modest population increase, combined with changed living standards and improved public and private transport, the City experienced a considerable physical expansion. Up to 1918 the City had consisted of the Old Town, the New Town, the residential area immediately south of the Old Town, and small pockets of Victorian industrial development. At the boundary extension in 1920, growth of the City differed substantially in form, density and direction and produced three identifiable developments. These were the bungalow belt; the public housing estates; the adaptation of the central area to meet the needs of the increased population and changing requirements. A two mile band of low density bungalow housing estates almost encircled the central area in the 1920s and 1930s. Based on the English suburban pattern and built by a few private speculators, such development extended the bounds of Edinburgh along the radial roads, encompassing rural dormitory villages, and surrounding natural features. The bungalow belt eroded

the sharp division between city and countryside; a characteristic of the City prior to the First World War. Such suburban developments can be seen as a reaction to the tenement, a result of an increase of living standards, the rise of the home-, child- and comfort-centred and consumer-orientated middle class (Mumford 1961 pp 485-500, Ryder and Silver 1970 p 66) and the increased take over of the central area, the Old Town and New Town, by commercial functions and public institutions, displacing residential properties. The introduction of the suburban train and bus services encouraged and reinforced the out-migration of the middle class from the central area. A consequence of the bungalow belt was that the overall density of Edinburgh, for example, was a quarter that of Glasgow.

During the inter-war period changes in social attitudes focused attention on the physical and social conditions experienced by the poor, and the increased level of intervention by the public sector. Britain, as a whole, had been required to adjust to a new economic order internationally, which the First World War had accelerated rather than created, with the fundamental changes in the traditional trading position of Britain in relation to its Empire, and also Europe, seen to benefit the U.S.A. (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 130). While Scotland in general had been one of the most prosperous regions of Britain prior to 1914, the inter-War period experienced varying degrees of economic depression, and increase of unemployment and poverty (Lythe and Butt 1975 p 241). Mitchison (1978 p 155) stated about Scotland:

"The social problems of poverty and overcrowding, already a source of concern on the eve of the First World War, became conspicuous during the inter-war period of economic failure"

and further observed about the political response to social conditions:

"Only late in 1930s did there develop pressure in the various branches of government to do something about the matter. House building, infant and maternal



mortality, tuberculosis, at last became the topic of special enquiries and special effort" (Mitchison 1978 p 156).

Social and economic hardship occurred in Edinburgh, but the City missed the extensive impact of the poor housing conditions due to nineteenth century industrialization and urbanization, as heavy industry almost avoided Edinburgh. The local authority responded to, if not fully solving, slum conditions, over-crowding and other adverse aspects of housing provision, by private landlords, and commenced a substantial programme of public housing in the 1920s. The first scheme in Edinburgh (following the Wheatley Housing Act of 1924) was started in 1926 at Craigmillar next to a new brewery on the outskirts of the City, and linked to the centre by new bus routes. Despite, though, the enabling legislation and the efforts of the Edinburgh Corporation, the problem of poor housing remained in 1939, especially in the Old Town, Leith and the industrial pockets, which were "a testament to past neglect and contemporary impotence" (Lythe and Butt 1975 p 242). The new public housing areas contrasted in physical character, as well as tenure, with owner-occupier suburban areas. The suburban estates remained dependent on the central area for shopping, employment, public institutions and the major indoor leisure facilities, with public transport linking the periphery to the centre along radial routes converging on Princes Street (Hoq 1960). By the First World War, the bi-focal nature of the city centre had been established, with the reduction of the Old Town as a shopping centre but retaining the legal, academic, religious and traditional administration functions, while the New Town predominated as the shopping, commercial and financial centre. With the Scottish Office in St. Andrews House built in the 1930s and other central government offices, the New Town also became the centre for national public administration (Mackie 1979 p 367). At the beginning of the inter-war period, the retailing centre shifted from the north/south axis of the Bridges linking the Old and New Towns to the east/west access of Princes Street (Hoq 1960 c 6).

The inter-war years saw the use of leisure time move further towards the enjoyment of mass produced and collective forms of leisure activities in urban areas, provided by the commercial sector. These forms included mass newspapers, popular magazines, on average two visits a week to the cinema, football pools from 1930, legalized racecourse betting, and increased visits to football matches, dance halls and race tracks. The 1930s saw the expansion in the purchase of radio sets, following the opening nationally of the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1922, with the first B.B.C. studio in Edinburgh in 1928 in the converted Queen Street Hall (B.B.C. 1935). The same decade saw the increased competition between the large circulation newspapers for readership (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 135) with literacy ensured by the Education Act of 1872 sustaining the growth of newspapers and also popular literature. A cultural movement developed based on new technologies, such as the cinema, radio and mass circulation newspapers and literature, with an increased awareness through media advertizing. These mass-produced forms of leisure became shared experiences among the majority of the population during the inter-war years. Freedom of time and mobility (with suburban public transport and, in the 1930s, the private motor car) enjoyed by the majority of the population had not been matched by an increase in incomes since the First World War (Lythe and Butt 1975 p 241). The new mass forms of leisure offered inexpensive ways to fill the leisure hours, and generally the population became vulnerable to the persuasiveness of the mass-produced activities. These were passive, not concerned with individual skills and expression, classified as merely entertainment and dismissed as escapist pursuits, along with drinking, gambling, music halls and theatrical melodramas (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 149). They appeared to undermine the ideals of the Calvinistic tradition concerning the wasting of time, conflict with the Protestant ethic of the nineteenth century (Weber 1930), challenge the sanctity of the Sabbath and overthrow the middle class values of Victorian Edinburgh,

including the church-related temperance and anti-gambling traditions. The extent and content of commercial leisure activity during this period was escapist (taking a moral position) or simply a contrast to home and work conditions (taking a functional position) but also a contradiction since the expansion of leisure activity during the inter-war period, with the evolution of a popular culture based on mass-produced leisure forms and the rapid development of the commercial sector, occurred at a time of precarious economic conditions.

The increase in the provision of indoor leisure facilities in Edinburgh in the inter-war years lay mainly with the commercial sector: cinema, embryonic pre-First World War, developed prolifically; new popular dance halls opened with the dances organized by the management of the hall; the professional football teams increased their popularity; greyhound racing was introduced at Powderhall; the number of public houses grew at a faster rate than at any other period; the commercial theatre continued the music hall tradition and the period saw the addition of the repertory company run by actor/managers.

Pre-First World War cinema in Edinburgh had hovered around the music hall, had been a side show in the circus and appeared as a novelty in converted halls and theatres, while the emerging European cinema industry was halted by the war (Bennell 1950 p 34). Cinema as a major industry began in America with Hollywood already the 'dream city' by 1918 (Rhodes 1979 p 73) and a world-wide market for films developed by 1920 (Rhodes 1979 p 30). The cinema took over many of the attractions seen in the theatre, with the first purpose-built cinema opening in Los Angeles in 1902 (Bennell 1950 p 60) and the Strand Theatre, a 3,000-seat decorative cinema built in New York by M.L. Mark (Rhodes 1979 p 71) setting a pattern for cinema building repeated

throughout the world. In Edinburgh five large purpose-built cinemas were built by 1930: the Caley Picture House (2100 seats) in 1923 in Lothian Road, the Playhouse Cinema (3300 seats) in 1929 at the top of Leith Walk, the Rutland Cinema (2200 seats) in 1930 near Rutland Square, the Capital Cinema (2200 seats) in 1928 in Leith, and the New Victoria (2200 seats) in 1930 in South Clerk Street. The Regal in Lothian Road opened in 1938, the last of the large cinemas in Edinburgh, with 2750 seats. Of these, the largest, the Playhouse Cinema, was built as a theatre with full rear-of-house facilities. F. A. Lumley and a business syndicate, the initiators and owners, predicted a short life for cinema in Edinburgh with the public reverting to live entertainments: a prediction that eventually proved correct fifty years later. New purpose-built cinemas also opened in the suburban areas of the City in the 1930s, such as the Dominion in Morningside, the Astoria in Corstorphine, and the Carlton at Piershill. In 1918 there had been thirty-eight cinemas built in the City including four cinemas in Princes Street, the New Picture House, the Palace Picture House, the Picture House (this small cinema only lasted until 1923) and the Princes Cinema. By 1939 the number of cinemas was thirty-six, with thirteen closing: (these tended to be the smaller cinemas showing silent films) and eleven opening, mainly the larger purpose-built cinemas. In 1939, the cinemas gave a total seating capacity of 45,000, which may be compared with 8,350 theatre seats. Appendix 3 tabulates the history of cinema buildings in Edinburgh.

Weekly visits to a cinema became an accepted pattern for the majority of the population in the 1930s, with the particular stimulation of the introduction of sound in 1928. The cinema emerged as the first popular urban culture, with the outbreak of war in 1939 making little difference to the attendance figures in Edinburgh (Keir 1966 p 48). The cinema was not closely related to a particular social group with the young tending to be the more frequent visitors.

A new social order, conveniently dated from the First World War, the new and involving technologies of the cinema industry, the commercial opportunity, the ease and control of distribution, and the inexpensive nature of the activity for the user combined in the cinema to produce the first mass entertainment beyond the home, not only attracting all sections of the population in Britain but a shared experience world-wide throughout the peak years. The cinema industry created an exotic style peculiar to building design and interior decoration, in addition to a glamour of the star system, notoriety and examples of alternative life-styles on the screen, emphasised in the names of the larger cinemas such as the Alhambra, Ritz and Tivoli, continuing a tradition associated with the 'illegitimate' theatre. In Edinburgh before the advent of the 'talkies', cinemas combined film with variety, with the orchestra common to both: a poster from the Alhambra cinema in Leith for the week commencing 7th June 1926, for example, proudly announced:

"Frisky Friday Frolics  
2nd House 9.0 Big Feature only, Full "Frolics"  
and Eve's Review  
Johnny Graham and his Band  
and for this night only  
Jock McKendrick: Leith's own character scotch  
comedian"

The dance hall attracting a broader social base, suddenly became a popular attraction in Edinburgh as elsewhere in Britain, immediately after the First World War. Four large dance halls were built in the 1920s in the City: the Palais de Danse, the Plaza, the New Cavendish and the Locarno. These halls provided an inexpensive and mildly glamorous venue for a dancing public, while lucrative for their management. The Palais de Danse was opened in 1920 by the Palais de Danse and Cinema Company Ltd.: the hall, a converted roller-skating rink (Edinburgh Evening News 27.3.1954), accommodated one thousand dancers and, while evening dress was optional, formal dress was expected, making this venue associated with the 'well-to-do'



(Edinburgh Dispatch 17.11.1958). Mecca Ltd., took over the management of this hall in 1937 (Edinburgh Dispatch 17.11.1958) and became the first commercial facility in Edinburgh to be owned by a nationally-based company. The less formal Plaza (sometimes known as the Silver Slipper) opened in 1928 in Morningside by a family firm: the Cavendish, first known as Maximes, opened in 1922 in Fountainbridge in a building which had been the Players Riding Academy (Edinburgh Evening News 27.3.1954). A further and the largest of the Edinburgh dance halls was the Marine Ballroom, located in the Marine Gardens off Seafield Road: this hall accommodated 5,000 dancers (Edinburgh Evening News 27.3.1954). The scale of this hall reflected the popularity of dancing in the inter-war period, a popularity which continued through the Second World War. The popularity encouraged other halls to open in the inter-war period which were however short-lived, including the Dunedin Ballroom in Picardy Place, 1924-1935, regarded as a 'select' hall (Edinburgh Evening News 27.3.1954); the Embassy Night Club in the Queen Street hall (Edinburgh Evening News 19.8.1961) and the Excelsior in Niddry Street in the Old Town in the converted St. Cecilia's Hall.

The increase in the number of public houses in Edinburgh accelerated during the 1920s and 1930s, even compared with the increase during the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the majority of the new public houses opening in the central area of the Old Town and New Town. The ratio of public house to population was the highest at any time since 1850 during the 1920s, with a ratio of one public house for every eight hundred and fifty citizens. Rose Street, a service street north of Princes Street, became a local focus for increased numbers and obtained a reputation for excessive drinking (Keir 1966 p 62). The public house though, remained devoid of entertainments, the preserve of the male drinker and a place of simple surroundings for mostly standing patrons. The late 1930s brought an

alternative to the public house with the roadhouses. The Hillburn Roadhouse and Maybury Roadhouse were built on the main radial roads into Edinburgh in the rural area immediately adjacent to the City, and provided a more social atmosphere compared with the traditional public house, with, at apparently no extra cost, entertainments and dancing. The roadhouses developed more like dance halls than public houses and reflected the new social freedoms provided by increased personal mobility, and a changing expectation towards an evening's social activity among the young with the attraction of an open facility for mixed company. The decoration of the roadhouses was in a similar mode to the new cinemas contrasting with the sombre public house: in 1943, Councillor W. McLaren was quoted as saying, "Roadhouses with all their attractive surroundings have brought lean years to many of the old inns...." (Edinburgh Evening News 11.8.1943).

Two sports activities associated with the working class, visits to professional football matches and pedestrianism, continued after 1918. The two professional football clubs, Hibernian and Hearts, at their respective grounds of Easter Road and Tynecastle Park, increased their attendance figures during the inter-war years: 60,000 was achieved at Easter Road and 50,000 at Tynecastle Park in 1939 (Docherty and Thompson 1975 p 60, Mackie 1974 p 160) with the facilities constantly improved and expanded to accommodate increased numbers. The financial position of each club fluctuated, with profit less significant than status: Mackie (1974 p 161) reported that, by 1939, the Hearts Football Club, had 200 shareholders but no dividends, with the chairman of the shareholders, Mr. A. Martin, saying "We are not out for dividends. The best dividend....is the pleasure of basking in the reflected glory of a winning team". Interest in professional football teams produced supporters clubs with Hibernian supporters first to provide their own licensed social facilities. A club was opened adjacent to the Hibernian Football Ground in Easter Road in 1930 primarily

for those interested in football but also providing welfare services for the elderly. In the 1920s pedestrianism organised by Lumley continued to be popular at Powderhall. The upsurge of interest among the public as the decade progressed was influenced by the wider publicity through the coverage of events at the cinema, on the radio and in the press, and through increased prize money (Jamieson 1943 p 185). In 1930, the Greyhound Racing Association Ltd., acquired the Grounds at Powderhall from Lumley, and introduced greyhound racing and submerged the pedestrian tradition. Greyhound racing had taken place in Edinburgh since 1878 but had not been particularly popular (in spite of the attraction of betting). Interest rose in 1926 when, for the first time at Belle Vue in Manchester, the mechanical hare was used in Britain (Jamieson 1943 p 186). Belle Vue was an instant success, and tracks were constructed throughout Britain, under the control of the National Greyhound Racing Club. Jamieson (1943 p 186) recorded that in the latter years of the 1920s over five million people paid to see greyhound racing in Britain, under the control of the National Body. The Powderhall Greyhound Stadium, as the sports ground came to be called, was opened by the Greyhound Racing Association Ltd., and received its licence from the national controlling board in 1930. Races took place once a week in the 1930s attracting up to 5,000 per meeting.

The two sports on ice, skating and curling, had been popular outdoor pursuits throughout the nineteenth century with the various lochens in Edinburgh as the winter venues for various curling and skating clubs (Oliver and Boyd 1900 p 1118). The average temperatures were lower during the winters of the latter part of the nineteenth century than compared with the mid-twentieth century which ensured frozen lochens, such as Duddingston Loch and Lochrin Ice Pond, in most winters for skating and curling. Reduction in the winter ice period and the popularity of these sports encouraged the provision of an indoor ice rink, the Haymarket



Ice Rink, in the years immediately before the First World War. The inter-war years saw the year-round enjoyment of the two sports, with by the end of the period the Ice Rink becoming almost exclusively used by curling clubs.

Between the wars, the large Victorian and Edwardian theatres, the Lyceum, the Kings and the New Empire Palace, continued to attract audiences mainly for music halls and also theatrical melodramas. The Operetta House in Chambers Street functioned as a theatre until 1939 when the building became a furniture store, while the Theatre Royal in Broughton Street maintained its programme of music halls and pantomimes (Baird 1963 p 118). A further theatre, the Palladium, opened in 1933 in Fountainbridge in a building that had been used as a cinema since 1912: this theatre became associated with variety shows featuring local artists (Keir 1966 p 861). A repertory theatre movement emerged in Edinburgh through the inter-war years, with companies usually run by actor/managers operating within the commercial sector. The Lyceum Theatre became the principal location, with a small theatre opening in Leith Walk in 1930 (known first as the Pringles Theatre, in a building which had been a roller-skating rink and, for a short time, another cinema), a further venue for repertory theatre. Repertory had been introduced into Edinburgh in 1929 by an associated company of the Oxford University Dramatic Society; their short annual season of plays continued until 1932 (Keir 1966 p 860). The Brandon Thomas Company, the Wilson Barrett Company, a company formed by Howard and Wyndham Ltd., and occasional London Repertory theatre companies performed at the Lyceum Theatre in the 1930s (Keir 1966 p 860). A further company was formed in 1931 called the Edinburgh Repertory Theatre Ltd., with a,

"Capital (of) £500 in shares of 5s each fully paid. Shareholders number some 400. A citizen movement designed to encourage drama and foster native talent therein". (Oliver and Boyd 1931 p 1086).

This company produced two short annual seasons in the Music

Rooms in the Assembly Rooms. The emphasis was on the development of Scottish play writing.

The period saw an inter-relationship between the various sections of the commercial sector, producing an upward spiralling of mutual benefits to their financial interests, with the sector responding closely to public preference and changing social conditions. The American film musical showed dancing in settings in the 1930s previously not experienced by the viewing public (Rhodes 1979 p 304), the radio transmitted the sounds of commercial dance bands with the demands of broadcasting requiring improved musicianship (B.B.C. 1935), the music of the dance bands and the improved standards were found on gramophone records; newspapers disseminated interest in new dance forms and news of the film industry, and the dance hall provided live music and the opportunity to develop the new dances in settings reflecting the art deco streamlining of screen images (Rhodes 1979 p 304). A Saturday was composed of the sequential visits to commercial attractions with, for example, a visit to greyhound racing followed by a drink and a meal and concluding<sup>ed</sup> by an evening at the cinema, dance hall or music hall. Mixed social activity was possible in the open public facilities of the cinema, dance hall and roadhouse, without restrictions or traditions of the formal assemblies, social rituals of the theatre (Veblan 1912) and all-male public houses. Later marriages, and smaller and planned families (Lyle and Butt 1975 pp 239,240) meant fewer home ties giving more time and opportunity to indulge in leisure activities, with an increased social role, and franchise, for women from the First World War (MacPhail 1958 p 173). The cinema and the dance hall became the social settings for courtship: football and greyhound-racing stadia and public houses remained exclusively male strongholds.



Those cultural and learned societies which appeared after the First World War had an international emphasis, such as the International Club in 1918, the Scots-Italian Society in 1919, the University Spanish Society in 1922 and the All People's Association in 1929, while The English Speaking Union and the Royal Overseas League opened with their own facilities in the New Town in 1918 and 1929 respectively. Of a more local concern the Robert Louis Stevenson Club (1920), the Scot Vernacular Association (1926) and the Carlyle Society (1929) were formed. A nationalistic agitation characterized the 1920s and found expression in new literature, with the founding of the Scottish National Movement in 1926, consisting of men of letters writing in a variety of Scots languages including Hugh MacDiarmid and Lewis Spence (Mackie 1979 p 367). While the Saltire Society concerned with Scottish culture and the "encouragement of new developments" in Scottish cultural life (as stated in its constitution) opened in a seventeenth-century house in the Old Town in 1936.

After the ordeal of the First World War, regimental associations were unable to fully provide welfare for ex-servicemen. The British Legion in Edinburgh in 1920 became the principal organization for the welfare of ex-servicemen, providing social facilities, benevolent activities and, for the least fortunate ex-servicemen, pension schemes. Seven other social clubs for servicemen were formed immediately after the ending of hostilities in 1918 as a tribute to those who had fallen and a base to continue the comradeship developed through the war by those who survived. Over time these clubs developed as licensed social clubs for those affiliated to a specific regiment. A further four such social clubs for servicemen opened in the 1920s and 1930s, with all these clubs located in the adjacent streets to the main thoroughfares in the New Town. The New Town also saw a further social club exclusively for ladies, with the opening of the Scottish Women's Lyceum Club in 1918. The club had been initiated in the First World War as an

organization for women to gather and talk, and attract members who were "well up in their own field e.g. art, literature and the professions" as stated in their constitution. The Conservative and Liberal Parties had consciously provided social facilities for their members with both these parties inheriting Victorian buildings on prominent sites in Princes Street as their club headquarters. With the addition of five social clubs by the Conservative party at the end of the First World War, each constituency within Edinburgh had its own base for political activity during election canvassing, in addition to providing social activities. The Labour Party following their political ascendancy through this period, replacing the Liberal Party as the effective national opposition to the Conservatives (Mackie 1979 p 362), did not provide social facilities for its local members, but erected the Keir Hardie Hall and William Graham Memorial Hall in the 1930s as meeting places for political gatherings and the occasional social event. As one result of coal mining within the boundary of Edinburgh, miners' welfare social clubs were opened in the 1920s to serve the new local mining communities. The Gilmerton Miners' Welfare Society and Social Club was opened in 1928; initially restricted to miners working in the local pit: each miner paid a weekly subscription and the club received financial assistance from the Coal Industry Social Welfare Organizations. The Jewel Miners' Welfare Society and the Newcraighall Miners' Welfare Society opened in 1925 financed in a similar manner. Each of these clubs became well-used providing social activities and welfare services for the young and elderly members of the mining communities.

The rate of growth of sports and special-interest clubs slowed during the inter-war period, with only a further three golf clubs, Prestonfield (1921), Swanston (1927) and Uniroyal (1930), and a further eight bowling clubs, Braid Estate (1920), Brunstane (1920), Banfield (1925), St. Andrews Steelworks (1925), Beechwood (1926), Wardie (1930)

Colinton (1935) and Tanfield (1939). Five tennis clubs provided their own social facilities as well as courts: Abercorn (1921), Mortonhall (1925), St. Serfs (1926), Colinton (1928) and Thistle (1938), while four rugby clubs opened social facilities, Leith Academicals (1920), Broughton (1923), Trinity Academicals (1924) and, the only club during this period with an open membership, Edinburgh Northern (1920), with the others former-pupil clubs of state schools. The game of squash was introduced into Edinburgh in the 1930s with the opening of the Edinburgh Sports Club: the game became particularly popular, especially, as an indoor sport, squash could be played in the winter months and evenings. Squash courts became an essential addition to the larger sports clubs. Voluntary organizations pioneered boxing (the Leith Victoria Club (1921)) and flying (Edinburgh Flying Club (1934)) and provided an additional sailing club, the Cramond Boat Club in 1934, and facilities for indoor sports such as carpet bowls in the Murrayfield Indoor Sports Club in 1927. The Edinburgh Film Guild was formed in 1929 with their own premises and the aim to study film aesthetics, bridge clubs opened in the 1930s in the New Town in licensed premises with the Melville and Carlton opening in 1935 and 1937 respectively, the Shetland Association was founded in 1927 for those in Edinburgh with Shetland connections to enjoy social facilities and sustain Shetland culture, and five Masonic Lodges and similar organizations opened their own facilities with licensed social provision between 1919 and 1924. The Corstorphine Public Hall and the Gorgie War Memorial Hall were opened after the First World War, as a result of public subscription.

The primary supplier group concerned about the leisure activities of the dependent groups in the inter-war years was the Church, the moral mentor for the uniformed youth groups and youth fellowship groups and provider of welfare services for the old and poor in their church halls. Only three Scout troupes built their own premises (in 1923, 1935

and 1938) during this period, and these were located in the suburban housing estates and not the poorer sections of the City. Fraternal voluntary organizations not directly related to a Church but religious based, also provided social and recreation facilities for boys in the poorer areas of the City, and, towards the end of the period, organizations became exclusively concerned with the welfare of the elderly in the City. The First World War had accelerated a social consciousness towards the education and leisure of youth in general, while the economic hardship of the 1920s and 1930s further focused attention on the under-privileged boys and girls. To this period belonged the United Crossroads Boys Club, The North Merchiston Club, the Fettes-Lorretto Boys Club, the Edinburgh Academy Stockbridge Club and the Pleasance Trust's own boys club. These clubs provided organized formal activity, almost exclusively sport orientated by well-meaning voluntary leaders (many with military backgrounds): all the clubs had the aim to foster the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of boys, and these clubs also felt that they were contributing to a decline of vandalism in their respective areas. Nearly all referred to character-building and self-discipline also in their objectives. The oldest of the boys clubs which had been formed in 1912, the Scottish Schoolboys, referred to "members discovering full meaning of the Christain faith" and a religious basis formed the foundation of the majority of subsequent boys' clubs. Some public sector interest was shown during the 1930s over the role of the voluntary organization in relation to youth welfare, and government grants became available to assist work of these groups. Not until the late 1930s did Edinburgh Corporation provide grants to the non-uniformed groups, with the financial support of the voluntary sector, rather than the local authority taking direct responsibility, becoming their official policy towards the provision of a youth service. The period immediately before the Second World War saw the provision of welfare services for the elderly by voluntary effort. The main organization, the Edinburgh and Leith Old People's Welfare Council (E.L.O.P.W.C.)

among other services for the elderly, provided three day centres during the war years in Dalry, Stockbridge and the Grassmarket, which were areas of poor and ageing population. In addition there were two other clubs for the elderly with their own facilities, but at a considerably smaller scale compared with the E.L.O.P.W.C. facilities; the oldest was the Health and Welfare Committee Club in Leith (1918) and the Leith O.A.P. Club (1939).

Thirty-seven church halls were constructed in Edinburgh during the inter-war period by all the denominations except those with a particularly low following: 13 were built by the Church of Scotland, with the second largest number of 10 built by the Episcopalean Church. By 1939, the Church of Scotland had set up 9 new parishes providing a church building for a congregation of 800, and a church hall to hold 300, in the new housing areas. The neo-Gothic and heavy stoned style of church architecture of the Victorian and Edwardian period was displaced by a heavy brick style of the inter-war years. In Edinburgh in the 1920s and 1930s, the church halls experienced their peak of use by voluntary organizations directly attached to the Church. Sabbath Sessions often recorded attendance figures of over 500, while the uniformed youth groups and youth fellowship groups experienced their maximum numbers (Church of Scotland records). The policy of use of church halls by voluntary organizations only attached to the Church, continued until after the Second World War.

The additional contribution by the public sector during this period was modest. Central government financed directly a third but small national museum in the capital, the Scottish United Services Museum, which was opened in 1930 in Edinburgh Castle. The local authority provided two local museums, a town hall, and six public libraries, received bequests of a local hall and an historic building, and opened the first community centre in the City:



- a. With the increase in the size of the museum collection of the City, Huntley House became the main location of the City's display in 1932, while Lady Stair's House remained a small local museum. Huntley House was a reconstructed sixteenth century building in the Old Town. The local authority also reconstructed Acheson House in the Old Town as the Scottish Craft Centre in 1938.
- b. The annexing of Leith by the City of Edinburgh in 1920 required the local authority to erect a library, a reading room and also a town hall. A suitable site took twelve years to find and the building, the Leith Town Hall, was opened in 1932.
- c. A library was part of the Leith Town Hall complex and was one of six public libraries built between 1932 to 1936. Of these, four were built as part of the local primary school: Balgreen, Craigmillar, Granton, and Craigentenny. The only example of the local authority considering a comprehensive plan of any leisure provision in the City in the inter-war years was the distribution of branch public libraries. In the late 1930s, Ernest Savage, who had been appointed City Librarian, carried out a survey of use of existing libraries by examining the number of books issued on a particular day and the plotting of the home address of the borrowers. A catchment area was deduced from this information and a plan for the distribution of libraries produced (City Librarian's Report 1929).
- d. The Gorgie War Memorial Committee handed over to the City in 1938, the Gorgie War Memorial Hall, while Lauriston Castle located to the west of the City had been left to the local authority in 1926 and became a museum.

The new public housing areas produced a new responsibility for the local authority to provide community facilities: the commercial sector was reluctant to provide facilities in these new estates, although the reluctance was not

extended to the public house with their distribution restricted in public housing areas by planning controls; there were no existing buildings to convert or sites available to erect a new building by a voluntary organization; while the church was consistent in its provision of church buildings and church halls, not all inhabitants were affiliated to the church. The City Treasurer (Evening Dispatch 28.9.1938) wrote that the public interest was growing for the idea of community centres in Edinburgh in the new public housing areas: the Town Council had recognised that the new residents had been divorced from the old communities and searched for a social focus. One community centre in a public housing area was opened in Craigentenny in 1938 by the local authority in the converted Craigentenny House one of the fine mansion houses built at the time in the rural areas about Edinburgh. The House, which had become surrounded by the new housing, was later taken over by the local education authority.

As education became administratively more complex and costs rose, so the administrative unit and controlling authority was changed by the Education Act of 1918 from the School Boards to the City as a single unit and a separate local education authority, as the controlling body, (Scotland 1969 p 20), consisting of elected representatives, which often included members of the church (Oliver and Boyd 1925 p 1075). The separation of education from the other functions of local government was dissolved by the local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929, when power was transferred to a single authority consisting of all public services. (Keir 1966 p 802). Elected representatives, the local politicians, became responsible for the full range of services: in practice, the role of the church further diminished, although the Education Committee of local government co-opted representatives of the church (Oliver and Boyd 1930 p 1047), as well as the Universities and the Scottish Educational Institute. One of the immediate results of

the new administrative arrangements was the public use of school facilities during non-school hours. Until 1932, state school facilities had not been available for use by local voluntary organizations beyond school hours. The Education Committee in 1932 agreed that the forty-three schools in Edinburgh could be so used. As the majority of the schools were primary, without specialized spaces, so activities and use were restricted. The school hall, however, became an alternative venue for those voluntary organizations not affiliated to a church, and unable, or not prepared, to take on their own facility.

Adult education classes slowly became an accepted form of leisure activity during weekday evenings in the winter. Through the inter-war period, the number of classes available in Edinburgh rose to a peak in the early 1930s with 65 classes, with the number dropping at the outbreak of the Second World War. Prior to the First World War the number of formal classes never exceeded ten. By 1926, the Edinburgh branch of the Workers' Educational Association was one of the largest in Britain (Barclay 1971 p 23). As the Workers' Educational Association became identified with the trade union movement, which, after the First World War, was particularly strong in Scotland (Lythe and Butt 1975 p 241), so an independent organization, the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association, was formed in 1926 (although links with the national association returned in 1942) (Barclay 1971 p 22). The Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 had allowed the School Boards to provide 'continuation classes': those that ~~can~~ came to be provided in Edinburgh in association with the Workers' Educational Association were mainly compensatory offering elementary subjects to eradicate illiteracy, and instruction in more specialized technical subjects (Scotland 1969 p 134).

The inter-war period had seen the appearance of a range of social welfare programmes, slowly evolving over the twenty year period, including housing, planning, health and

insurance in addition to education (Thomson 1969 pp 91-101): the full flowering of the Welfare State was to wait until the completion of the Second World War. Leisure was not seen politically appropriate for state intervention or incentives beyond the discretionary legislation inherited from the nineteenth century, covering museums, art galleries, libraries and swimming pools and the inclusion in the housing legislation for modest provision such as tenants' huts. The Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937 appeared an exception as this legislation allowed local authorities to provide community centres and give grants to voluntary organizations but this Act was passed with the main aim to improve the physical fitness of youth pending hostilities. Leisure expenditure and patterns remained an expression of economic and social distinctions within an urban society and a measure of deprivation: leisure had become seen as a factor in the erosion of the distinctions but politically leisure policy was a low priority.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE PERIOD 1945 TO 1980

The local authority continued their public housing programme commenced in the inter-war period. Most of the new estates occurred in a band 5 to 6 km from the City centre, on the periphery of the built up areas, with the majority (60%) of the public housing in the south-west sector of the City, mainly in Wester Hailes (Richardson 1975). Public housing came to dominate the peripheral areas of Edinburgh. A consequence of the peripheral housing was the relocation of the working class from the inner city over the entrenched middle-class bungalow dweller, leaving the poorest, the elderly and the disabled in the inner city (Edinburgh Corporation 1974). Socially, relocation was the most significant development through the century, with the professional and manual groups highly segregated in their respective housing areas (Furbey 1972 p 11). Through this period the population numbers increased slightly until the mid-1960s, followed by a slow decline, leaving an above average number in the older age group (City of Edinburgh District Council 1977 p 18).

As with the First World War, the Second World War accelerated social and economic change. An idealistic national outlook and popular resolve found an expression in the election of the Labour Government in 1945 (Thompson 1963 p 248). The coalition of the war years had shown Labour leaders in power and gave the Labour party the opportunity to rehearse social reforms pending cessation of hostilities. The Education Act of 1944 followed by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 were the first major pieces of legislation. By 1951, the Labour Government had nationalized credit, power, and transport, and created the Welfare State, covering health, insurance, housing and planning legislation, in addition to education. The fifteen year period from 1945 to 1960 saw the evolution from the supportive Welfare State to a period of relative affluence and cultural elaboration (Thompson 1969 pp 258-285).



The Second World War marked a division in social experience, through an accentuation of the cultural gap between age groups. By the 1960s, school leavers were able to support themselves financially (Mitchison 1978 p 163), producing an affluence among the young previously not experienced. Wealth redistribution, in the post-Second World War period, effected all sections of society with the poor, women and youth as the main beneficiaries. The young, with the least family and financial responsibilities, were able to develop, through their newly-acquired economic strength, their own interests and forms of expression. Combined with the increased proportion of the population through the post-war 'bulge' and an increased educational attainment, the young developed new values, sustained through a youth-orientated leisure industry, with 'pop' music the main expression. The mid-1960s saw this expression reach its "frenetic peak" (Booker 1970 p 9). 'Pop' music, combined with a distinctive life-style and appearance, provided the shared experiences among the young, with "International understanding of the same tune, the same moustache and the same blue jeans" (Cook 1980 p 44). The apparent commonality of expression, categorized as youth culture (Coleman 1971), did not produce a classlessness as a result of the new leisure patterns in the 1960s, through a 'romantic' socialism as recorded by Booker (1970) or through a new social consciousness as predicted by Reich (1970). Class factions, rooted in accumulative social experience, remained within a complex cultural system combining social class values, the media (television, newspapers and journals) and mass entertainments (Murdock 1975 pp 119-132). The period, though, did produce a new cultural form in the 'pop-music' concert, with the concert by the Rolling Stones in the Usher Hall in Edinburgh in 1963, the first of many in the City enjoyed by youthful audiences.

The 1960s was a relatively prolific and expansionist period in the arts. The developments were inter-related and were concerned about increased public access to the arts. These

included the Civic Theatre movement and the provision of provincial theatres by the local authority (Elsom 1971); the related formation of subsidized repertory theatre companies; the establishment of subsidized national centres in London with the example of the National Theatre Company formed in 1962; the social relevance of theatre with productions directed towards the poorer sections of the cities such as the companies run by Roger Planchand in Lyon and Joan Littlewood in the east end of London, (Lane 1978 p 11); the increased output of, outlets for, and experimentation in, painting, sculpture and the performing arts (Levin 1970 c 18); the community arts projects for the participation by the immediate community in creative leisure activities, with the Great Georges Project in Liverpool by Bill and Wendy Harpe the pioneering centre (Lane 1978 p 17); and the appreciation of the film as an art form with the opening of the subsidized National Film Theatre in London. The necessity to subsidize the arts from public funds for their development and increased public access was recognised politically not only in the appointment of a Minister for the Arts and formation of the Arts Councils, but also in the Labour Government's White Paper, A Policy for the Arts (1965). Edinburgh saw from the mid-1960s the establishment of a set of cultural institutions, reflecting these developments, as subsidized non-profit making organizations by the public and voluntary sectors: a Civic Theatre, a repertory theatre company, an experimental club theatre, community arts workshop, and festivals, six new art galleries including a national gallery for modern art, a film theatre, national opera and ballet companies, and the 7.84 Company providing 'socially-relevant' theatre productions in local communities, (Lane 1978 p 34). The Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama (which had commenced in 1947) sustained interest in the arts with the Edinburgh Festival Fringe displaying many of the innovations in the arts through the 1960s (Moffat 1979) while the official programme provided standards of excellence and contemporary interpretations of established opera, drama and ballet productions.

Two other developments characterized the 1960s: the growth of participation sports in urban areas (Burton 1970 p 36) and "the remarkable expansion of audiences" for television and other mass-media (Williams 1968 p 31). By the mid-1970s in Edinburgh participation sport was second only to television-viewing in popularity: Table 1 shows that participation sport accounted for 13.8% and television-viewing 16.0% of all leisure activities. The aggregate figure for participation sport concealed the large differences by age and the importance of sport for the young as a leisure activity: swimming, indoor sports (e.g. badminton and squash), tennis and other sports, excluding golf and bowling, among the young exceeded television-viewing in popularity (Appleton 1976). The organization of sports had been mainly the function of the voluntary sector. The increased demand, and the prestige nature of sport internationally demonstrated at such events as the Commonwealth and Olympic Games, prompted political interest: the Wolfenden Committee (1960) in their report Sport and the Community recommended the appointment of a Minister for Sport and formation of a Sports Council to co-ordinate public funds directed towards sports organizations and facilities. The first Minister of Sport was appointed in 1962 and the Sports Council of Great Britain was founded in 1965.

The 1960s further saw the growth of social recreation (Burton 1970 p 30), seen in the number of restaurants, popularity of the public house, and the addition of social clubs and social provision in sports and special-interest clubs in Edinburgh. The 1960s was a decade of expansion of leisure provision with new and evolving cultural institutions and agencies. The decade saw urban renewal projects within cities, including Edinburgh, and the investment by the commercial and public sectors in city centre expansion, providing increased office, retail and hotel accommodation, and university and hospital developments. The physical expansion and renewal of the City was not sustained, with the 1970s a period of consolidation and economic recession.

TABLE 1: POPULARITY OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES AMONG THE  
POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE IN 1976

	%	%
HOME-BASED ACTIVITIES	42.7	
Television		16.0
Reading		11.0
Knitting		3.1
Gardening		3.0
Sewing & handicrafts		2.8
Listening to music		2.5
Do-it-yourself		1.0
Listening to radio		1.0
Other home-based activities		2.3
FRIENDS IN THEIR HOME	6.4	
HOBBIES		
Photography, drawing and painting		1.5
Playing musical instruments and singing		1.2
Other hobbies		1.8
PARK VISITS AND WALKS	7.8	
PARTICIPATION SPORTS	13.8	
Swimming		2.9
Golf		2.6
Indoor Sports		2.2
Bowling		1.2
Tennis		1.2
Other outdoor sports		4.4
SPECTATOR SPORTS	1.8	
INDOOR GAMES	1.0	
TRIPS IN COUNTRYSIDE	6.0	
CLUB ACTIVITIES	2.8	
EATING OUT	0.5	
DRINKING	2.3	
DANCING	2.0	
BINGO	1.1	
CINEMA	2.2	
THEATRE & CONCERT HALL	1.8	
MUSEUM, ART GALLERIES & LIBRARIES	0.8	
CHURCH & RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS	0.8	
TRAVELLING	0.8	
ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES	0.4	

Source: Edinburgh Leisure Household Survey, 1976  
by I. Appleton.

## The Commercial Sector

The growth area during this period for the commercial sector was the provision of restaurants. The number of restaurants in Edinburgh rose from seventy-eight in 1945 to over two hundred in the late 1970s. Dining out discerningly became an acceptable form of evening leisure activity, with the 1960s experiencing the particular rise in the number of restaurants in Edinburgh. The rise followed not only the increase in social recreation but also reflected the growth in the number of summer visitors to the City.

The extent and quality of the restaurants were influenced by the Chinese and Italian 'invasions' of the early 1960s. The first Chinese restaurant had opened in Chambers Street in 1936, but the first large restaurant was established in 1960, The Rendezvous in Queensferry Street. By 1977, 12.5% of all the restaurants were classified as Chinese. But the main ethnic restauranteurs were from the Italian community or of Italian origin, which provided 21.7% of the total number of restaurants in 1977. Restaurants providing specialist foods (Indian, French, Armenian and Anatolian) accounted for 8.4% of the total. A further 26.1% of the restaurants were owned by individuals, so that over two-thirds (68.7%) of the restaurants throughout Edinburgh were in individual ownership. Restaurants, especially those developed around native cooking and restauranteur skills by incoming groups, became a relatively easy method for an individual to form their own small business, for those prepared to work hard, bear unsocial hours, and who had access to capital. Initially the Chinese community obtained capital in the early 1960s from London sources, followed by local support from the growing Chinese community and then from the banks. A similar pattern occurred with the Italian community. The acquisition of capital by individuals was more forthcoming for restaurants than, for example, public houses, throughout this period.



The overall growth rate of public houses reduced through this period. The number of public houses fell from 1945 to 1960 from 510 to 478 before rising again in the 1960s to a peak of 535 in the 1970s. The rise coincided with the change in public houses from the chauvinistic and dour drinking establishments to the social acceptance of females frequenting public houses, a re-design of the interiors with carpeting, lounge seating and television sets (simulating the comforts of home) and, in the case of the centrally-located public houses, an identifiable character, such as The Burke and Hare. The 1960s saw an adjustment of the ownership patterns of public houses and hotel lounge bars with an increasing number owned by the breweries. The licensed premises became the sole outlet for their product. By 1977, over two-thirds (67.4%) were owned by breweries, with the remaining provision owned by individuals and non-brewery companies.

Major relaxations of the restrictive legislation covering the sale of alcohol took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Until the early 1960s, no alcoholic drink could be sold on a Sunday in Scotland to the public in general or as a member of a private club (Temperance Act of 1913). With the passing of the Licensing (Scotland) Act of 1962, the selling of alcoholic drink on a Sunday in lounge bars of hotels (supposedly to bone-fide travellers) and registered private clubs became legal. The result was the opening to non-residents of lounge bars in hotels on a Sunday, in addition to the other days of the week. The sale of alcohol on a Sunday also encouraged an increase in the number of private licensed clubs.

Furthermore, the Licensing (Scotland) Act of 1976 allowed all licensees, in public houses or private clubs, to stay open until 11 p.m., as opposed to 10 p.m., and if necessary, to extend their licensing hours until midnight and/or all day opening. In the case of public houses, the licensees could open their premises on a Sunday. During the latter

part of the 1970s, the existing licensed premises adjusted to the conditions offered by the new legislation.

The period 1960 to 1980 saw legislation liberating the public house from the constricted Victorian traditions, the further erosion of the influence of the church over Sabbath observance, the social emancipation of women, the adjustment of the public house to counter attractions including the comfort of the home, and also a consumer reaction against the standardized interiors and products of the larger breweries. The reaction prompted the introduction of interior decoration unique to a specific public house and saw the establishment, from 1971, of the Campaign for Real Ale against the poor standard of beer produced by the larger breweries.

The peak of attendance at cinemas in Edinburgh, as in the rest of Great Britain, was during the period 1945 to 1950, after which attendance figures declined. The major eclipse followed the introduction of television in the 1950s. The Kinematograph Year Book (1954 p 517) showed that annually the average number of visits per head of population had been 34 in 1946, compared with 20 in 1933, demonstrating the predominance of cinema-going as an evening activity beyond the home in the 1930s and 1940s. Decline of interest in cinema as entertainment, as dramatic as its rise, was reflected in the closure of cinema buildings. By 1960, the number of cinemas had reduced to 23 in Edinburgh: the two large cinemas in Princes Street succumbed to other commercial pressures as sites for chain stores (the smaller cinema in Princes Street survived into the 1970s); a small cinema in St. Andrews Square became part of the site for the central bus station and was not replaced within the re-development scheme; a further cinema in the central area, the Rutland, was burnt down and became the site of an office block. Other cinemas were demolished, for example, the Poole's

Synod Hall in Castle Terrace which was pulled down to make way for a new opera house (although the opera house did not materialize); some changed their use such as the Tudor Cinema in Stockbridge, which became a warehouse after a short period as a prize bingo hall; some lay empty such as the Playhouse in Leith Walk as commercial interests, pressure groups and the local authority determined its future use; some were converted into Bingo Social Clubs such as the Tivoli in Dalry Road. Appendix 3 tabulates the history of the cinema buildings in Edinburgh, and subsequent use on closure.

The decline of the cinema also coincided with the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960, which legitimized Bingo Social Clubs and accelerated the change of use of many cinemas. At first the cinema owners alternated weekly between bingo and the showing of films until the cinema building was converted for bingo as the primary function. On closure and with the threat of demolition some cinemas were listed as buildings of historic architectural interest, thereby preventing demolition and restricting their function to those requiring an auditorium: the Playhouse Cinema was an example. There remained in 1977 only seven commercial cinemas in Edinburgh, with the number of seats available falling from 45,000 in 1939 to 8,108, with the traditional cinema audience attracted more to the convenience of television viewing at home. The social pattern changed with the decline from the regular weekly visits to the occasional visit. The contraction of the film industry also produced a contraction in the cinema size itself, with the shells of larger auditoria subdivided into two or three cinemas, and the more exotic names of cinemas changed to a more functional description such as Film Centre. The subdivisions allowed management to offer a more diverse programme within the multi-auditoria complex, as audience tastes became more selective. Popular films became not necessarily shown to large audiences within a week's duration but to smaller audiences over an extended period of time. In Edinburgh, as elsewhere, an ownership

pattern emerged with three categories of commercial cinema: the cinema or cinema complex owned by a large nationally-based company also controlling distribution of new films (and, in the case of the Rank Organization, the making of films) (Rhodes 1979 p 382); the independent cinema re-showing films first shown in cinemas owned by the centralized companies; the independent cinema showing mainly the non-commercial films.

The Betting and Gaming Act of 1960 legalized gaming in licensed clubs, within specific controls over the access to, and running of, such premises and under the jurisdiction of the local gaming board. The most spectacular consequence of the Act was the rise of bingo. By the end of the 1960s, there were some 14 million players weekly in Great Britain (Wren and Appleton 1974 p 153). By 1977, in Edinburgh, the number of visits to a Bingo Social Club exceeded cinema visits: there were 2,427,900 person/visits compared with 1,727,936 person/visits to cinemas in 1977. There were twelve Bingo Social Clubs in 1977, of which seven were converted cinemas, four were converted dance halls and one was a converted theatre. Existing commercial entertainment buildings were able to be adapted at modest cost into Bingo Social Clubs. Bingo was an inexpensive pastime for the player, requiring no real skill while offering social contact combined with the potential of winning: for the operators bingo proved easy to organize and was profitable. The clubs were owned by three types of commercial organization: the large nationally-based companies (Mecca, Top Rank, and Ladbrokes), local medium-size companies and individuals. The Empire Palace, the largest of the Clubs, was bought by Mecca Bingo Ltd., and opened as a Bingo Social Club in 1963. First known as the Empire Casino Club and later as a Mecca Social Club, the membership stood at 25,000 before opening night. The manager, Mr. T. Proctor, stated that, in 1963 (Edinburgh Evening News 6.9.1963):

"It is a social centre with a little flutter thrown in. We are providing all possible amenities for our members, including seven new buffets, and we will be putting on charity shows".

The Betting and Gambling Act of 1960 also legitimized and controlled casinos: the Royal Chimes Casino Club and the Carriage Club in Edinburgh opened following the 1960 Act in the New Town.

During and after the second World War, dancing retained its popularity. The evolution of dance saw formal dancing almost superseded by various dances which responded more spontaneously to the rhythm of the music. Heralded by rock-and-roll in the late 1950s, consolidated by the era of the Beatles and other 'pop'-music groups in the 1960s, 'beat' clubs began to appear in most large towns and cities, in cellars and other premises converted into clubs where the clientele could dance and listen to 'pop' music. The large formal dance bands were replaced by the live 'pop'-music groups, which, in turn, were replaced by the gramophone record as the source of dance music and the discotheque was established. The larger dance halls suffered a decline of business as a consequence of this development. Keir (1966 p 550) has claimed that in Edinburgh the decline also coincided with the rise of television ownership, but the main effect of television ownership seemed more to discourage the older age groups from an evening dancing, with the 'beat' clubs and discotheques closely associated with the younger age groups.

The Palais de Danse closed in 1966. Mecca Ltd., claimed that 14 million people had danced at the Palais between 1946 and 1966 and in their final year 10,000 visited the hall in a week (Edinburgh Evening News 27.1.1966). Immediately after the closure, Mecca Ltd., opened the building as a Bingo Social Club. The Plaza closed in 1965 (and remained empty), the New Cavendish closed in 1971 (opened again as Clouds, the discotheque), the Locarno closed in 1963 (opened later as a Bingo Social Club) and the Marina was demolished after its



closure in 1958 to become a site for the S.M.T. Garage. In addition to Clouds, four discotheques opened in the late 1960s and early 1970s, each located in the central area: the Americana in 1967 (in a converted warehouse), Tiffany's in 1967 (in a converted bingo hall), Flannigan's in 1967 (in a converted basement) and Valentino's in 1973 (in a converted theatre, the Palladium). Two dance halls though continued, the Inchview and Stewarts, owned by individuals, and were still operating in 1977 but both were anticipating closure on the retirement of their respective owners.

In 1945, the commercial sector owned the Theatre Royal, the Royal Lyceum Theatre, the Kings Theatre, the Empire Theatre and the Palladium. By 1977, these theatres had been either destroyed, sold, or had their use changed. The first casualty was the Theatre Royal which burnt down in 1946 and was not rebuilt. The Royal Lyceum Theatre and the Kings Theatre, both owned by Howard and Wyndham Ltd., continued as venues for touring companies, usually London-based. Together, with the other provincial theatres owned by this company in Scotland and the north of England, these two theatres became financial liabilities as audience numbers declined, cost of touring increased, fewer performers were prepared to tour and the alternative attraction of television took both audience and performers. Howard and Wyndham Ltd., embarked on a policy to sell all of their theatres; most were sold as sites for office development. The Royal Lyceum Theatre was first purchased by Meyer Oppenheim, a local property developer, for re-development as an office block. After an abortive attempt to produce a joint scheme with the local authority, with projects incorporating both an office block and a new theatre, Oppenheim sold the Royal Lyceum Theatre to the City. The Kings Theatre was also purchased by the local authority after various prospective purchasers and proposed re-development schemes. The Empire Theatre was sold to Mecca Bingo Ltd., in 1963. The Palladium continued the Scottish variety tradition, with new acts and regulars not attracted to radio and television. This

theatre survived until 1973, when after considerable alterations, the building became a discotheque and bar.

The heydays of the spectator sports enclosures, the football stadia and Powderhall Greyhound stadium, were the 1950s and early 1960s. After which numbers attracted to football and greyhound racing fell, coinciding with the increase of television viewing, private car ownership, the five-day week releasing the Saturday morning for leisure activities and the suburban developments. The travel distance to grounds increased, the clear week-end and car ownership meant an increase of day trips to the countryside, and more ambitious journeys previously constrained by lack of time meant patronizing the more successful clubs, in the case of football, located some distance from residential areas (Department of Education and Science 1968 p 41). While the football grounds in Edinburgh had been progressively improved to the benefit of both spectator and player, the actual comfort levels for the spectator <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ not able to match the comfort, privacy and convenience of watching a professional football match on television at home. The 1956/57 season was the peak of attendances at the home league games in Edinburgh at the grounds of the two professional football teams, Hibernian Football Club and the Hearts Football Club. The total figure for the 1956/57 season was 714,000. By the 1964/65 season the number was down to 413,000 and by 1976/77 the number had decreased to 180,798. In addition to declining numbers, the two teams experienced declining fortunes such that by the end of the 1979/80 league both teams were in the second of the football league. Professional football had not been seen as a business as with other forms of commercial leisure, with the need to make a profit comparable or better than an alternative investment. Investors had been influenced by the prestige benefits accrued from being associated with a professional football team, especially if successful. Tom Hart, for

example, the largest shareholder of the Hibernian Football Club, contributed £200,000 of his own money to support the team in the 1979/80 season, including the payment of George Best to assist avoiding, although unsuccessfully, their relegation. The two clubs, as experienced by most other Scottish Clubs, made an operating loss, and relied on ground advertising, receipts from supporters' clubs and transfer fees of players to English clubs, in addition to an annual contribution from the Scottish League which received its finance from the Football Pools. The supporters' clubs through raffles and bingo raised up to 30% of the receipts per match and therefore were an important element in the finances of the two football clubs, as elsewhere (Department of Environment 1968 p54). The Hearts Football Team spawned six supporters' clubs in the post-war period with a combined membership of 2,900 in 1977, while the single Hibernian Supporters' Club, which had opened pre-war, boasted an active membership of 3,000 in the same year. In spite of the increased contribution of outside funding over the gate receipts, the professional clubs in Edinburgh experienced financial deterioration. The financial insecurity of professional football in general since the mid-1960s occurred at a time when the standard of play reached a high level, the financial rewards for the players were at their highest by far (although a contributing factor to the operating loss) and public interest in the professional game had expanded if measured by the numbers watching football on television, with the World Cup the peak of interest (Department of Environment 1968 p 34). While classified as commercial, the football clubs in Edinburgh as with most in Scotland had not been run as a business but more as a collective activity of the working class and the board consisting of those members of the traditional support who had achieved a financial success. Two clubs in Scotland though, St. Mirren and Aberdeen, had employed business consultants in the late 1970s with the result that various marketing techniques were adopted to attract visitors, the ground provision for spectators was improved and fund-raising activities carried out, e.g. a

tour of the U.S.A., which had produced financial solvency and also football success, mainly since the clubs could retain their better players, and Aberdeen won the Premier League in 1979/80. The Edinburgh Clubs continued their traditional social role and financial arrangements, and while improvements had been carried out, poor public facilities still characterized their grounds.

In contrast to professional football in Edinburgh, greyhound racing was organized as a business. The Powderhall Greyhound Stadium continued after the Second World War. The promoting body invested £100,000 in the late 1950s on improvements to the stadium for their patrons. By 1966, public facilities included covered grandstands, seating, coffee bars, five public bars, tote facilities and a glass-fronted restaurant over-looking the track in the club section, where dining out and betting could be combined. A further glass-fronted restaurant was opened in 1970. These added attractions prolonged rather than arrested the decline of attendance figures: the peak attendance was in 1965 after which numbers receded. The decline was less dramatic than with cinema and football: the total number of visits in 1965 was 450,000 while the number in 1977 was 295,000.

Ice hockey, and also ten-pin bowling, were two leisure customs imported from North America into Britain in the late 1950s by the commercial sector: both of these lasted only a few years. In Edinburgh, the Murrayfield Ice Rink opened in 1955 by a consortium of businessmen for primarily professional ice hockey, with the local team, the Royals, composed of Canadians (Keir 1966 p 540), but by 1963, the public interest had fallen away. The rink became a venue for leisure skating and instruction. Ice skating continued through the 1960s and 1970s as a popular activity with the numbers receding only marginally in the 1970s, attracting

355,000 person/visits in 1977. The management though had not improved the physical attractions since the opening, with only the addition of live 'pop'-music groups in the 1960s to interest younger age groups. The Haymarket Ice Rink continued as a centre for curling.

While the major companies were consolidating their interests by the reduction in the number of facility types, and/or taking over small enterprises, the opportunity remained within the commercial sector for the individual or small company to open businesses providing a diversity of leisure activities seen in Edinburgh during the early 1970s, in the opening of five sauna clubs, seven art galleries, a billiard club and a wax museum.

#### Voluntary Sector

The number of voluntary organizations with their own premises continued to rise during this period, especially during the 1960s. The concentration was on social provision.

Following the ending of hostilities in 1945, only four further services' clubs, beyond the existing seventeen were formed, unlike the large number after the First World War. These were the Royal Signals Club, the Royal Waggoners Club and two clubs for Polish servicemen. Edinburgh had housed one of the headquarters of the Polish contingent, fighting with the British Army. After the War, many Poles remained, forming a small community within the City, to which others leaving Poland for political reasons in the late 1940s joined. A further consequence of the Second World War was the geographic displacement of the Ukrainians, with their dispersal among Western cities including Edinburgh. The first of two clubs for the Ukrainian fraternity opened in 1945, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and the second in 1954, the Edinburgh Ukrainian Society.



As the War years receded so the membership of all the servicemens' clubs started to diminish. In the 1960s membership categories were generally expanded to include first dependents of servicemen and then a percentage of non-services-related members to ensure continuation of these social clubs. The servicemens' clubs became particularly active with the majority contributing to the welfare of their members and families in addition to providing licensed facilities and social events. The social role of the Masonic Lodges was also developed during this period. Each of the Lodges provided social facilities, with all but one licensed, for their all-male membership. The Edinburgh Masonic Club opened in 1956 to provide social activities for all Masons in Edinburgh with licensed facilities open all day, daily.

The main characteristic of this period though was the opening of a number of licensed social clubs for a membership drawn from a particular place of work or type of work. Fourteen of twenty such social clubs were formed, and most of the pre-War clubs experienced a membership increase. The majority of the new clubs were for union members working within the public sector, such as railway men, dockers, boilermakers, postmen, prison officers, public transport workers and firemen. The nature of shift work encouraged clubs to be open all day. A social club was opened in 1964 in the central area by the Edinburgh and District Trades Council, available for all trade unionists: the facilities of this club were extensive including two bars, a ballroom and nine function rooms, with drama performances from the 7.84 Theatre Company and the West London Theatre Workshop, events for the elderly and the young, and annual holidays arranged for its members mainly to mid-European countries. The number of social clubs related to a type of work reflected the increased role of the trade union movement in the post-Second World War period, and a collective identification by their members with their union and place of work (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 136, Whyte 1960): the membership of these

social clubs was predominately for men only, historically defined through the nature of the work, but in most cases providing activities for all members of the family as well as social facilities, events and indoor games. One of the larger employers, the Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd., provided their employees with their own licensed social club in 1973, the Tartan Sports and Social Club and the membership rose to 4,500, making the club the second largest in Edinburgh, calculated by membership. Their facilities were purpose-designed and provided a lounge for 350 with a resident band and a bar, two sports halls for squash, basket ball, badminton, tennis and weight lifting, and two separate bars. Dances, cabarets and bingo sessions were held weekly and activities organized for the young and the elderly of the employees' families. The club was well-used throughout the whole day, with sports facilities hired by the local school during week day mornings. The three Miners' Welfare Clubs, established in the 1920s, expanded their membership and facilities substantially during the 1960s, so that by 1977 the total number was 3,550. The Jewel Miners' Welfare Society expanded its facilities in the early 1960s to provide, as stated in their constitution, "social and welfare activities for the whole family" and was able to offer bowling, dominoes, darts, cribbage, lunch clubs for the elderly, parties, dances, bingo and entertainments, with a section for youth activities. The popularity of this, and the other two clubs was reflected in the membership waiting lists, of which each club was able to boast.

The development of a social club related to a type of work followed a certain progression: their initiation assisted by the financial backing from a trade union or employer; continued financial support by membership subscription and expenditure over time; expansion of membership and financial independence from the parent organization; then, for some clubs, complete independence from the parent organization, allowing, if necessary, an open membership. Examples of the latter development included two clubs

opened in the early 1960s, for the drivers employed by the British Motor Company and also the three miners' social clubs: these five clubs became open clubs in the 1970s. The decline of the parent organization, such as the closure of the pits in the case of the miners' social clubs, prompted open membership to sustain and increase membership, and retain the clubs' existence. The Edinburgh Drapers Athletic Association, opened in 1952, was a further example of a social club initially associated with a union which became independent: in spite of a sporting title, billiards was the closest athletic activity of this social club. The Bonnington Social Club opened in 1969, and the Gorgie Social Club opened in 1967, both serving distinct areas of the City. These two clubs had opened as railwaymen's clubs, with their respective members eventually purchasing the buildings. Their buildings have been consistently altered. Membership at both clubs was at the maximum, with each operating a waiting list. A similar social club, the Victoria Club, financed by the Club and Institute Union, was opened in 1960 as another all-male social club.

Two other work-related clubs were for employees within the public sector: the civil servants and the academic community of Edinburgh University. The largest club in Edinburgh, defined by membership, was the Civil Service Sports Association which provided social facilities for its 6,000 members, reflecting the large number employed in the various government departments in the City (City of Edinburgh District Council 1977 p 33). The social club had opened in 1900 but had experienced membership increase since 1950. The Edinburgh University Staff Club opened as a mixed club in 1958, as a social facility initially only for academic staff but for non-academic categories over time. The opening coincided with the closure of the all-male University Club in Princes Street (which had amalgamated with the New Club), and the major physical expansion of the University.

These social clubs associated with a place of work reflected

aspects of the employment profile of the City (City of Edinburgh District Council 1977 p 33) with a concentration on the larger manual groups in the service industries. The professions were noticeably absent from the list of social clubs related to a specific place of work. Traditionally lawyers frequented the New Club, engineers tended to congregate in the rugby and other sports clubs, and architects were seen to join the Scottish Arts Club, while golf clubs absorbed the social interest of the professional groups, with the social activities for those in the private sector associated with the nurturing of business contacts.

The New Club in Princess Street remained the epitamy of the well-established gentlemen's 'select' club in the centre of the City. Within a heirarchy of clubs defined in terms of their social status, the New Club retained its upper position. This club, along with the Muirfield Golf Club (located outwith the Edinburgh boundary) developed an exclusiveness of membership through recruitment by invitation and recommendation to a membership committee. The committee had the powers of vetting and, if necessary, vetoeing applications. The New Club further emphasised its exclusiveness by being the most expensive in terms of annual subscription fee. In the 1960s, the 'select' centrally-located clubs began to experience financial difficulties and the New Club was not exempt from this pattern. Income from subscriptions and purchases within the club by membership was failing to cover expenditure such as rates, heating and staff costs: the failure became more acute through the 1970s as inflation increased and members became more reluctant to pay more in the way of subscription, and reduced expenditure at the clubs. The financial situation produced amalgamation, closure or movement to new premises. The New Club amalgamated with the University Club in 1958, under the name of the New Club and, for a short period, in the premises that had been occupied by the University Club, while the old New Club site was redeveloped with shopping facilities on the

ground floor and first floor and the new facilities for the Club on the upper three floors with the frontage on to Princes Street. A residential block was located at the rear. These purpose-built facilities provided three dining rooms, two bars, a lounge, a music room, a billiard room, three function rooms and an indoor swimming pool. The sale of the Old University Club site paid for the new building with the two floors of shopping facilities contributing to the financial arrangements. The premises of the Ladies Caledonian Club in Charlotte Square, was sold to commercial interests and the club moved to considerably smaller premises in an adjacent but less prestigious street in 1978. The Queens Club in Frederick Street moved along the same street but to smaller premises. The Scottish Liberal Club in Princes Street closed down and the Scottish Conservative Club vacated its premises in Princes Street, amalgamating with the Royal Scots Club in Abercromby Place in the late 1970s. The Scottish Arts Club had been tentatively considering allowing female members to stop the decreasing membership. The Royal Overseas League also moved into redeveloped premises along from their original facility in Princes Street, with, as in the case of the New Club, shopping facilities on the ground and first floors. The Royal Overseas League at the same time changed its policy, to allow local membership (previously restricted to expatriots), to increase use. So within a decade the Victorian and Edwardian 'select' clubs in the New Town had adjusted their policy, considered radical changes or for financial reasons amalgamated and/or provided themselves with new facilities. The Royal Scots Club (incorporating the Scottish Conservative Club) which had been founded as a tribute to those who fell in the First World War had developed as a gentlemen's social club. While the association with the regiment remained only in name as the wars receded and membership became less concerned with past and present Royal Scots, this club emerged in the 1970s as the main status competitor to the New Club in Edinburgh.



The closure of the Scottish Conservative Club and Scottish Liberal Club in Princes Street had meant the removal of the social clubs based on political affiliation located on prestige sites and of the monuments of Tory and Liberal political strength nationally of the nineteenth century. The Conservative Party though continued with the provision of local clubs located within the parliamentary constituencies. The population extension within the south-west sector of the City had prompted the Conservative Party to open a further club in this area. With their clubs, established pre-war, the Conservatives by 1977 were able to provide social facilities for 13,294 members, although many of these were not active socially. The Labour Party had never provided social facilities and continued to use local meeting places for their meetings, including the Keir Hardie Hall and the William Graham Memorial Hall. The Edinburgh Communist Party had had a social club since 1922 located in the south side of Edinburgh, and boasted 450 card-carrying members by 1977. The Scottish National Party had a single small and licensed club provided by local initiative in Portobello.

The category of general social club during this period covered two contrasting groups: those regarded as the old 'select' social clubs, located mainly in the central area for predominately the professional classes, which had been founded in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and those regarded as the working men's clubs of which most had opened in the post-Second World War period. A sense of working class identity, as opposed to middle class emulation, had its roots in the nineteenth century with specific institutions such as the trade unions, Workers' Education Association, co-operatives and so on, and found expression in the working men's social clubs. Such clubs in Edinburgh were mainly for all-male membership drawn from manual workers in the service industries, while providing social and welfare support to the whole family and dependent groups in the community. Drinking was a central activity and an essential component of social intercourse, with the Friday and/or

Saturday evening dance an essential social event and bingo, darts, dominoes and snooker common provision. These clubs, intensely used compared with the 'select' clubs, combined a sectional defence with collective support and had developed a social and financial reciprocity not experienced by other voluntary organizations. During a period of relative affluence combined with the expansion and organization of a number of workers in the public sector, manual workers established and developed their own facilities in a style borrowing rather than emulating elements associated with the 'select' social clubs. Finance was accrued from subscriptions, fund-raising and grants from, for example, breweries for alterations. Parent organizations, including the Club and Institute Union, provided initial capital support. The Club and Institute Union had been founded in 1862 (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 71) to which any workingmen's club could be affiliated. Male union members could use any affiliated club. A distinct working class leisure pattern in the social club was achieved, rejecting commercial and public sectors provision, with the workingmen's clubs acting as a model copied by the majority of the servicemen's clubs and football supporters' clubs. The workingmen's clubs survived more easily the inflationary 1970s, while the 'select' social clubs became vulnerable to economic pressures and diminishing membership. The middle class continued to value individualism, emulation and consumption (Ryder and Silver 1970 p 71) tempered by taxation since 1945 and inflation since 1970, with the 'select' clubs and also the golf, rugby and former-pupil clubs, the centre of social life beyond the home. While the working class had developed a set of distinct institutions based on collectivism with the workingmen's social clubs a continuing example.

The period 1945 to 1980 saw the range of special-interest clubs further expand with topics covering religion, painting,

film-making, languages, geology and miniature railways, and the provision of recreation facilities for handicapped groups. The rate of increase of new sports clubs reduced considerably though compared with previous periods. However, the existing clubs experienced increases in membership and activity dating mainly from the mid 1960s. The additional sports clubs were concerned mainly with sports previously not featured in Edinburgh, including the British Acqua Club which opened in 1957, the Eighth Club (shooting) in 1945, the Compass Adventure Centre (canoeing) in 1960, the Murrayfield Memorial Club (table-tennis) in 1948, the Edinburgh Indoor Bowling Club in 1962 and the Frogston Sports Club (hockey) in 1970. Only one golf club, Silverknowes (1959) and three bowling clubs, Caledonian (1948), Carrickknowe (1957) and Sighthill (1948) opened during this period. The open Corstorphine Rugby Football Club was founded in 1968 but no tennis club was to open in the post-Second World War period. The Colinton Castle Sports Club, a squash club with licensed facilities, was the last sports club to open, in 1974, during the study period. From 1960, bowling clubs tended to change their character, from the provision of a simple changing pavillion, in addition to the green, to the inclusion of social facilities. The inclusion of a bar appeared to ensure full membership, increased socializing and encouraged winter use. The largest bowling club emerged as the Banfield Bowling and Social Club with provision including a bar lounge, a separate lounge and changing facilities, an indoor bowling hall so that members could continue with the game, albeit indoors, in winter. This club offered a wide range of social, recreational and also welfare activities and became the largest club not only in Edinburgh but in Scotland with a membership of 1200. The social provision in this and other bowling clubs was based on the workingmen's social club.

The outmoded traditional boys clubs, the uniformed youth groups and the church youth groups, in addition to the increased role of the local education authority in the leisure provision for youth, eroded the voluntary sector's paternal position towards its young, especially in the poorer areas of the City, by the mid-1960s. The new youth did not respond favourably to the traditional voluntary efforts, and the voluntary sector did not fully adjust to the new conditions, with only the church appearing to adapt its youth policy through the 1960s. The geographic displacement of the poorer sections to the peripheral housing estates meant that the Boys' Clubs established in the inter-war years in the Old Town, the inner-city areas and Leith experienced a decline of membership and closure.

Little initiative came from the voluntary sector over community-related facilities, relying mainly on the local education authority to provide community centres: there were though two notable exceptions in the Craigmillar Festival Society which was formed in 1963 and the Portobello and District Community Association in 1970. The Craigmillar Festival Society provided a comprehensive service for its area: facilities for music, drama, sport and art in addition to running play groups, youth clubs, a lunch club, a day centre for the elderly, an information office and an annual Festival. Craigmillar, the first public housing area in Edinburgh, became an estate of poor reputation, social problems and low community spirit. Borrowing from the success of the Edinburgh Festival and by the early 1960s the growing number of Fringe productions, the local community leaders staged their own festival, from which the various community initiatives evolved. The Craigmillar Festival Society became a recipient of a local authority grant to support its work and in the 1970s received an European Economic Committee grant to support the social activities and expand the work of the Society into the provision of local industries to alleviate unemployment. The voluntary organization in Craigmillar became a model

for other areas in the City, of which the Portobello Association was an example providing its own facilities but limiting its activities to an annual Festival and an information base.

Care for the elderly remained mainly in the hands of the Edinburgh and Leith Old Peoples Welfare Committee (E.L.O.P.W.C.), providing a service in four large centres. In addition to those built pre-war - Dalry House, Margaret Tudor House and Stockbridge House - Lamb's House was completed in 1961 in Leith, with each providing day facilities for the elderly in four of the poorer areas of the City. In 1977, the E.L.O.P.W.C. had a total membership in these centres of 7,200. The E.L.O.P.W.C. facilities were open all day, daily, providing extensive provision for games, social events, bingo, lunch clubs, hobbies and lectures in addition to the welfare services for the elderly such as chiropody and hairdressing.

The facilities of these social welfare groups aimed at the young, community and elderly contrasted with the high quality of provision in the independent schools, which acquired the more specialized indoor facilities for cultural, social and sports activities in the early 1960s. This expansion was due to the increased pressure to educate their pupils for their own leisure time, the matching of the extent of provision in the state schools and, for those with boarders, the need to provide leisure activities during their free time. With the benefit of money mainly raised through former-pupil clubs, the independent schools became particularly well-equipped, e.g. the music facilities at George Watsons, the sports hall and assembly at Daniel Stewarts, and the swimming pool and sports hall at the Mary Erskine School. The use of these facilities was restricted to school groups.



Fourty-five church halls were built in the period 1945 to 1977. Most of these new church halls were built in the 1960s during the period of the expansion of housing on the periphery of the City, in particular, in the public housing estates. The churches constructed church buildings including hall-churches and church halls, financed, in the case of the Church of Scotland, from the National Church Extension Fund (to which each presbytery contributed) acting through the local presbytery. The rapid increase in church building after the mid 1950s often saw first a wooden hut, then a hall-church, before a permanent separate church and hall. The new buildings were built at a time of rigorous economy experienced by the churches and produced a style of architecture reminiscent of the pre-Victorian buildings, with little decoration. In the new housing estates the church hall initially was the primary meeting place for local voluntary organizations, prior to the construction of community centres by the local education authority. The new housing areas tended to have a younger than average population and the halls attracted the young wives clubs and nursery provision, not necessarily directly attached to the church. The use by voluntary organizations strictly attached to the church, generally fell away after 1945 as the interest in church attendance also declined, and alternative attractions drew the youth, in particular, away from the church-related activities towards the commercial and local authority provision. Recent years saw the increased numbers of non-church-related organizations using church halls, with the extent and type dependent upon the attitude of the local Minister or Priest. To retain the interest of youth, the church opened teenage clubs, in the 1960s, fashioned on the coffee bar, which in its commercial form, was a strong attraction for the young during that decade. Four such clubs were opened in Edinburgh usually in the crypt of their respective church buildings, such as the Greenlight Club, Saints and Sinners Coffee Bar, the Coal Pit and Cephas Teenage Rendezvous. The Cephas was initiated by the Council of West End Churches, the grouping of the five

Churches at the West end of Princes Street, and with its guitar players, coffee and juke box attracted the young, not necessarily connected with the church, until the vogue ceased in the late 1960s. Other churches since provided informal coffee areas in their buildings, with the provision not restricted to youth. A further example of the secularization of the church was the Pioneer Club which started in 1964 in Gilmerton run by the local Minister of the Church of Scotland. While not directly of the Church, Christian aims were contained in the objectives of the Club. The organization not only ran a facility but acted as an umbrella association for a variety of other groups in the area. The Pioneer Club continued through the 1970s. The older churches and their church halls, of the Old Town, the districts south and west of the Old Town and in Leith, which, prior to 1945, had served high-density parishes, became virtually deserted by the end of the 1960s, with the movement of the population from these areas to the new peripheral housing estates. The sale of churches and church halls took place, with various new uses for the existing buildings devised, such as warehousing, offices, theatres, electricity sub-stations and shops. Since 1945, seventy church halls of all denominations in the central area of the City and Leith were closed.

The voluntary sector developed a further strand, commencing in the early 1950s with the provision of public facilities covering drama, community arts and art exhibitions. The provision often centred around the personality of its originator. These organizations have been conveniently, if not adequately, classified as voluntary organizations since they were non-profit making by design, hence not commercial, and not part of the public sector although in all but one case, the Netherbow Arts Centre, they received grants from the Scottish Arts Council and local authority. These were:

- a. the Edinburgh Gateway Company, a non-profit making repertory company, which had taken over the Gateway Theatre in 1953 under the guiding hand of Sadie Aitken and contained the core of Scottish actors and actresses later to emerge as the basis of a revival in Scottish Theatre. The Gateway Company was disbanded in 1965. During the twelve years of existence, the company received financial support from central government distributed, at the time, through the Scottish Council of the Arts Council and gave encouragement to new Scottish playwrights (Keir 1966 p 863). The Church of Scotland happened to own the theatre and, until 1960, had not exercised a veto over any proposal by the Gateway Company. The proposed inclusion of a version of Lysistrata by Dudley Pitts roused the veto, with the church commencing to intervene in the management of the Gateway Company, which adversely affected the quality and their role as the centre of Scottish theatre (Keir 1966 p 864). So the Gateway Company folded.
- b. The Traverse Theatre Club, which opened in the Old Town in 1963 under the artistic direction of Jim Haynes, for the presentation of experimental professional drama. The Traverse achieved a success recognised beyond Edinburgh:
- "..... eighty-three World or British premiers were presented at the Club: and a glance at the various programmes reveals the wide-ranging seriousness of the tastes, which were not limited simply to plays which could be quickly labelled avant-garde: Jarry's Ubu Roi, Lawrence's The Daughter in Law, Storey's The Restoration of Arnold Middleton - three British premieres, drawn almost at random from the list. The management brought the La Mama Experimental Theatre to Britain for the first time in 1967, ..... it is, quite simply, the best theatre club in the country" (Elsom 1971 p 193).
- c. The Richard Demarco Gallery, an art gallery which opened in 1962 for contemporary works of art:

"Richard Demarco, art impresario extraordinary, who set the Scottish art scene on its ear back in the sixties with his blatant disregard for convention and protocol, setting up his own gallery, making it a launch pad for publicity-grabbing exhibitions of contemporary art, now a kind of international art forum-theatre that presents people and ideas as much as objects". (Nimmo 1975 p 44).

- d. The Theatre Workshop, a community arts project, which opened in 1965 to provide artistic and creative opportunities to children and adults through weekly sessions with members of the Workshop in topics covering art, drama, music, mime, movement and dance. In addition the Workshop presented professional performances and acted as a base for the resident company to visit schools and community centres. The Workshop was registered as an educational charity and received a grant from the local education authority in addition to financial support from the Scottish Arts Council and the local authority.
- e. the Printmakers' Workshop which had been started in 1967 by Kenneth Duffy for the production and presentation of prints by the printmaking community in Edinburgh, and the 57 Gallery which opened in the early 1960s in Rose Street as an outlet for contemporary art. Both these moved to new premises provided by the Scottish Arts Council in 1974, but remained as independent organizations.
- f. the Edinburgh Film Theatre, which had opened in 1967 under the direction of Murray Grigour.
- g. the Netherbow Arts Centre, which opened in the Old Town in 1972 and was run by the Church of Scotland for drama performances: the only theatre run by a church in Britain. The Gateway Theatre had been run by the Church of Scotland, following the discontinuation of the Gateway Company, attempting to provide a programme of drama but after a short period of time the building

was leased to Scottish Television as their Edinburgh Studios. The Netherbow Arts Centre was seen as a continuation of this tradition of involvement in theatre after the lease of the Gateway. The Church of Scotland took a liberal view of the type of production able to be presented at the Netherbow creating a moral tone rather than direct censorship.

### The Public Sector

During the period 1961 to 1974 the number of public art galleries in Edinburgh increased from two to eight. In 1945, the only public art galleries were the privately-owned Royal Scottish Academy, the National Gallery of Scotland and the National Portrait Gallery, which was owned by a central government department and run by a Board of Trustees. During the 1940s, the Board of Trustees had expressed the need for a Gallery of Modern Art to the Scottish Secretary of State. Accommodation was eventually found in Inverleith House in the centre of the Royal Botanic Garden for a Gallery of Modern Art. With a modest adaptation the House became, in 1961, a suitable, if small, setting for the growing collection of contemporary works of art, and temporary exhibitions. The Trustees noted that the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art was the smallest public gallery anywhere in Great Britain and "probably, the smallest national museum anywhere in the world" (The National Galleries of Scotland 1976 p 3). The Scottish Arts Council, which became an independent agency from the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1967, moved from modest accommodation, as administrative offices in Rothesay Terrace to an elegant terrace in the Georgian Charlotte Square in the New Town. The larger building allowed a public art gallery to be included on the ground floor, known as the Scottish Arts Council Gallery, with a coffee bar in the basement. In addition the Council acquired the Fruit Market Gallery in Market Street. These two galleries in Edinburgh (and one



in Glasgow) were the only outlet for the arts in general directly organized by the Council. The prime function of the Council was the allocation of grants to the major institutions run as non-profit-making bodies. The Fruit Market Gallery was acquired on a long lease in 1974 from Edinburgh Corporation by the Scottish Arts Council. Located adjacent to Waverley Station and in a converted warehouse, the new gallery provided a large space for art exhibitions throughout the year, and also during the important Edinburgh Festival. The gallery was an embodiment of the role of the Scottish Arts Council to provide increased access for the public to the arts (Scottish Arts Council 1975 p 17). Compared with the nineteenth century National Gallery for Scotland and the privately-owned Royal Scottish Academy, this gallery was conceived as a less formal setting appropriate for the display of contemporary works of art.

The acquisition of an art collection was not felt by the local authority to be one of their responsibilities. No expenditure on the purchase of works of art occurred until the early 1960s, and then only through the monetary bequest of 1961 of Miss Jean Watson for the foundation and development of a City of Edinburgh Art Gallery, did the local authority consider that they could extend their services to include such a provision. The first purchase by the local authority was a sculpture by Epstein from the exhibition of his work at the 1961 Edinburgh Festival. In 1963, the Scottish Society of Modern Arts Association donated a collection of 300 paintings to the City. The Society had been founded in 1970 to purchase contemporary paintings, and, with the opening of the National Gallery of Modern Art in 1961, the function of the Society had become obsolete, hence the bequest to the City. When the Royal High School vacated their building (owned by Edinburgh Corporation) on the south side of Calton Hill, the Town Council, considering the civic prominence of the site, decided it was a suitable location for their art collection.

The building re-opened as the City Art Gallery in 1972, but closed again four years later when it was purchased for the sum of £650,000 by the Scottish Office to house the proposed Scottish Assembly. The 1978 referendum, however, did not secure the requisite percentage for devolution, and the building became redundant, although considerable refurbishment work had been effected by that time. In the meanwhile, the local authority had acquired an existing building in Market Street, immediately opposite the Fruit Market Gallery run by the Scottish Arts Council, for conversion into an art gallery for the City collection. The art gallery was opened in 1980.

In addition to the city art gallery, the two decades from 1960 to 1980 saw the increased involvement by local government in Edinburgh in urban leisure policy with a variety of projects:

- a. the prospect of a new theatre, the opera house on the Castle Terrace site, initiated in 1960 which became a public issue for 15 years until, through lack of political and financial support, the proposal was abandoned.
- b. the purchase of the Royal Lyceum Theatre in 1963 and the Kings Theatre in 1968 from the commercial sector, and the conversion of two churches into theatres: the Churchill in 1965, as a theatre for amateur theatre companies, and the Lyceum Little Theatre in 1970, as a studio theatre. The Playhouse Cinema was also purchased as a theatre in 1978.
- c. the establishment of the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company in 1965, as a resident civic repertory company under Tom Fleming and taking the core of the Edinburgh Gateway Company, with the Company receiving grants annually from the local authority and the Scottish Arts Council.

- d. an increased financial support by the local authority (and also from the mid 1960s from the Scottish Arts Council) for the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama. The Festival had been started in 1947 by private initiative, but with political support and a modest grant from the Town Council. By 1960 the scale and aspirations of the annual Festival had increased, spawning the parallel development of the Edinburgh Fringe Festival.
- e. the hosting of the Commonwealth Games in 1970, with the construction of the Meadowbank Sports Centre and Royal Commonwealth Pool primarily for the event but for community use following the Games. The Meadowbank Sports Centre received a government grant on the advice of the Sports Council of Great Britain, the Scottish Sports Council and the Minister of Sport, Dennis Howell.
- f. the provision of community centres, the increased use of school facilities for leisure activities by local groups and, in the late 70s, the initiation of community schools. These projects were developed by the local education authority, who, through the Education Acts from 1945 onwards had become responsible for the leisure provision in suburban areas of the City. The local education authority's position was supported by favourable budget allocation, and central government policy through the Scottish Education Department.
- g. the increased provision and promotion of adult education classes by the local education authority, which co-ordinated their own classes with those provided by Edinburgh University, Edinburgh College of Art and the Workers' Educational Association. Adult education had enjoyed a brief expansion after the 1945 Education Act, but the Education (Scotland) Act of 1964 provided the impetus to expand with classes not equated with liberal studies but also with classes that were vocational, non-vocational, formal, informal and

recreational such as sport and art classes (Lowe 1974 p 146).

- h. the library service continued to provide new branch libraries in suburban housing areas from 1960, with four new buildings in the 1960s and four in the 1970s. The Town Council had approved a supplementary mobile service in 1946, the first in Scotland (Aitken 1971 p 195), with the additional buildings slowly replacing the mobile unit with a permanent service directed towards the new housing areas in the late 1950s and 1960s. The library service produced a series of comprehensive plans for the location of new libraries during this period.
- i. a comprehensive plan for indoor sports centres throughout the City, following the success of Meadowbank Sports Centre and the Royal Commonwealth Pool after the Games. Of the proposed facilities only the Jack Kane Sports Centre in Craigmillar had been built by 1980. The Town Council had acquired in 1955 the Craiglockhart Sports Centre from a voluntary organization: this Centre provided indoor sports facilities for squash, tennis and badminton, and was the premier location for professional lawn tennis tournaments.
- j. a community development programme initiated by the Town Council in 1974, named the 'Social and Community Development Programme', to provide positive discrimination directed towards four areas of the City: Gorgie/Dalry, Central Leith, Pilton and Wester Hailes, with Wester Hailes the first area within the programme.

These projects by local government in the period 1960 to 1980 are developed in the case studies presented in Part Two.

The local authority purchased the Assembly Rooms in 1945 from the voluntary sector and opened two local museums, the Museum

of Childhood in the Old Town in 1955 and the Transport Museum in East London Street in 1961. The Assembly Rooms, in addition to the Usher Hall, Leith Town Hall and Portobello Town Hall, meant that the local authority had four halls for hire by voluntary and commercial organizations. Until 1960 these facilities were hired following a traditional pattern of use: for the Usher Hall, the tradition had been classical music and the occasional public meeting, with the two town halls following the same pattern and the Assembly Rooms the focus of the charity balls by Edinburgh's diminishing society. After 1960, the policy towards the use of these facilities was to increase their profitability. The rise of the British 'pop'-music groups and the demands of use in the late 1950s placed pressure on local authorities to allow 'pop'-music concerts in venues traditionally reserved for classical music. In Edinburgh, commercial touring agencies had their applications consistently refused by the local authority in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Town Council eventually allowed the Rolling Stones to play at the Usher Hall in 1963 and this was not only the first 'pop'-music concert in Edinburgh at such a scale but for many Councillors, and also members of the public, their fears were confirmed. Only an occasional 'pop'-music concert was permitted until the appointment of a new manager in 1965 when the policy was further changed to increase the number of profitable events. From a predominately classical fare restricted to Friday evenings in the winter months, with the Scottish National Orchestra concerts, the Usher Hall became the venue for a range of music and entertainments averaging three evenings a week by the end of the 1970s. The Town Council however remained intransigent regarding their veto on certain entertainments, e.g. wrestling.

The period also saw the increase in the number of meeting places available for hire by local voluntary organizations by the public sector. The expansion of state secondary and tertiary education from 1945 with the construction of



secondary schools, Universities and Colleges of Further Education saw the provision of social, cultural and sports facilities for use by their own academic communities. Most of these facilities were available for hire by local voluntary organizations. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 had made education compulsory with a minimum school-leaving age of 15, and required the construction of further secondary schools in Edinburgh: while the Robbins Report (Robbins Committee 1963) had shown that demand for university places would grow considerably after 1960 as a result of increased numbers and educational attainment at secondary level. The adoption by central government of the recommendations of the Robbins Report meant an increased allocation of funds for the expansion of Edinburgh University and the creation of Heriot-Watt University. The nine Colleges of Further Education in Edinburgh similarly expanded to accommodate increased numbers seeking tertiary education. The expansion of these Colleges included leisure provision, mostly available for hire by voluntary organizations. The local education authority constructed nine new secondary schools and expanded the existing provision to include such facilities as swimming pools and sports halls. Primary schools continued to be located in the new housing areas, with halls and other accommodation available for hire by voluntary organizations during non-teaching hours.

During this period, the public sector increased the number of its leisure facilities in Edinburgh from 81 in 1945 to 251 in 1980, The main concentration of new facilities was in the 1960s. While this growth demonstrated the increased role of the public sector in leisure policy and provision, a closer examination of the contribution by the various departments within the public sector showed that:

Firstly, the majority of the facilities (68.5%) were in educational premises. These leisure facilities were provided indirectly, i.e. the facilities were provided primarily by an educational institution for formal teaching purposes, which were then available for use by the community during non-teaching hours. The schools were the result of obligatory legislation, while the community benefited from the use of teaching spaces available for hire in the various places of further education. The community also gained from the extent of teaching spaces, and the teaching profession, in Edinburgh, which was reflected in the large number of adult education classes (845 in 1977). Furthermore the local education authority, as opposed to the local authority, became the main provider in the public sector of community-related facilities in the suburban areas of the City. The Abermarle Report (Ministry of Education 1960) had provided the stimulus for increased public expenditure on youth and community services, through local education authorities, in the light of increased numbers of young people through the 1950s. By the mid-1970s, twenty-two community centres had been provided by the local education authority.

Secondly, the actual contribution by the local authority was limited, although some facilities were large-scale and specialized, such as the Meadowbank Sports Centre and the Royal Commonwealth Pool. The contribution by the local authority was based on inherited provision mainly the result of benefaction, the acquisition of facilities developed by the voluntary and commercial sectors, and the prestige events of, and associated projects for, the Edinburgh Festival and the Commonwealth Games. Public library provision was the only consistent contribution from the nineteenth century. The Town Council had relied on central government to provide the principal art galleries and museums, with Edinburgh, as the capital City, the location of the national collections.

The policy of restraint over leisure provision and the emphasis during this period on prestige events and projects, by the Town Council, reflected the political culture of conservatism in Edinburgh, and "The atmosphere and outlook of the city.....preponderantly middle-class" (Keir 1966 p 310). Until the 1970s, the Progressives (i.e. Conservatives) had been the sole ruling group in the Town Council. The political tradition of decision-making had included minimizing public expenditure and relying on the voluntary and commercial sectors to provide the majority of leisure facilities, financial incentives to encourage voluntary youth welfare groups and an ad hoc response to prevailing issues. Any major public expenditure by the local authority was mainly as an investment attracting prestige, and visitors, to the City.

Political conservatism traditionally associated with Edinburgh throughout the twentieth century was changed by two events during the 1970s. First was the success in the 1972 local elections of the Labour group with a Labour Provost for the first, and the only, time (1972 to 1975), when leisure policy was directed away from prestige projects towards community-related projects. Second was the re-organization of local government in 1975, replacing the single-tier Edinburgh Corporation with a two-tier Regional and District system. The basis of the re-organization of local government was the Wheatley Report (1969), the outcome of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland which sat from 1966 to 1969. The Edinburgh Corporation was dissolved and two new Councils of elected representatives with separate administrations were formed, producing the Edinburgh District Council, geographically covering an area twice the size of old Edinburgh, and the Lothian Regional Council, covering Edinburgh and three landward Districts. The traditional departments were split between the two tiers, and a new division of recreation and leisure formed at both District and Regional levels. The change had been initiated in the early 1960s at a time of expanding local

government functions with increasing legislation covering local authority responsibilities. The remit of the Royal Commission had been to make local government more effective by combining the benefits of the economy of scale, the requirement to make government less remote and greater monetary efficiency. The proposal had been for personal departments to be at District level and impersonal services such as roads at the Regional level. The actual split was a result of bargaining between internal sectional interests with the original proposal compromised e.g. social work at Regional level as a particular 'people' department, leaving housing at District level. The Wheatley Report (1969) also proposed devolution of financial and policy control to the Regions: instead, although the legislation provided a less specific remit of local authority functions (i.e. a service to satisfy recreation needs rather than swimming pools, theatres, etc., as specific facilities) allowing greater policy flexibility, the legislation placed local government more financially subserviant to central government (Mackie 1978 p 378). The two-tier system produced political and administrative tension, with a ruling Conservative District Council and a Labour Regional Council, and the new departments at each level defining their areas of policy responsibilities. Recreation and leisure, as the only local government function represented at both levels, became the battleground and the opera house debate the initial skirmish. Opportunities were not lost to display the rivalry:

"Duplication of service is of great concern to us, and in addition to this new glossy magazine (referring to a publication on Edinburgh by the recreation and leisure department of the Regional Council) which is already covered by our district one, I understand the regional handbook (is) similar to our civic handbook - again with the emphasis being placed very heavily on Edinburgh" (Councillor Cornelius Waugh, Edinburgh District Council, letter to The Scotsman 6.8.80).

The relationship between the two tiers was investigated by the independent Stodart Committee<sup>1</sup> which considered that Edinburgh and other cities in Scotland should return to their

1. By the completion of this study, the Stodart Committee had only produced an interim submission which was unpublished but released to local authorities for comment.

previous single status. A preliminary consideration not sympathetically received by the Lothian Regional Council.

The process of change had been initiated in the mid-1960s at a time of economic optimism but re-organization appeared an expensive exercise in the mid-1970s at the time of its implementation when local authorities were experiencing cut backs, and changed economic and political conditions. The changing conditions were complex: inflation and economic recession to which excessive government spending in the 1960s had contributed; a dissatisfaction and "disrespect for government resulting from continuing economic crises and the failure of the parties to satisfy the expectations (in the 1960s) they themselves have done so much to raise" (Dewar 1970 p 65); the Scottish National Party becoming the political beneficiary of the dissatisfaction with a peak in 1977 of eleven parliamentary seats; and a Whitehall attention on Scotland resulting in the placatory referendum in 1978 over legislation containing a Scottish Assembly located in Edinburgh and certain devolved powers. As a result of a negative response in the referendum, the legislation was withdrawn. Political attention though during the 1970s had focused on Scotland.

One of the factors contributing to the defeat was the realization by the citizenry that the manifestations of devolution would mean an additional level of government, above the recently-formed two-tier local system, with a proposed further layer of the Community Councils as considered by the Wheatley Report. Another level of political representation had been created when Britain had recently entered into the European Economic Community, with the election of representatives to the European Parliament. Political attention however had been focused on Scotland:

"Yet the details of the political crisis of the 1970s were relatively unimportant compared with the central fact that Scottish identity had emerged surprisingly strong after two and half centuries of political union" (Mackie 1978 p 380).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SUPPLY

Since 1850, Edinburgh had seen the development of distinctive patterns of supply, providing a set of leisure facilities adapted over time and currently enjoyed. This chapter has been planned to give an overview of the relative contribution by the various supplier groups since 1850, to identify the locational characteristics of leisure provision in contemporary Edinburgh, and to summarize the roles of the supplier groups, including the various cultural strands.

1. The extent of, and relative contribution by, each of the supplier groups, voluntary, commercial and public, varied throughout the study period. Diagram 1 summarizes the contribution made by each group, by plotting the opening, and closing, dates of indoor leisure provision in Edinburgh since 1850. The diagram presents the simple number count of the available facilities according to the supplier across time. This method demonstrates the extent and relative position of the supplier groups by the number of facilities, but conceals the size of the facilities, the frequency of use and the pattern of use including visitor numbers. The number count however gives a method of identifying, within available information the broad contribution of each of the providers and their relationships from 1850 to 1977. The source of the information was the inventory of leisure opportunity carried out in 1977, supplemented by historical records. The survey method is summarized in Appendix 1.

The overall number of facilities increased at a faster rate than the population increase (Diagram 1). In 1850, the ratio of facilities to population figure was 1 : 1,571, in 1900 the ratio was 1 : 615, and in 1950 the ratio was 1 : 347. The ratio decrease reflected the growth of leisure time and surplus income experienced by the majority of the

population from 1850, and the response by the various supplier groups.

While the overall numbers increased consistently, the supplier groups did not increase at similar rates. Diagram 1 shows that public house and restaurant numbers developed the most rapidly over the 127 year period, while the number of voluntary organizations with their own premises also rose steadily but less rapidly. Comparable to the contribution by the voluntary organizations was the distribution of church halls, particularly since 1872, but from 1945 the number of halls available for leisure activities diminished from a peak of 242, to 172 in 1977. The reduction in the number of church halls was matched by an increase by the development in the number of meeting places available for hire by voluntary organizations in schools and places of further education, especially in the 1960s. A steady but modest rise in the number of public facilities owned by the commercial sector in the latter half of the nineteenth century, accelerated from 1910, rising through the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, until the decline from the late 1950s. This decline emphasised the commercial sector as the primary casualty of the increase in television ownership. The commercial sector was the main beneficiary of the rise of tourism in the post-Second World period, resulting in the opening of hotels especially from the early 1950s and in a gain for the community, through the increase in the number of function rooms in these hotels available for hire.

The contribution of the public sector towards the stock of public facilities was modest, with the numbers rising only after the Second World War, but never seriously competing with the other sectors. Similarly the number of community centres provided by the local education authority only noticeably rose after 1945. The rate of increase by the public sector peaked in the 1960s.

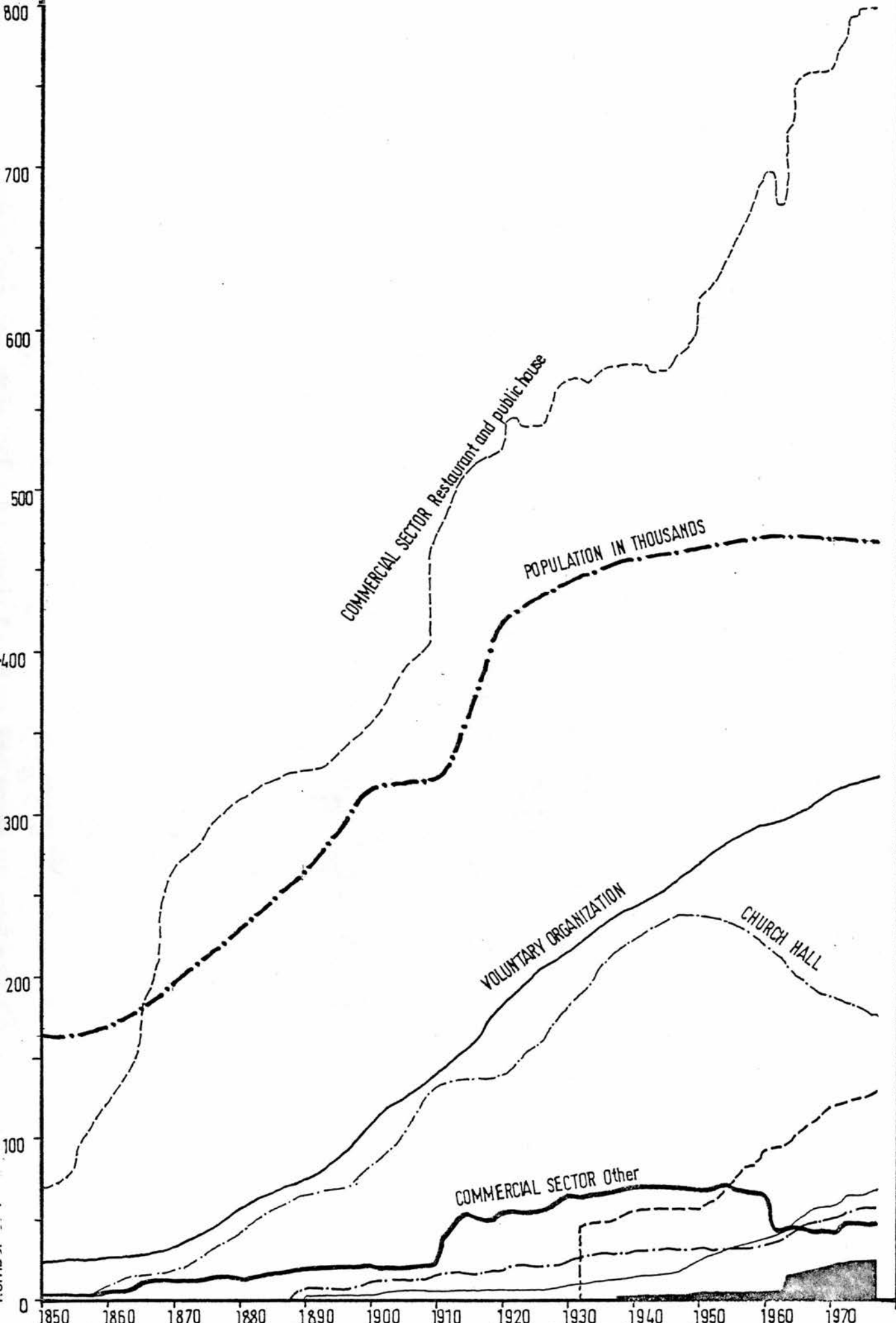






DIAGRAM 1 : Comparison of years facilities opened by provider

 EDUCATION Community centre	 PUBLIC SECTOR Public facility	 COMMERCIAL SECTOR Function room	 EDUCATION School and place of F.E.
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Clearly the commercial sector predominated during the whole of the study period. The proliferation of public houses and restaurants ensured that the commercial sector remained the main contributor at any time. The voluntary sector, with the voluntary organization providing its own facility and the church with its various halls provided facilities throughout the study period only marginally fewer than the total contribution of the commercial sector. The decline of the number of church halls from 1945 was not paralleled by a decline in the number of voluntary organizations, which continued to rise steadily during the post-war period, in spite of population numbers reaching a plateau. The number of voluntary organizations with their own facilities, from 1945, appeared not to be influenced by the number of meeting places available for hire from the local education authority, other educational establishments, and hoteliers.

Voluntary organizations did not vacate their premises in preference to the less-costly hiring of a meeting place and the release from maintenance and other ownership responsibilities, especially during the periods of high inflation. Instead, the rise was part of a general increase in the number of voluntary organizations, with or without their own premises, providing leisure activities for its members (Appendix 1). This rise in the overall numbers of voluntary organizations, started in 1945 with a particular increase in the 1960s.

At no time was the public sector ever a serious challenge to the commercial and voluntary sectors. The early 1960s did see the public sector overtake the commercial sector, in terms of the number of public facilities, with provision including some major facilities such as the Meadowbank Sports Centre, the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the Royal Commonwealth Pool, and the contribution made by educational institutions such as the facilities in schools, places of further education, and the community centres. While each of the three sectors increased their contribution from 1945, Diagram 1 confirms that the most rapid growth was experienced

by the public sector (public facilities, community centres and meeting places) but the public sector still remained the sector supplying the least number of facilities overall. The increased intervention by the public sector had not directly adjusted the contribution by the commercial and voluntary sectors. The decline of the cinema, dance hall and interest in spectator sports coincided with the growth of television audiences, while the decline in the number of church halls coincided with the shift of population from areas well-provided with halls and the decline in interest in formalized religion. The role of the public sector was compensatory and complimentary rather than a direct competitor of the other two sectors.

Table 2 shows that each sector supplied virtually a distinct set of facility types. Only art galleries and theatres appear to overlap sector distinctions. The contemporary pattern of contribution of leisure opportunity is confirmed also in Table 2. The simple measurement of facility numbers by supplier groups emphasised the dominant position of the commercial sector with 921 facilities (54.7%) of all facilities, followed by the voluntary sector with 509 facilities (30.2%) and the public sector with only 251 (14.9%): within the commercial sector, restaurants and public houses were by far the most prolific of the facilities; of the voluntary organizations, the main group was the sports clubs followed by social clubs, while the church provided 172 halls; within the public sector, the local education authority had the larger stock of leisure facilities.

2. Diagram 2 shows that the largest number of facilities were located in the central area, defined as the area 2klm distant from the city centre, containing the Old Town and the New Town: 52.1% of all the facilities were found in the central area. This number gave a ratio of one facility to seventy five persons living within the central area.



TABLE 2: NUMBER OF LEISURE FACILITIES IN 1977 IN EDINBURGH

SECTOR	No. of facilities	Sub Total	%
<b>VOLUNTARY SECTOR</b>			
Voluntary organization			
Social club			
General	17		
Services	20		
Place of work	20		
Football supporter	8		
Political	10		
Old person	7	82	4.8
Special interest			
Sport: golf	25		
bowling	47		
rugby	11		
tennis	13		
other	34		
Youth: uniformed	23		
non-uniformed	15		
Music, drama, etc.	13		
Masonic	19		
Other	39	239	14.2
Church			
Church hall	172		
Theatre	1		
Museum	1	174	10.3
Private School	14		1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>509</b>		<b>30.2</b>
<b>PUBLIC SECTOR</b>			
Local and central government			
Art gallery	5		
Museum	10		
Library	19		
Theatre	4		
Concert hall	1		
Sports hall	3		
Swimming pool	7		
Hall for hire	8	57	3.3
Educational premises			
School facilities for hire	137		
Community centre	22	159	9.4
University facilities for hire	24		
Colleges of F.E. facilities for hire	10		
Art gallery (Edinburgh University)	1	35	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>251</b>		<b>14.9</b>
<b>COMMERCIAL SECTOR</b>			
Public house	549		
Restaurant	245	794	47.2
Bingo social club	12		
Art gallery	8		
Dance hall	7		
Cinema	7		
Sauna club	4		
Football stadium	2		
Billiards club	2		
Casino	2		
Ice rink	1		
Dog racing stadium	1		
Wax museum	1	47	2.8
Function room in hotel	71		
Hall for hire	9	80	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>921</b>		<b>54.7</b>

The high proportion of facilities was accentuated by comparing this ratio of 1:75 with 1:210 of facilities to population numbers in the 2-4 klm. band, 1:234 in the 4-6 klm. band, and 1:183 in the 6-8 klm. band about the city centre. The distance bands were determined by the actual travel distance from the city centre along the existing roads, rather than straight-line radii. While the facilities in the central area were mainly serving a city-wide or regional catchment, and many were frequented by those working in the city centre, tourists and other visitors, for those living in the central area, a quarter of the total population, the extent of indoor leisure provision constituted an especially high level of amenity. This level was mainly the result of the inherited facilities which had been in existence at the turn of the century when the extent of the City coincided with the contemporary city centre. The Victorian and Edwardian period had provided the majority of the public facilities and voluntary organization premises.

Within the central area, the commercial sector owned 41.2% of all the facilities in the central area, the public sector owned 34.3% and the voluntary sector 24.5% (Diagram 2). A closer examination shows that 67.9% of all the public facilities, such as theatres, swimming pools, cinemas, dance halls and so on, in the City as a whole were centrally located. Furthermore, to emphasise its dominant role, the central area contained 62.4% of all the public houses and 78.7% of all the restaurants in the City; 79.6% of all the adult education classes in the City, mainly the classes by Edinburgh University, the Edinburgh College of Art and the Workers' Educational Association; 46.8% of all the voluntary organizations and 40.1% of the remaining church halls.

Within the central area, three zones were identified: the bi-focal core of the Old Town and New Town with their historical significance and commercial/tourist function;

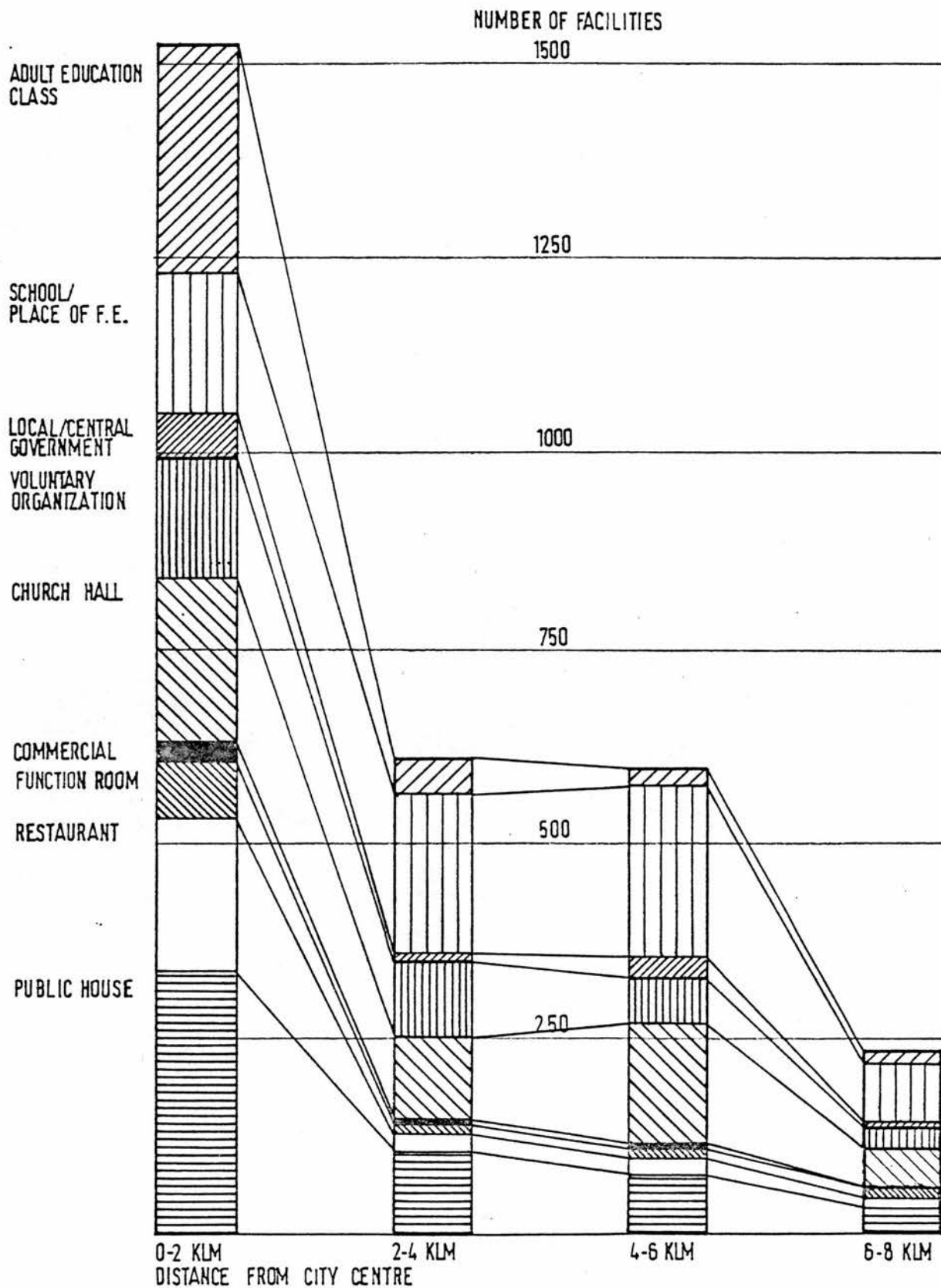


DIAGRAM 2 :Number of facilities by distance from city centre by provider

a band of tenement housing and public institutions such as the Universities and hospitals, which enclosed the core; the periphery of the central area (see Map 2). Commercial activity which had eroded the exclusive residential nature of the New Town also had restricted the location of leisure facilities within the core. By 1977 only the New Club and Royal Overseas League remained, both subject to redevelopment schemes to release the ground and first floors for retail shopping. The nineteenth century civic edifices remained in the core on their prominent sites, such as the Assembly Rooms, the Royal Scottish Academy and the National Galleries in the New Town, and the Royal Scottish Museum in the Old Town. The core contained the majority of the public houses and restaurants in the central area, accounting for 54.4% of all the places to eat and drink in the central area. These public houses and restaurants were accommodated in the minor (or secondary) streets, on first floors, in basements or in hotels located in the New Town, and had proliferated along the Royal Mile in the Old Town. Therefore the location characteristic of these places to eat and drink was to avoid the primary commercial frontage, exchanging the prime sites for lower property values.

Of all the social clubs in Edinburgh, 71.7% were in the central area, of which half were found in the core. All the social clubs in the central area, except those for old persons, were licensed and restricted their membership directly (e.g. political affiliation and the services), or indirectly as with the New Club. Of all the special-interest clubs, 37.7% were in the central area, of which under half were located in the core, mainly in the New Town. As with the commercial places to eat and drink, voluntary organizations in the core provided premises on secondary sites. There were local concentrations of voluntary organizations in the more modest previously residential developments immediately east and west of the New Town: for example, Albany Street had attracted six social clubs (in addition to such organizations as housing associations

and professional offices). Only the national art galleries and museums were purpose-built, with the other indoor leisure provision in the core the result of redevelopment schemes or the adaptation of existing buildings. About the core, the remaining six cinemas, the seven discotheques (in converted commercially-owned buildings), the bingo social clubs (in converted entertainment buildings), sauna clubs (in converted shops) were located, as were the two civic theatres and the concert hall run by the local authority. The re-used buildings for discotheques and bingo social clubs stood as evidence of earlier commercial success. The lower property values in areas peripheral to the core allowed to exist those experimental or transient functions gaining from the proximity to areas of high accessibility, such as boutiques and antique shops. The Traverse Theatre Club, as an experimental/transient function, was also found in the area peripheral to the core.

The commercial public facilities were concentrated in the transitional zone about the core and along the radial routes into the city centre, with a particular concentration in the south west sector of the central area, i.e. Lothian Road and Tollcross. These locations gained from ease of access, and available and suitable buildings for adaptation, either already used for entertainment purposes or owned commercially e.g. The Empire Theatre was converted into a bingo social club, a warehouse into a discotheque. The concentration of discotheques and cinemas further attracted places to eat and drink. Also in the area surrounding the central core were the bowling and tennis clubs owned by the voluntary sector and swimming pools owned by the public sector built at the end of the nineteenth century within or adjacent to the high-density tenement housing. The urban campuses of the two universities expanded within this zone and, in so doing, provided a set of meeting places for hire, and increased the number of adult education classes. The stadia in Edinburgh, Powderhall, Meadowbank, Murrayfield, Hearts Football Ground and the Hibernian Football Ground, were all



located equidistant from the city centre on the periphery of the central area on sites on the edge of the built up areas at the time of construction, or allocated for recreation.

The distribution of facilities in the suburban areas reflected the dominance of the central area: the roles of the commercial sector, the local and central government and the number of adult education classes receded dramatically as the distance increased from the centre, while the number of facilities provided by the voluntary sector, the voluntary organizations and church halls, diminished but less dramatically (Diagram 2). Only the local education authority increased its number of facilities available for leisure activities in the suburban areas. Diagram 2 shows that the number of indoor leisure facilities within the 2-4 klm. band and the 4-6 klm. band were similar in the distribution of facilities, with 20.3% and 20.2% of all the facilities in Edinburgh respectively. From 41.2% of all facilities within the central area, the commercial sector provided only 15.0% of all facilities in the band 2-4 klm. The majority of the commercial facilities were public houses and some restaurants. Large pre-1800 mansion houses built at the time in the rural areas about Edinburgh had become surrounded by suburban developments: most of these houses, and some Victorian houses, had been taken over by commercial interests as hotels and restaurants, with Prestonfield House as an example. Only one suburban cinema remained, the Dominion, with the concentration in the suburban areas by the commercial sector on bingo social clubs. These clubs were located in buildings previously used for entertainment such as cinemas and dance halls: no bingo social club was purpose built or re-used a non-entertainment building.

Thirty-one public facilities were provided by the local authority in the suburban areas, with the branch library the predominate contribution. Church hall construction had kept pace with housing developments with 20.8% of all

the halls in the 2-4 klm. band and 29.4% in the 4-6 klm. band. The number of adult education classes available in the suburban areas was particularly low, compared with the concentration in the central area. Based on the primary and secondary schools and community centres, the number of classes accounted for 8.2% of all classes in the 2-4 klm band and 6.6% in the 4-6 klm. band. While the number of classes diminished, school numbers increased in the suburban areas, reflecting the statutory obligation to provide primary and secondary education with the need to construct schools to serve residential areas. The local education authority was the main supplier with the schools and community centres, and the places of further education, in the suburban areas of facilities available for hire, with 218 facilities in the 2-4 klm. band and 255 in the 4-6 klm. band.

Diagram 2 shows the voluntary organizations providing 91 facilities in the 2-4 klm. and 63 in the 4-6 klm. bands, representing 27.0% and 18.6% of all voluntary organizations in Edinburgh. These were sports clubs primarily linked to open spaces with golf and bowling the main contributors, followed by rugby, tennis and aquatic sports; social clubs related to a place of work were located near industrial areas within the suburban areas; political clubs in their respective constituencies; masonic lodges in the older settlements which had become engulfed by suburban developments.

The distribution of facilities placed an emphasis on the central area for the major public facilities, the cultural, social and educational institutions and the commercial interests: such concentration reflected the contraction of the commercial sector, in the provision of public facilities combined with an increased supply of places to eat and drink, in addition to the tourist dimension of the central area, the inherited nature of the majority of the public leisure buildings, the prestige location for voluntary organizations,

and the reinforcement of the functions of the central area by the radial road and public transport patterns and policies. The suburban areas relied on the local education authority with its meeting places for hire, the church hall, the public house and the branch library as local and district facilities. The suburban facilities were concentrated within these older settlements which had become engulfed by various housing developments and city annexings. The majority of the voluntary organizations in the suburban areas were sports clubs. Their location pattern was the distribution of various tracts of open space such as playing fields and golf courses as an overlay on the residential and road networks. These open spaces had been either formed at the time of the foundation of the sports club on the periphery of the City or had been the development of a natural resource, i.e. the coastline for a sailing club, with the open spaces eventually surrounded by residential areas.

3. The various supplier groups in Edinburgh displayed distinct characteristics of policy, financial arrangements, management methods and decision-making procedure in addition to facility types and location patterns.

The voluntary organization, with or without its own facility, has been a major feature of the supply characteristics. Belonging to a voluntary organization was almost imperative, especially to pursue the more formalized leisure activities, with team games and other sports requiring specialised facilities as particular examples. The voluntary organization without its own facility in Edinburgh, in 1977, represented four out of five of all voluntary organizations (Appendix 1), with those without their own facilities using church halls, members' homes, schools, places of further education, halls, function rooms and community centres as meeting places. Not all the meeting places available for

hire were open during the whole week or for the whole day: schools and places of further education were open during the evenings, up to 9 p.m. and on a Saturday; not all the church halls were available on a Sunday as well as possibly restricted use only to church-related groups; community centres while available all day, all week, limited use to those voluntary organizations within specific catchment areas; hoteliers encouraged those organizations to hire their function rooms which frequented their lounge bars. Table 3 shows that the church hall remained the main venue for voluntary organizations without their own facility, measured by the annual number of visitors (average number at a meeting in each space available for hire in a facility x number of meetings in each space in a year): the church halls attracted 45.1% of the total number of visitors, with schools and community centres, the church's main competitors, attracting 26.2% (13.8% and 12.4% respectively).

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF VISITS AT MEETING PLACES FOR HIRE IN 1977

	Average No. at meeting	No. of visitors per facility group	% of total
PUBLIC SECTOR .		(61,964)	(29.2)
Public hall for hire	197	6,304	3.0
School	23	29,371	13.8
Community centres	69	26,289	12.4
VOLUNTARY SECTOR		(100,201)	(47.5)
Church hall	32	95,584	45.1
Private school	27	4,617	2.4
COMMERCIAL SECTOR		(49,310)	(23.3)
Function room	76	38,456	18.1
Hall for hire	81	10,854	5.2
Total number of visits		211,475	

The voluntary organizations with their own facility varied considerably and ranged from the clubhouse of a small sports club on the periphery of the built up areas with meetings only once a week in summer, to a centrally-located social club with extensive provision, open all-day, with a large membership and a waiting list. Variations covered objectives,

size and standard of facility, opening hours, membership numbers, subscription levels, location characteristics and pattern of use. The voluntary organization provided an opportunity to develop sectional, social and minority interests within the confines of a facility owned by its members. In so doing voluntary organizations reflected the local needs, aspirations, initiations, leisure skills, organizational abilities and also the social differentiations in the City. In addition to managerial and promotional responsibilities, such organizations had to take care of expansion, maintenance and running costs of their building, with expenditure borne by the subscription fee, user expenditure at the premises, fund raising activities and grants from local authority, Scottish Sports Council and breweries, in addition to investments, borrowing with facilities as collateral, and capital from a parent organization. The larger clubs in the central area and/or those with paid full-time and part-time staff suffered more from inflation through the 1970s than the smaller clubs with less prominent sites and voluntary staff. Inflation was reflected particularly in the rates and salary increases, as incremental escalation of the running costs, combined with fewer members prepared to pay the increased subscription fees. The increased costs encouraged amalgamations, re-location, promotion to encourage new membership and change of policy. Even the gentlemen's clubs considered, if not yet implemented, the expansion of membership to include ladies. Licensed premises had become almost imperative to provide extra finance from user expenditure, retain and expand membership, and with summer sports provide a social venue during the winter months. Constraints on membership were a feature of most organizations: a few only overtly admitted open membership. Almost by definition therefore one, or more, restrictions were placed on membership with six categories of restriction identified:

- a. specific restriction on membership such as nationality, age, sex, place of work, home location, previous school, occupation, religious



and political inclination, background, disability and so on.

- b. the skill at a specific activity or the need to learn and develop a skill at the activity.
- c. size of the accommodation, or capacity as stated by the licensing authority.
- d. the level of subscription restricting membership to the economically well-off, with also cost of use and equipment constraining membership.
- e. social grouping and implicit rituals of social behaviour, i.e. the 'select' gentlemen's clubs and also the Workingmen's Clubs.
- f. location, travel distance and cost of travel.

While most voluntary organizations appealed to minority interests and restricted membership, their catchment area was city-wide which encouraged location in the central area for ease of access by their members. The sports clubs, with golf in particular, were the locational exception through the extent of playing land required and tendency to be found in the suburban areas of the city. Voluntary organizations tended to adapt, extend and occasionally relocate according to the changing social patterns and financial fortunes. They usually started from a modest base with the voluntary organization searching for low-cost premises, temporary buildings, conversion of existing buildings or lease existing premises, from which the club expanded and developed its premises financed from members' subscriptions and other sources of income over time. Sport was the main function of the voluntary organizations in Edinburgh followed by social activities (Table 2): of the 321 voluntary organizations with their own premises in total, 130 were sports clubs and 82 social. The remaining displayed a diversity of function. Diagram 3 shows that the majority of the sports clubs currently enjoyed had been provided by 1939 with the steepest rise of provision during the latter part of the nineteenth century. From 1945 the

\* increase in the number of new facilities for sport declined rapidly, in part explained by the extent and quality of existing provision but also the restrictions of land costs for playing fields, lack of availability through planning controls (including the use of the green belt around the City), and the extent of built up areas. The provision of premises for voluntary organization other than sport rose steadily throughout the study period with an accelerated and consistent growth from the turn of the century (Diagram 3).

A description of the provision of leisure facilities in Edinburgh includes the contribution by the church with its church halls. Of all the non-commercial leisure facilities church halls were spread the most equitably across Edinburgh, with their distribution determined by the parish system. In many parishes in the City, more than one denomination owned a hall, with these halls the prime meeting place for local voluntary organizations without their own premises (Table 3). The policy on organization selection varied according to the views of the local clergy, and included the following:

- a. those who allowed only groups related directly to their church to use the hall. This was the traditional view, but with diminishing church attendance and institutionalized religion since 1945, so the halls had become less frequently used.
- b. those who allowed church-related groups and other groups deemed appropriate, usually restricted to welfare organizations: a benevolent view.
- c. those who allowed community groups in general but the church-related groups taking priority booking: a community-orientated view.
- d. those who abandoned the traditional church hall giving the image of a community centre open to all members of a community avoiding a sense of church influence and exclusiveness: this radical view

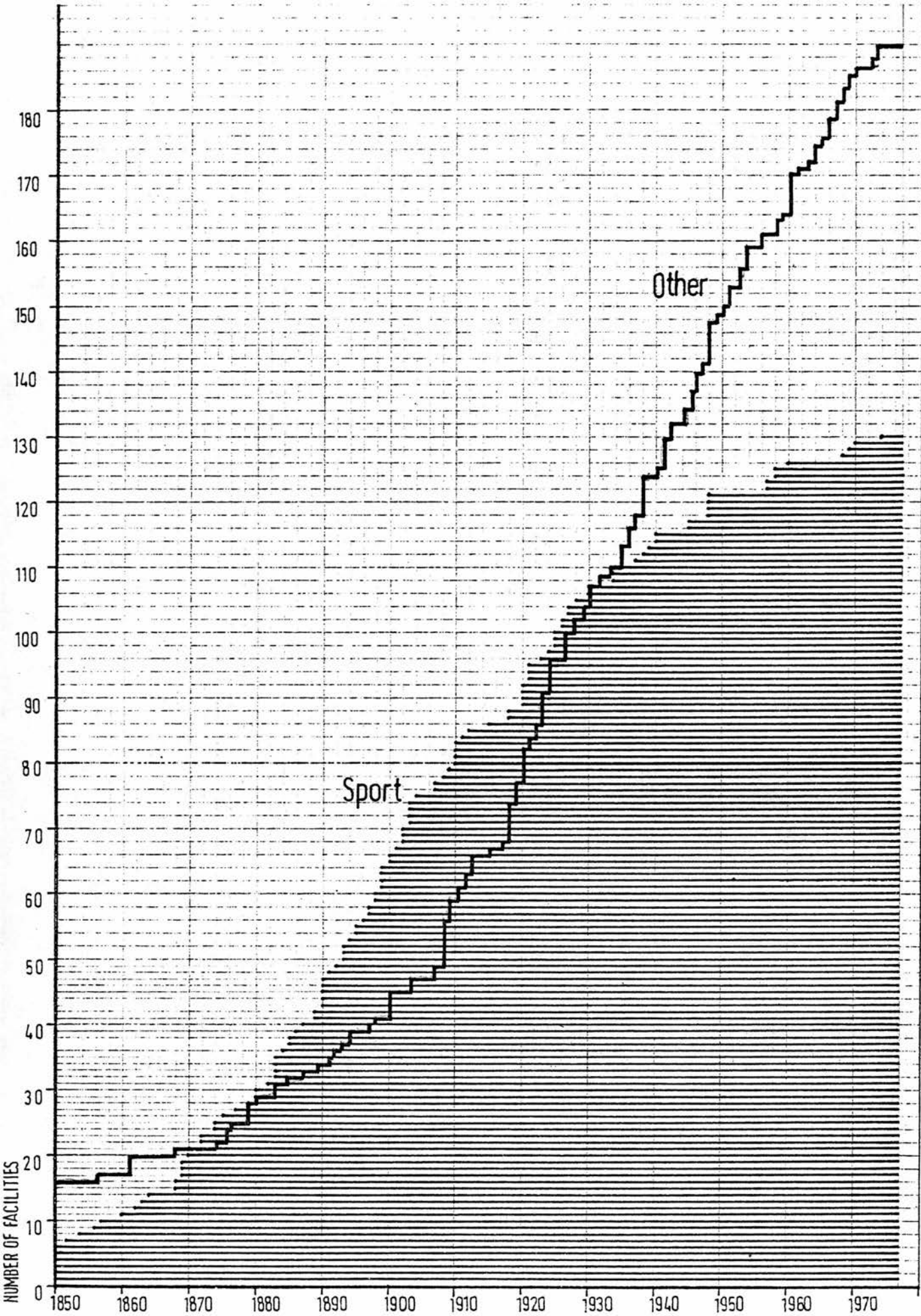


DIAGRAM 3 : YEAR FACILITY OPENED Voluntary Organization : Sport & Other

secularized the church provision and offered competition against the increasing role of the local education authority and their provision of community centres especially in the poorer areas of the City.

The church was constrained by legislation which allowed non-payment of rates of church buildings as long as no income accrued, other than donations and fund-raising activities. A hiring fee was income and rates required to be paid, which encouraged payment by donation by outside groups. This form of income though was welcome, paying for maintenance and running costs. The church with the most open policy towards the use of its hall still placed restrictions on the activities with no consumption of alcohol the most common. The Church of Scotland from the 1960s embarked on a programme of rationalization of church facilities including their halls, with the selling of those church halls experiencing nominal use in areas of low population, combining provision to serve more than one parish and the linkage with other denominations to increase use of the remaining facilities.

The commercial sector measured its effectiveness in the leisure market by its level of profit, so this sector tended to closely follow, foster and also create fashion. For the majority of commercial organizations, economic calculations took into account short term predictions of patterns, costings assumed a limited life-span of the facility and the aims included maximizing return on financial investment. A large percentage of the costings included marketing and promotion, especially with the larger companies, compared with the public and voluntary sectors. The commercial sector responded to their assessment of the potential market for their products and generally raised their finance from the stock market, commercial banks and their own resources. A resource for



the commercial sector was the stock of usually centrally-located buildings constructed before the Second World War, adapted over time while following the prevailing profitable markets: Tiffany's in St. Stephen Street had been, for example, a cinema, skating rink, circus, theatre, bingo social club and dance hall, with the dance hall having its decoration and source of music altered according to the fashion of the time. The commercial sector appeared to closely respond to the preferences of those sections of society which it considered constituted its market, consisting mainly of those with the most surplus time and/or money. The development of the commercial tradition of speculative interest in profitable business evolved from the nineteenth-century music-hall characterised by owners not directly concerned in the specific activity, but closely following fashion, with high level publicity and a developed art of the showman/impresario. National figures, Edward Moss, J. B. Howard and F. W. Wyndham, had started their music-hall empires in Edinburgh and established the showman and speculative traditions associated with the commercial sector, later to be transferred to the cinema at the turn of the century, and the 'pop'-music business and commercial television in the post 1945 period. The most dramatic investment in a particular fashion was the cinema provision. The particular increase in Edinburgh was at the beginning of the century (Diagram 4). The rate of opening was matched only by the rate of closure during the 1950s and 1960s with the transfer of capital into other entertainments by the larger commercial companies. The commercial sector was associated closely with exploiting technological developments for speculative and entertainment purposes, including the electric light, mechanical theatre staging and spectacular attractions, touring companies with the introduction of the railways, publicity through the development of media technology, the cinema and television. The commercial sector accepted, funded, developed and exploited technology in the name of short-lived entertainments and changing popular tastes. Technology was the base



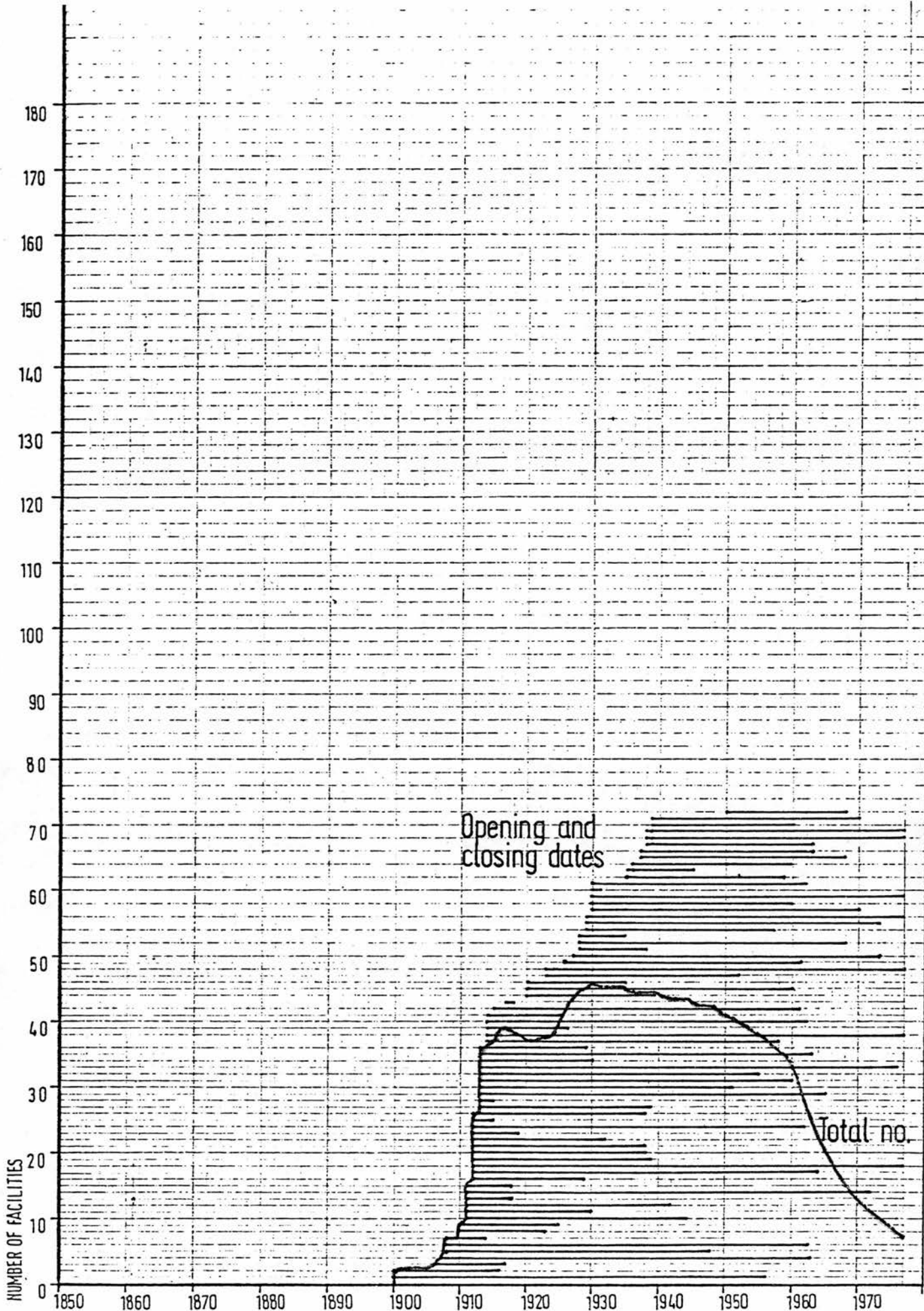


DIAGRAM 4 : YEAR FACILITY OPENED Cinema

of popular culture, with film, newspapers, books, television and so on, and the hardware associated with leisure activities, e.g. gramophones, records, sports goods and so on, which had developed into a leisure industry.

Commercial interests covered most leisure activities including cinema, theatre, places to eat and drink, gaming, sport, entertainments, social activities and tourism: the commercial sector has been in a position to supply at a cost, within social controls, any service to satisfy any taste. In Edinburgh, this sector provided primarily public houses and restaurants but also bingo social clubs, cinemas and dance halls/discotheques, and, to a lesser extent, billiard halls, gaming clubs, sauna clubs, art galleries, ice rinks, health clubs, greyhound racing and indoor bowling halls (Table 2). Furthermore the commercial sector provided in hotels, as well as places for overnight stay, meeting places for hire as function rooms with the number increasing rapidly from the Second World War (Diagram 5). Diagram 5 also demonstrates the rapid rise of public houses in the inter-war years, and the restaurants from 1960.

In Edinburgh four broad groups of commercial suppliers were identified:

1. large commercial companies whose interests were spread nationally and across a range of leisure facilities, with the Grand Metropolitan Hotels Ltd., as an example. This company owned hotels throughout Great Britain as well as abroad, over 500 restaurants, 10 breweries and 7200 public houses: part of this company was Mecca Ltd., which was the largest organization of its type in the leisure and entertainment field in Britain. The main activities were dancing, catering, ice-skating, gaming, bowling, and bingo, centred in the Mecca Social Clubs. Discotheques recently have been added to those entertainment facilities developed by Mecca. Other nationally-based companies included E.M.I.,

Rank, Ladbrookes and A.B.C. These companies have followed a clear Galbraithian pattern, including a series of mergers to expand and to limit competition, consistent growth, standardization of product (similar facilities with the same names and decor found in various cities), image sold rather than price, and a reliance on product packaging and promotion, with demand created or developed by advertizing (Galbraith 1975). These national companies were London-based, with even Moss, Howard and Wyndham eventually operating their theatre empires from London.

2. medium-size companies which owned a series of facilities and usually specialized in one form of leisure provision or group of provision in more than one city, concentrated geographically, with the Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd., an example which, as well as being a brewery, owned 33.8% of the public houses and 6.4% of the lounge bars in hotels in Edinburgh.
3. small companies which owned a few facilities in a city or cities, usually specializing in one form of leisure provision: Unicorn Leisure Ltd., was an example, based in Glasgow and owning twelve facilities in Glasgow and Edinburgh.
4. an individual or family, which owned and ran a single facility, with, possibly, a few full-time or part-time staff: many of the ethnic restaurants and the sauna clubs fell into this category.

The commercial pattern of provision in Edinburgh was the concentration in the central area of a few selected large facilities and the distribution of standardized facilities such as the public house across the City by the larger companies, overlaid by a set of facilities of unique character peculiar to the ownership by individuals and small companies.

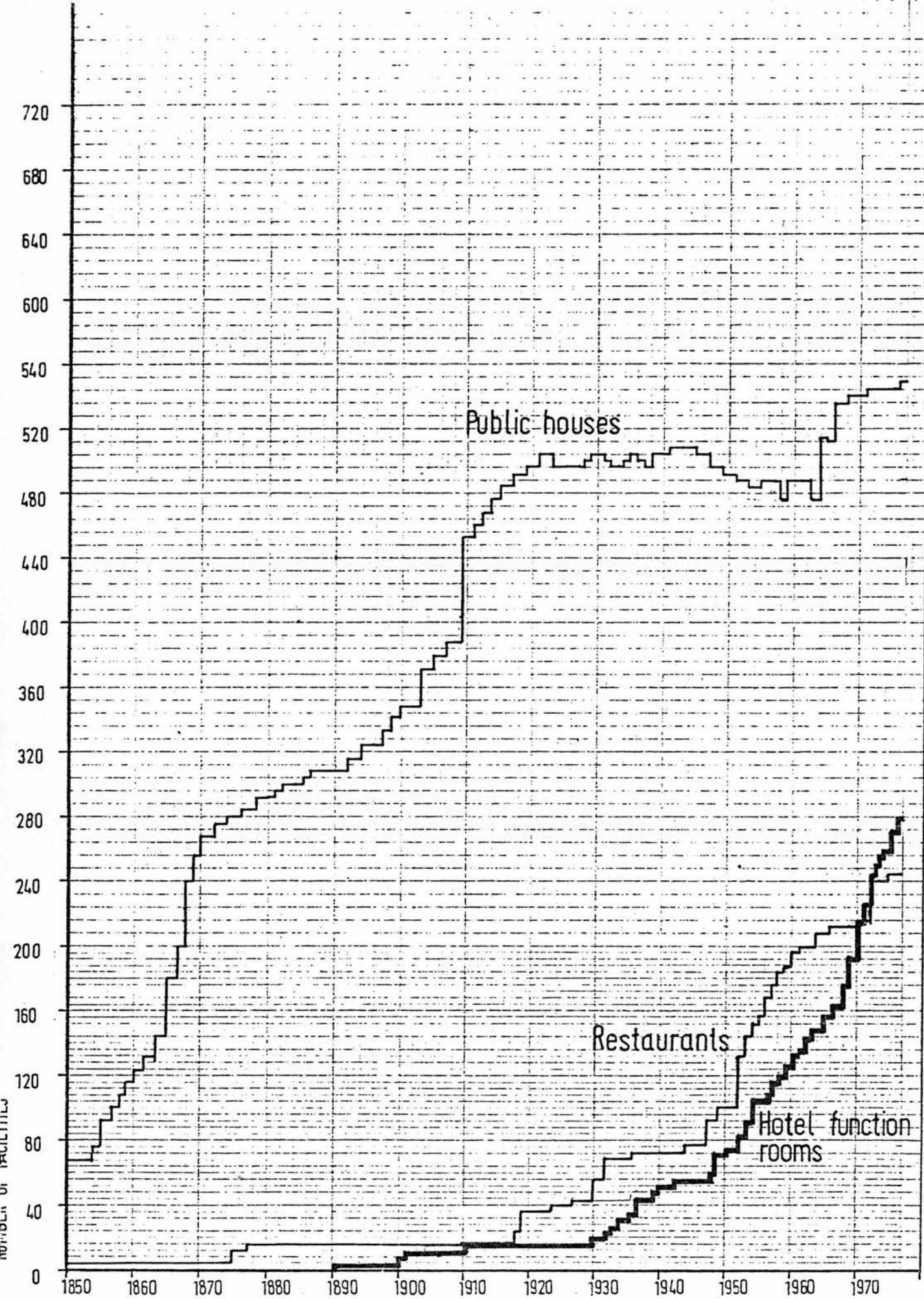


DIAGRAM 5 : YEAR FACILITY OPENED Public house, restaurant and hotel function room



No single department or agency within the public sector had the sole responsibility for the provision of urban indoor leisure facilities. Various departments and agencies acquired a responsibility, direct or indirect, for an aspect of the supply, funding, ownership and management of those leisure facilities in situations where intervention by the public sector was seen to be politically appropriate.

Central government, represented by the Scottish Office and the agencies of central government, the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Sports Council had not taken direct responsibility for the commissioning and construction of new leisure facilities: the three art galleries in Scotland constructed and administered by the Scottish Arts Council were exceptions. The role of central government and its agencies was broadly to formulate national and regional strategic policies within their respective terms of reference, to respond to local initiatives, and to support financially, in the form of grants, particular projects with part capital expenditure and/or for running costs. The Scottish Office, by implementing government policy relating to funding, was able to affect, in a constraining and positive manner, leisure provision by the local authority: the degree of control, that has actually been exerted, varied according to the national economic climate and political sensitivity of a project. The Scottish Education Department, as adviser to the Secretary of State for Scotland, had a key role in the character of the leisure facilities provided by both the local education authority and the local authority, with the Scottish Education Department receiving plans for vetting any proposal for leisure provision submitted for borrowing consent.

The Scottish Arts Council was formed as a visibly autonomous body in 1967, at the time of a new charter and increased resources for the Arts Council of Great Britain. The national Council had been set up in 1946 and had restricted its policy to improving the standard of those



institutions of excellence, such as the orchestras and opera companies, with decisions taken on an ad hoc basis. The new policy included a closer concern over the management efficiency of funded groups, while acknowledging a duty to foster potentially-interesting experiments. The Director of the Scottish Arts Council has stated that its objectives also included:

"...to foster and promote the understanding and practice of the arts: to make the arts more accessible to the public: and to co-ordinate and co-operate with other agencies including local government. Its functions are to survey, plan, and decide policy: to subsidize, negotiate and co-ordinate; to advise and to publicize".  
(Dunbar 1974 p 130).

However, the majority of the funds allocated annually to the Scottish Arts Council was directed towards the few large and established drama, opera and ballet companies, and existing art galleries: by the nature of the professional arts, being labour-intensive and concentrated into a limited number of large organizations, the Scottish Arts Council was not in a position of making a financial contribution to organizations without a continued annual commitment. A separate procedure existed for capital projects, with financial support obtained from a national Housing of the Arts fund. Allocation of funds for capital projects has been subject to certain conditions: use of the project, at least in part, to be by professional artists; proper technical standards; responsible management; satisfactory revenue implications; and that sources of finance for capital expenditure were available from elsewhere, with the Council usually operating a "pound-for-pound" matching policy (Arts Council of Great Britain 1967 p 18).

The organization of sport moved from the exclusively voluntary effort co-ordinated by the Central Council of Physical Recreation, and its Scottish branch, to the Sports Councils as recommended in the Wolfenden Report (1960), Sport and the Community, with the controlling bodies for

respective sports retaining their functions as custodian of rules and standards, and organizers of competitions. The remit of the Sports Councils was to advise on developments of amateur sport and physical recreation services, to consider expenditure and to assist co-operation among local authorities and voluntary organizations (Sports Council 1969 p 7). The Scottish Sports Council was formed in 1966 with this remit but extended to establish regional strategies for sports developments in relation to government policy. The Council financially assisted schemes provided by the local authority, but limited its aid to those schemes deemed to be prototypes or experimental sports provision. Expenditure on the larger sports provision moved from the voluntary organizations to the local authority, with public intervention due to the increased capital and running costs of most large-scale facilities and to the ease by which local authorities could acquire large tracts of land in urban areas associated with outdoor sports compared with the voluntary sector (Sports Council 1969 p 9). In addition, central government, implemented by the Sports Councils, encouraged, through grants to voluntary sports organizations and to international competitions, the improvement of performances in sport:

"International competition has a beneficial effect throughout sport. It arouses wider public interest, sparks off enthusiasm to participate, and sets standards of achievement. Success in international events brings prestige and animates development of the sport at all levels" (Sports Council 1969 p 12).

Both major political parties acknowledged the role of the Arts Councils and Sports Councils, and endorsed the social need for Ministers with special responsibilities for the arts and sport.

The allocation and administration of funds to support the national collections of fine art and the national museums in Edinburgh were independent of, but followed a similar pattern to, the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Sports Council. Funds were allocated to these institutions

without any controls but with the money administered by a board of trustees of unpaid members (of notables in the field) and an operational unit of officials (with professional qualifications), which were not answerable to a Minister over particular issues, but were required to keep within their terms of reference and were accountable for the expenditure of public money from their budget.

In the field of urban leisure, the local authority was responsible traditionally for the recreation requirements mainly of the dependent groups in society, such as the young and the elderly, and also for the supply of facilities where there was a perceived need, but fell beyond the interests of the commercial sector, as being non-profit-making, or where facilities were not provided by the voluntary sector, through high costs, level of specialization or lack of organizational skills. The local authority therefore was seen to support those activities which required to be sustained, directed towards a specific social group, or made generally accessible, through part or full subsidization, with funds provided from the rates and other sources of local authority finance. In so doing, the local authority became a legatee of a wide range of public facilities, resulting from a social necessity, discretionary legislation, financial opportunity and political will at the time of the initiation of a facility. The local authority provided those facilities supportive of a collective value, usually expressed in terms of the historic, cultural or educational content, where monetary considerations were an inappropriate basis for the justification, but where public money was necessary for their initiation and/or continuation, such as, traditionally, museums, art galleries and libraries, to which has been added more recently concert halls and civic theatres; those facilities with specialized provision for sport and artistic participation by individuals or voluntary groups such as swimming pools, sports halls, squash courts and arts centres; those facilities providing a range of meeting places for hire by voluntary organizations not able

to afford, or not desirous of, their own facilities and also, in the case of certain facilities such as the Leith Town Hall in Edinburgh, able to be hired by commercial organizations for selected activities.

In addition to direct provision, the local authority operated the social controls over leisure behaviour, exercised through legislation, regulations and supervision over the activities and facilities of the commercial and voluntary sectors, in addition to its own provision. The varied and extensive controls embodied restrictions, on the producers, distributors and facility owners and therefore on the consumers of their services. Legislation relating to public facilities covered the recognition of certain social activities, such as drinking, betting and gambling, but restricted to specific facilities and controlled time periods for public access; the licensing of buildings for public assembly, such as cinemas, theatres and dance halls, requiring compliance with regulations mainly concerned with capacity and fire escape; the retained right of the local licensing board to ban a film or a play within their area of jurisdiction, a right occasionally used in Edinburgh. As well as the direct contribution of physical provision and the associated management and specialist staff, the local authority contributed grants to voluntary organizations, professional companies in the performing arts such as the Scottish National Orchestra, and to specific events such as the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama. Increasingly the local authority, within community development programmes, has taken the responsibility of direct stimulation of interest in leisure activities, as an animateur, and to encourage projects initiated by the community, as an enabler.

Until 1975, legislation covering leisure provision had been discretionary and piecemeal, with the responsibility for leisure dispersed among various sections of local government. Legislation was also sporadic with prior to the First World

War a concentration on museums, art galleries and libraries (legitimized by their educational role) and swimming pools (as part of health and cleanliness legislation). During the inter-war years, legislation remained modest and remedial in nature. After the Second World War, with the local Government Act of 1948, local authorities were in a position to provide or contribute towards the cost of providing theatres, concert halls and other premises for entertainment. The local Government (Scotland) Act of 1973, as the basis for the restructuring of local authorities into two tiers in 1975, clearly stated a broad role:

"Regional councils shall have a duty, in consultation with District Councils within their region, to ensure that there is an adequate provision of facilities for the inhabitants of their region for social, cultural and recreative activities"  
(Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, Section 91(3)).

The local education authority took the principal initiative in the provision of facilities for leisure pursuits for both youth and local communities. The initiative had been provided by the powers endowed in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945, followed by the subsequent legislation of 1946 and 1962. The 1945 and 1946 Acts were the first legislation to recognise the well-being of the whole population in their free time, which charged the local education authority with the primary initiative for the leisure provision for the young. This role was extended in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1962 to the whole community. The 1945 Act saw:

"Education as a lifelong process not confined to the years of compulsory schooling and a little more; which increasingly bases its planning and action on a recognition that education is a product of the total environment - such a service is a far cry from the national system of education in operation about the turn of the century". (Scottish Education Department 1968 p 9).

The 1945 Act conferred on local education authorities the responsibility to consider "leisure-time occupation in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are



suites to their requirements for persons over school age" and the powers to provide leisure facilities or assist voluntary organizations to provide their own facilities. The role of the Youth Service was also recognised in the 1945 Act: the early 1960s the Youth Service was extended to embrace the whole community and their leisure needs (Scottish Education Department 1968 p 20). The local education authority responded to these opportunities as both provider and co-ordinator of leisure facilities:

"Even as recently as thirty years ago the inter-relationships of the Youth Service, the schools and colleges, the Community Service and sports bodies were of little more than theoretical interest. The growth of the idea of education for each individual as a process involving the whole person, the whole environment and the whole lifespan has made the question of their relatedness a matter of practical concern because of the degree to which each of these educational and social agencies now impinges on the others. They overlap in terms of the age of those for whom they cater, the activities they engage in, the methods they use, and the teachers, officers and leaders and the premises and facilities they require. Current and pending changes over the whole field, and the need to make the most effective use of available resources of skilled personnel and of premises, add urgency to the need to examine these inter-relationships with a view to improving the co-operation and co-ordination that already exists" (Scottish Education Department 1968 p 10).

From 1960, the local education authority of the Edinburgh Corporation actively encouraged the use of school facilities by voluntary organizations and for adult education classes, developed a Youth and Community Service and constructed community centres in the suburban areas of the City. A result was the dramatic rise in the number of adult education classes, to which Edinburgh University, Edinburgh College of Art and the Workers' Educational Association contributed. Diagram 6 illustrates the rise.

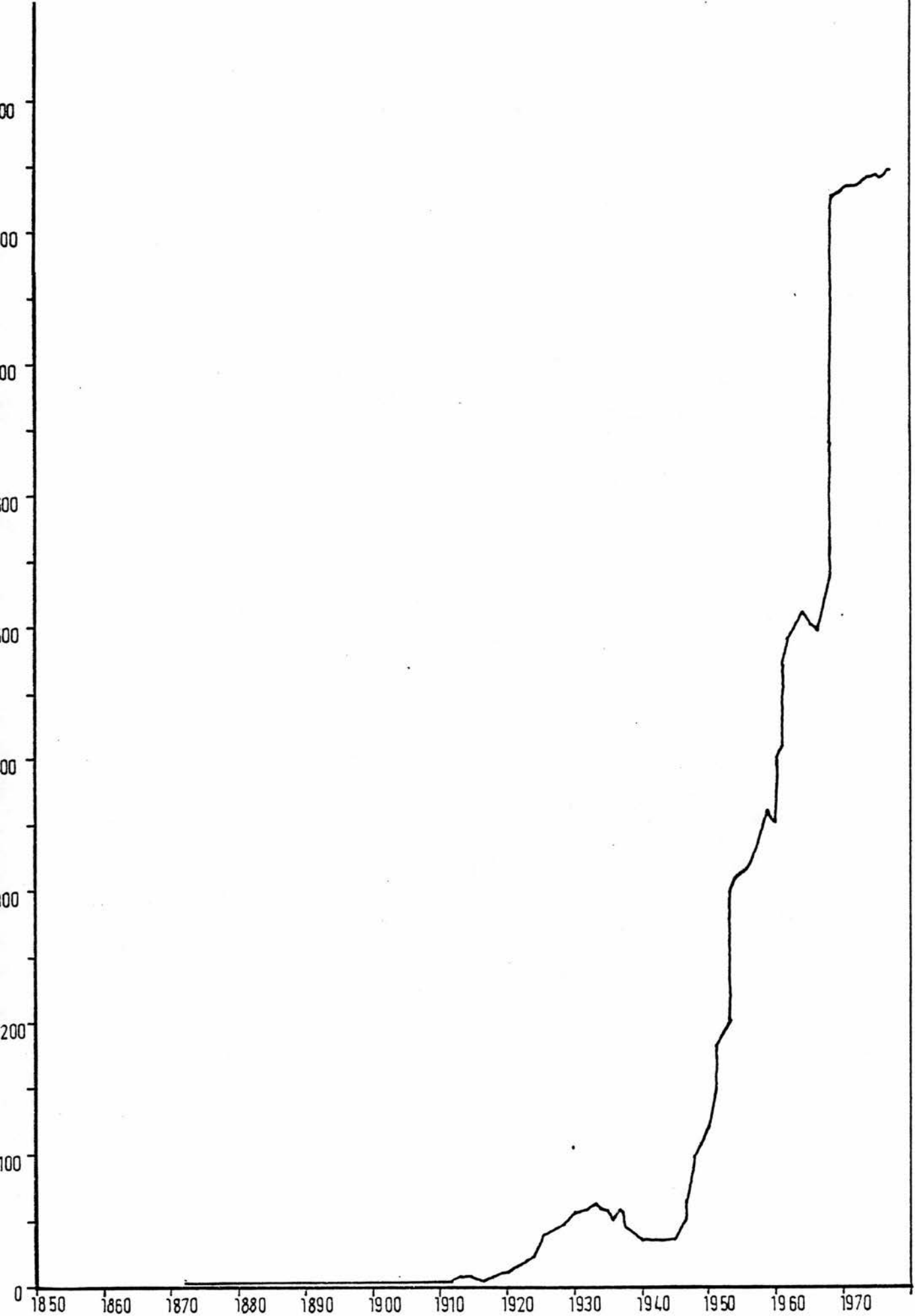


DIAGRAM 6 : Number of Adult Education Classes

4. Leisure supply in Edinburgh produced a diverse pattern relying on the various initiatives by voluntary and commercial interests and the intervention of the public sector, while covering a broad range of minority interests without a single dominant activity. The voluntary sector was concerned with reciprocity and section defences, the commercial sector with market forces and associated with entertainments, and the public sector with the re-distribution of community surplus and the increased politicization of urban leisure provision (Smith, Parker and Smith 1973 pp 255-262). In so doing these supplier groups had developed a range of cultural strands.

\* Traditionally Edinburgh's social leaders had been the professional groups with lawyers and teachers the most influential (Smout 1979 pp 349-353) providing a middle-class cultural tradition, central to the supply characteristics. However, through the twentieth century, a working class culture evolved its own institutions, not emulating the trappings of the middle class, but producing a broad bi-focal cultural pattern expressed in social provision in Edinburgh.

\* In spite of the eclipse of the church and formalized religion, their influence remained with different opening hours on a Sunday, for most public facilities to avoid the hours of church services, the church's disapproval of the consumption of alcohol on their own premises and in facilities over which they had some control such as schools and community centres (with churchmen on their controlling committees and councils), a decline of the temperance movement but with moderation taking the place of abstinence, and a Calvinistic seriousness of purpose, placing a conscience on the merry-maker and a righteousness on the educator.

Education was a consistent influence and part of the Scottish pride (Scotland 1969 p 257): education had been

the recipient of benefaction; the first reformist legislation affecting all individuals had been educational; the belief in the reformist nature of education continued throughout the study period; education in Edinburgh had become an industry with the various places of primary, secondary and tertiary education. The educationalist played a positive role, encouraging an instructive base for leisure activities with the learning and development of specific skills, the acquisition of knowledge, and the formalized nature of adult education classes. Education was the raison d'etre for the custodianship of the national heritage: books, fine art, antiquities and archaeology justified by their educational values with the establishment of the cultural institutions of public libraries, museums and art galleries to which had been added civic theatres and concert halls, and historic buildings. Education had been developed as a cultural imperialism with all-embracing legislation covering community leisure provision, the major section of the budget of local government controlled by the local education authority and a long tradition of public administration dating from the nineteenth century. The imperialism had placed learning detached from pleasure (Williams 1965 p 385), and the legitimate theatre from entertainment (Williams 1968 p 25).

The sense of Scottishness and the consciousness of an independent identity remained. Edinburgh's cultural reputation lay with its golden age and a literary emphasis to which had been added the Harry Lauder and music-hall traditions (Mackie 1973), recognition of the contemporary Scottish artists with displays of contemporary fine art and the production of new plays by Scottish dramatists and performers, the Highland Games and "the anachtonistic 'tartan' image" (Mackie 1975 p 380), the conservation of Scottish heritage and the allied benefits of tourism, and political devolution and anti-Westminster support (Mackie 1975 p 379).

A further dimension was the prestige benefits from Edinburgh as a capital city and as the rightful location of the national collections, the proposed Scottish Assembly, national events, festivals of the arts, and the custodianship of Scottish heritage. Edinburgh housed the institutions and rituals of Scottish justice, education, public administration and politics: "...for centuries Edinburgh has been the brain, the heart of Scotland, the pivot round which all its history turned" (Lansdale 1912 p 295). The re-organization of local government in 1975 was a threat to the local political ritual with the abolition of the Baillies and formal ceremonies and the retention of the title of Provost but not the status. More significantly, Edinburgh had been placed in a subservient position under the senior tier of the Regional Council, challenging the role of the City as capital of Scotland.



## PART TWO

### CASE STUDIES

#### INTRODUCTION

The previous sections have identified the broad historical development and contribution of the various supplier groups to the stock of leisure facilities from 1850, the measurement of the current contribution by each supplier group, and the identification of cultural traditions in Edinburgh. This part looks at the manner by which local political decisions were taken over specific leisure facilities and events, in the form of a series of case studies based on empirical observations. These studies had covered the major topics over leisure provision concerning the local authority in Edinburgh in the 1960s and 1970s.

A distinction has been made within the case studies between prestige and community-related projects. This distinction in Edinburgh has been expressed geographically with the prestige projects associated with the central area or sites with the city-wide access, and community-based projects located within the inner and outer suburban housing areas. Prestige projects included events such as the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama and the Commonwealth Games as well as specific facilities, while the community-based projects were concerned with both the city-wide distribution of similar leisure facilities and the inclusion of leisure facilities in community development programmes for specific areas. The empirical studies concentrated on the identification of the behaviour and interaction between individuals, groups, political parties, various local government departments and central government agencies to explain budgetary decisions relating to leisure provision in the public sector.

The format of the case studies has been to organize the description in two ways: the first was by the sequence of events from initiation to the completion of a report, a

building opening or a proposal abandoned, including counter-proposals and associated issues; the second was to follow with selected thematical descriptions underlying the roles of those involved, the political pressures and attitudes, and the evolving circumstances surrounding the decisions. An overview and critique of micro-political studies and a description of the methodology adopted in this study have been included in Appendix 2.

## PRESTIGE PROJECTS

"Prestige is defined by values, and is itself a value"  
(Beshers 1972 p 187).

Prestige projects were those leisure facilities and events in Edinburgh concerned with the enhancement of local identity and recognised nationally and internationally: such projects gave an opportunity to display local skills and cultural attitudes, to improve the reputation of the City beyond its boundaries and to demonstrate civic pride and the political ability to mobilize resources. A further dimension was the reinforcement of the city centre as the 'natural' location of civic functions and display, and also as a tourist attraction. Prestige was accrued through publicity with television coverage of events seen as the most persuasive method. In addition to the economic benefits enjoyed in the City by attracting tourists and other visitors, prestige was a benefit shared equally by all in the City although the facilities were used by a small number of the population. Measurement of output was not only the numbers attending events and facilities but included the level of media coverage, critical acclaim and reference to Edinburgh providing a worthy venture. The selection of projects required to be of interest beyond the City boundary and recognised as worthy enterprises, qualified locally by restrictions on resources, with the main aim to maximize prestige with minimum financial investment from public funds and with the least risk. The two broad headings from which prestige projects were considered were the performing arts and international sports competitions. The case studies cover the two main issues in the 1960s and 1970s:

1. the opera house and theatre provision in Edinburgh.
2. the provision of facilities for the Commonwealth Games in 1970.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE OPERA HOUSE AND THEATRE PROVISION IN EDINBURGH

The demand for proper facilities for the presentation of opera, mainly during the Edinburgh Festival, remained the constant issue through at least two decades, while changing internal and external circumstances influenced the decisions over the type of facility, financial arrangements and policy.

In August 1960, Lord Harewood was appointed Director of the Edinburgh Festival. Associated with his appointment, Lord Provost John Dunbar (Conservative Provost from 1960 to 1963) promised Lord Harewood either a new building or a converted building which could house opera during the three weeks of the annual Festival. Provost Dunbar also stated that the cost of such provision might have to be obtained from private sources, and that any such building suitable for opera, during the Festival required also to be suitable for productions during the remaining forty-nine weeks of the year. So started the various attempts by the Town Council in Edinburgh to provide an opera house, particularly but not exclusively, for the Festival.

While promising Lord Harewood to provide an opera house, Provost Dunbar was aware that Meyer Oppenheim was at that time considering the conversion and extension of the Royal Lyceum Theatre to accommodate full-scale opera productions. Oppenheim, the managing Director of James Grant and Co. (West) Ltd. and the chairman of Argyle Securities Ltd., was a developer who had purchased the Royal Lyceum Theatre from Howard and Wyndham Ltd., in 1960 for £100,000. He had experience of the redevelopment of many of Edinburgh's central sites.

Oppenheim submitted a joint proposal involving the local authority to the Town Council (letter from Oppenheim to the Town Clerk 2.9.1960). The proposal included enlarging the

stage of the Royal Lyceum Theatre to enable the provision of opera on a large scale. The enlargement required the purchase of the property immediately to the rear of the building. The extended theatre would then be offered to the local authority on a long lease. Oppenheim also proposed plans for the remainder of the site, known as the Castle Terrace site, to contain an office block, basement car-park, restaurant, conference hall and ground floor offices for the Edinburgh Festival Society. As most of the properties on the Castle Terrace site were owned by the local authority, he included the sale of these properties to his company. Furthermore he required the assurance of planning permission for the overall proposal, before taking up his option to purchase the Royal Lyceum Theatre from Howard and Wyndham Ltd., by the end of 1960. An outline scheme and costing for the extended theatre and office development had been carried out by the architect, William Kininmonth, of the firm of Rowand Anderson, Kininmonth and Paul. This firm had been consultant architects to Oppenheim through the 1950s. The cost of the alterations to the Royal Lyceum Theatre was estimated at £275,000 in 1960.

An ad hoc committee was formed by the Town Council to consider the Oppenheim proposal. The remit however of this committee was broad: first, to report on the extent and quality of the existing facilities in Edinburgh for the enjoyment of, and participation in, music and the arts, and, second, to make recommendations as to the method by which the Town Council should encourage such activities. Peter Moro was asked by the committee to comment on the extension proposals for the Royal Lyceum Theatre. Moro, the architect of the new Nottingham Playhouse and committee member of the Association of British Theatre Technicians, concluded that the theatre could not be brought up to current standards for proscenium theatres, taking site restrictions into account. On the basis of this report, the committee was able to discourage Oppenheim from the



extension proposal and to persuade him to construct a new theatre on the same site, as part of the office development. The new theatre was to be multi-purpose, combining the requirements of large-scale opera during the Festival and of drama and other productions during the remaining weeks of the year.

The revised proposal required the demolition of the Royal Lyceum Theatre. No concern was expressed at the time for the preservation of the Victorian auditorium. Indeed the proposal appeared to offer the added advantage of removing an 'illegitimate' theatre and its music-hall tradition. A new building enabled a fresh approach to theatre to develop. While the Kings Theatre in Edinburgh had been adequate for the Glynebourne Opera Company and the D'Oyly Carte Company, the facilities did not compare favourably with the new standards set by continental companies and theatres in the 1950s. Comparison was encouraged by the visits of the continental companies during the Festival to the Kings Theatre and the poor standards of the Edinburgh theatres concerned the Director of the Festival.

In October 1960, the Town Council agreed to take the advice of the committee and co-operate with Oppenheim on the commercial development of the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site. The office development was to include a theatre to contain 1700 seats and to be multi-purpose in nature. The Castle Terrace site was to be leased, rather than sold to Oppenheim for 99 years at an annual premium of £300,000, and the local authority would then lease back the theatre built by Oppenheim. The local authority acquired the two remaining properties through compulsory purchase orders. Oppenheim concurred with these arrangements. The Town Council also agreed that, if the overall scheme did not proceed according to these arrangements, then the local authority was obliged to purchase the Royal Lyceum Theatre from Oppenheim at the price of £100,000, the purchase price from Oppenheim to Howard and Wyndham Ltd.

In addition to the recommendation to pursue the joint venture on the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site, the committee while examining facilities in Edinburgh "for the enjoyment of, and participation in, music and the arts" also proposed that the Usher Hall required alterations (carried out in the 1970s), the City's art collection required to be housed (the first City art gallery was to open in 1972) and that an arts centre primarily for amateur groups should be considered (the Churchill Theatre in Morningside was opened in 1965).

Oppenheim presented his proposal publicly for the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site at a press conference held on 1st May 1961. The scheme was an eight storey office block along three sides of a block, which also contained the Usher Hall, constituting the fourth side. The theatre was located in the basement with the fly tower masked externally by the office accommodation. Oppenheim stated that the new theatre would be ready by 1963, the Royal Lyceum Theatre would not be demolished until the new theatre was constructed, and the new theatre would be able to accommodate opera on the scale of Covent Garden. At the Town Council meeting of 23rd June 1961, Provost Dunbar advocated the scheme:

"Edinburgh will not only have another large office block but a really first-class theatre, a theatre capable of putting on the most elaborate operatic productions at Festival time and also available for less ambitious plays and performances at other times".

Councillor Kerr, a member of the Labour opposition, expressed his doubt at the same meeting about the validity of the scheme, saying that the new opera-sized theatre was a 'white elephant' and opera at a large scale could only be put on for a few occasions. This doubt was to remain among the opposition throughout the subsequent stages of the project's history.

A counter-proposal to establish a Scottish National Theatre, but only for drama, on the Castle Terrace site and to

abandon the Oppenheim proposal was established. On 6th September 1961, the Edinburgh and District Trades Council, which included representation from the Scottish Committee of Equity, resolved that a Scottish National Theatre on the Castle Terrace site was a preferred policy and that a meeting should be held of all interested parties including the trade unions, professional organizations and Edinburgh University. Advice had been obtained only from Moro and Kininmonth, the architect for the Oppenheim scheme. The leader in The Scotsman of the same day as the Edinburgh and District Trades Council resolution also advocated that all interested parties should be invited to a meeting with the Provost over the type of theatre required. The counter proposal to establish a Scottish National Theatre was continued at a meeting in October 1961. The Edinburgh Evening News for 21st October 1961 announced that:

"The committee campaigning for the establishment of a national playhouse (Scottish National Theatre) in Edinburgh are holding a public meeting in the Central Hall on Monday 23rd October 1961".

A resolution was proposed by Lennox Milne, the actress, that a Scottish National Theatre should be constructed only on the Castle Terrace site, dedicated to the showing of the best drama of the world throughout the year. The resolution was supported. Milne, the proposer, was a member of the Edinburgh Gateway Company specializing in new plays by Scottish playwrights, and had been, with many actors and actresses in the Gateway Company, a member of the Scottish National Players which had been started before the War by Tyrone Guthrie. The Gateway Company, having taken over the central focus of Scottish theatre, was seen as the embryonic national company. The Gateway Company was experiencing difficulties at that time, with the attitude of their landlord, the Church of Scotland, towards their policy on the selection of plays performed. The issue of a Scottish National Theatre had been debated for some time prior to the counter-move to establish the Castle Terrace site as its location. In 1948, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of

the Exchequer, had made a conditional offer of financial assistance for a National Theatre: the offer required Scotland (as a whole) to contribute to the cost (Keir 1966 p 865). Although the local authority in Edinburgh had considered the project from time to time, no firm proposal had emerged.

Faced with this opposing view of the type of theatre for the Castle Terrace site, Provost Dunbar stated that the new theatre could become a Scottish National Theatre, and, in fact, he had been quoted in The Scotsman of 31st July 1961 claiming that the theatre proposal could be Scotland's National Theatre, although no comment was made about the emphasis on drama.

The multi-purpose nature of the proposed theatre was also questioned. Norman Marshall, who was the chairman of the Association of Theatre Technicians, based in London, wrote to The Scotsman (9.10.1961) stating that:

"While we do not wish to become involved in the argument about whether Edinburgh should have an opera house or a national theatre, we should like to dispel the popular mis-conception that it is possible to combine successfully the two. The physical and theatrical requirements of an opera house are incompatible with those of a theatre for dramatic performances".

The Edinburgh and District Trades Council questioned the concept of the multi-purpose theatre at their meeting of council on 6th December 1962, called for expert advice and suggested Marshall, and Guthrie and the stage designer, Edward Carrick, should be consulted. A further challenge came from the lobby interested in a Civic Theatre to the multi-purpose concept, favouring a theatre for drama only, as stated in a letter to The Scotsman, 25th December 1962, signed by Sinclair Shaw (chairman of the State Theatre Committee), John Henderson (director of the Dundee Repertory Company), Gilbert Bryden (Educational Institute of Scotland) and Charles King (English Association). Further a letter from Neil McKinnon in The Scotsman of 14th February 1962,

criticized the multi-purpose nature of the proposal: Patrick Brookes, President of the Edinburgh University Dramatic Society, wrote to the Edinburgh Evening News (6th March 1962) asking the Town Council to reconsider the multi-purpose nature of the theatre, making the omission of opera in favour of drama; the Educational Institute of Scotland supported drama rather than opera (Edinburgh Evening News, 16th March 1962). The Scottish Committee of the British Equity Association criticized the multi-purpose theatre in the Oppenheim proposals as stated in their 1961 Annual Report, and also expressed concern over the demolition of the Royal Lyceum Theatre. They further suggested purchase of the Empire Theatre for conversion into an opera house. The Empire Theatre was about to close, and generally, Equity was becoming concerned about the number of closures of theatres in all cities. On the question of the re-use of the Empire Theatre, Provost Dunbar replied in The Scotsman, 3rd February 1962, that the acoustics were poor, the stage lacked depth (as described to him in an unofficial report on the Empire Theatre), and also that the Empire was part of a re-development plan concerning Edinburgh University.

At the meeting of the Town Council, 23rd July 1962, devoted exclusively to the future of the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site and held in secret, the leasing arrangements with Oppenheim were agreed. The Labour and Liberal opposition were against the site being developed by the private sector, although the need for a theatre was accepted. The multi-purpose aspect of the theatre was further challenged by the opposition, in spite of a claim by Provost Dunbar that no final decision had been made on the form of the theatre. The vote resulted in a 30-30 division. The Provost placed his casting vote in favour of the leasing arrangement. Scepticism over the multi-purpose nature of the theatre and over the development by the private sector remained. Oppenheim had one year to revise his scheme and complete the financial arrangements.



In May 1963, Duncan Weatherstone succeeded John Dunbar as Provost of the Conservative-controlled Town Council. Like Dunbar, Weatherstone was a particular enthusiast for the new theatre. He had been present at all the relevant meetings concerned with the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site as Treasurer of the Town Council when Dunbar had been Provost. A new layout was presented by Oppenheim on 24th September 1963, showing a fifteen storey block on the site of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, and the new theatre located on the whole of the Castle Terrace site. The theatre was therefore placed in a more prominent position compared with the first of the Oppenheim schemes. The form of the office block, as a tower, was criticized as an intrusion into the Edinburgh skyline. Doubts over the theatre's form and function, the dominance of the tower block, the quality of the design and the reliance on private development were finally complicated by the withdrawal of Oppenheim, as his option allowed, on 10th December 1963. He stated that, through the delays, costs had risen which made the scheme uneconomic for his company. The local authority was then obliged to purchase the Royal Lyceum Theatre for £100,000 according to the initial agreement. The Town Council acquired the theatre on 26th February 1964. Oppenheim had written to Provost Weatherstone on 29th October 1963 suggesting that:

"It is becoming clear that the project for an office block is not likely to be feasible because of the high rental involved, and I have been considering whether the substitution of a hotel for offices might change the picture sufficiently for the whole scheme to go ahead".

Oppenheim initiated an approach to an hotelier, first to Grand Metropolitan Hotels. In his letter to the Town Clerk of 25th November 1963, he considered his withdrawal:

"If I step aside then negotiations with a Hotel company will be easier for the Corporation.  
.....a decision with greatest regret".

After three years and reliance on private investment, the local authority had not advanced in the provision of suitable

facilities for opera but had acquired the Royal Lyceum Theatre. The Town Council had no experience of the management of such an enterprise. After the Oppenheim withdrawal, Provost Weatherstone tried to re-assure publicly, stating that a new theatre was still essential, hinting at an hotel as the alternative to an office block, and adding about the theatre "dual-purpose it will be" (Evening News 11.12.1963). The Edinburgh Labour Party and Scottish Equity were delighted at the withdrawal, as both had questioned the form of theatre, and the Labour group had opposed the reliance on private investment. A more popular view was expressed in an article in The Scotsman (16th December 1963) written by Magnus Magnusson who said forcibly:

"What a sad and sorry tale it is. Has any great city administration ever proved itself so bumbling, so ineffectual, or so pusillanimous as Edinburgh has done over the plans for the redevelopment of the Lyceum Theatre site?"

Two residual effects of the Oppenheim proposal were that the Castle Terrace site had become synonymous with the location of a new theatre, and that the counter-proposals supported by a range of groups and interests had rehearsed the arguments surrounding the needs of professional drama, seen in the form of either the Civic Theatre or the more elevated Scottish National Theatre. During Provost Weatherstone's period of office, 1963-1966, a further proposal for the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site was developed with Weatherstone stating that "if there is no blueprint for an opera house in Edinburgh before I demit office, I will have failed". Furthermore the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company was created in the Royal Lyceum Theatre, in September 1965, under the direction of Tom Fleming.

On 20th February 1964, the Town Council agreed to develop the Castle Terrace site with a theatre for large-scale productions including opera, an arena theatre for drama (as a replacement of the Royal Lyceum Theatre), an hotel (with at least 100 bedrooms) and a conference facility. The Royal Lyceum Theatre was to be demolished. With the inclusion of the Usher Hall in the overall scheme, the total complex, including the hotel could be used as a conference centre during non-Festival times. Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd., had agreed to develop the hotel and conference facilities, with the ground leased from the local authority for 122 years. Donald and Sons Ltd., of Jermyn Street, London, acted as financial advisers to the local authority and negotiators with the brewery: this firm had been adviser to the local authority over Mr. Oppenheim, the purchase of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, and had laid the financial framework for the St. James Square redevelopment into a shopping/office/hotel complex, another joint venture between the local authority and commercial interests during the 1960s in Edinburgh. Kininmonth moved from his association with Oppenheim to being the architect for the proposal by the local authority for the theatres, with the brewery employing their own architect for the hotel. With the joint venture, the attractions for the Town Council included the rent and rates return from the hotel, and conference dimension minimized the 'white elephant' argument for the non-Festival period. The agreed outline proposal in February 1964, included the payment for demolition including the Royal Lyceum Theatre, and the two new theatres, although no costing accompanied the proposal, by the local authority. An outline design was produced publicly in July 1965, with the Town Council voting 49 to 5 in favour of the design. No costs, again, were considered at this stage. The target date for completion was 1969, with demolition to start by the end of 1965. Provost Weatherstone envisaged laying the foundation stone in May 1966 as his last function as Provost. Criticism of the proposal to develop the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site continued. The design

was attacked during the debate by the Labour Councillor, James Kerr who said that decisions had been taken in an arrogant manner by the Provost, and that the hotel had been included only to satisfy the commercial interests in the City. In a letter to The Scotsman (10.8.1965) Shaw continued his condemnation of the opera provision and advocated a concentration on the drama theatre only, while Sheila King Murray in a letter of The Scotsman (24.8.1965) expressed concern that provision of an opera house should not be seen isolated from the arts needs of the whole community. Alex McCrindle of Scottish Equity attacked the concept of an arena theatre and advocated a proscenium form (Evening News and Dispatch, 25.9.1965)

Provost Weatherstone was anxious to demonstrate progress and organized the demolition of the buildings on the Castle Terrace site in 1965. Two petitions were submitted to the Town Clerk: the first was over the demolition of Poole's Synod Hall, signed by 284 people, stating that:

"It is the only cinema in Edinburgh to show films which we have not been able to see when we were young"

and, secondly, a request from the Edinburgh Winter Bowling Association who used the basement of Poole's Synod Hall, signed by 644 people, asking for new indoor bowling facilities to be found elsewhere before demolition. These petitions were of no consequence, the site was cleared and a sign erected by the end of 1965 claiming the site for a new Edinburgh Civic Theatre.

Architectural schemes were prepared for the theatre provision and hotel/conference complex by their respective architects. The schemes, and also a cost report on the theatre provision, were submitted to the Town Council on 12th July 1966. The brief for the theatre provision had been prepared in consultation with five London-based experts, Norman Marshall, Peter Moro, Ian Albury, William Bundy, and Frederick Bentham.

By the time of the submission, the Provost was Herbert Brechin. Both Weatherstone and Brechin shared political allegiance but their personalities and interests were different. Provost Brechin's interest lay with sport and support for the Commonwealth Games proposed to be held in Edinburgh in 1970. He and the Town Council rejected the submission, of which the local authority commitment had been costed at £3 million. The meeting on 12th July 1966 lasted only ten minutes. While the Town Council had accepted the proposal in principle during the previous year, the disclosure of the financial consequences reversed their attitude. Rejection had been influenced by four factors. First, the newly-formed Edinburgh Civic Theatre during its first season had attracted poor audiences. Second, Howard and Wyndham Ltd., were making public announcements explaining the financial difficulties of running large theatres and were considering selling the Kings Theatre. Third, the recurrent financial commitment to the arts had been increased substantially by the previous Town Council under Weatherstone: in addition to the annual subsidy to the Edinburgh Civic Theatre, the grants had been doubled to £150,000 annually for the Festival, the Scottish National Orchestra and Scottish Opera (which had started in Glasgow in 1963). Fourth, the Town Council had become financially committed to the Commonwealth Games. Financial caution had superseded the enthusiasm for the arts of the previous year.

Nevertheless by the end of 1966, the Town Council approved expenditure of £1½ million on the theatres. The cost by November 1966 had risen to £4 million. The Town Council at their meeting on 31st November 1966 decided on their £1½ million share and to ask the Arts Council to contribute the remaining £2½ million as a grant. The Scotsman (13.3.1967) reported that Jennie Lee, Minister with responsibility for the Arts was optimistic about a government grant.

The organization of the Commonwealth Games took precedence on the agenda of the Town Council in 1967.



At the beginning of 1968, the Town Council inherited a series of related issues:

- a. a choice between two projects for the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site: the first costing £4 million consisting of a theatre accommodating large-scale productions including opera, an arena theatre and also alterations to the Usher Hall, with the local authority contributing £1½ million and a central government grant covering the remaining £2½ million; the second restricted to only the £1½ million the local authority was prepared to contribute, with the scheme considerably modified as a consequence. No progress had been made since the approval in principle by the Town Council in July 1965 over the first of these choices with central government remaining optimistic but not forthcoming.
- b. the hotel company, Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd., were not prepared to wait indefinitely and required a decision over their part of the scheme. They had been waiting almost three years. A consequence of the inclusion of the hotel was that the Royal Lyceum Theatre would have to be demolished: removal of the hotel meant retention of the existing theatre and the new opera house could be sited on the whole of the Castle Terrace site. The local authority though, while reducing capital expenditure by not building a second theatre, would lose income from rent and rates from the hotel.
- c. the Kings Theatre, the traditional venue for opera and ballet, was to be sold by Howard and Wyndham Ltd., and had been offered to the local authority for £200,000. Mr. Donald of Howard and Wyndham Ltd., had prepared plans showing how the stage could be increased (the restricted nature of the stage was the main disadvantage of the Kings Theatre for large-scale productions). An increase in the stage area would require acquisition of the adjacent tenement blocks,

and Howard and Wyndham Ltd., had already offered terms to the owners in the tenements. The total cost of the theatre including the new work was £600,000. A deal with the Town Council would have involved continuation of the management of the theatre by the staff of Howard and Wyndham Ltd., as they had the expertise and access to the circuit of touring companies. For Howard and Wyndham Ltd., the sale of the theatre released them from the financial burden of running losses and maintenance costs. The Scottish Arts Council supported in principle the purchase of the Kings Theatre by the local authority, as an intermediate solution until a new opera house was completed, since Edinburgh could not be left without a venue for opera during the Festival and large-scale productions for the rest of the year. The Scottish Arts Council indicated that they would seriously consider the payment of half of the purchase cost and stage improvements (through the Housing of the Arts fund), if the local authority contributed the other half.

- d. the Gateway Theatre was to be sold at a cost of £100,000. The proposal to demolish the Royal Lyceum Theatre to make way for a new theatre also included the transfer of the newly-formed Edinburgh Civic Theatre to the Gateway Theatre for the duration of the period between closure of the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the opening of the new theatre. Purchase of the Gateway Theatre, and also the Kings Theatre, would have meant that the local authority would have become owners of four theatres, if the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the Churchill Theatre were included, in a five year period, and the local authority would have become the sole provider of public theatre facilities in Edinburgh.
- e. the Royal Lyceum Theatre had housed the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company since 1965 with a stage and dressing rooms inadequate for a resident repertory company and the theatre generally required maintenance repairs.

- f. if the Kings Theatre was not purchased by the local authority, the prospect was that the building would be demolished or converted into a supermarket and would therefore no longer be available for theatrical performances. Similarly if the Gateway Theatre was not purchased then this theatre would be converted into a television studio for S.T.V. (as was eventually the case). And with the proposed demolition of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, no location for professional theatre would be available until the two new theatres were constructed. Three existing theatres, with certain inadequacies, would be replaced by two new theatres with a three or four year interval when no theatre for professional companies, including the Festival requirement, would be available.
- g. the Director of the Edinburgh Festival had been promised by Provost Dunbar in 1960 and subsequently by the other Provosts, that adequate accommodation would be provided for opera. The Festival itself became an annual reminder of the prevailing inadequacies of the facilities: at the start of the 1967 Festival, the Director, Peter Diamond, who had taken over from Lord Harewood in 1964, stated that a new opera house was essential for the future of the Festival, that ballet was being staged in a "bingo hall" (The Empire Theatre), opera was being presented in a theatre not really adequate for the purpose (The Kings Theatre) and the Lyceum Theatre was "not one of the most modern and up to date". Diamond was "disillusioned and depressed by the delays".
- h. criticism continued over the form and function of the theatres proposed, with John Wyckham, a theatre consultant, publicly disagreeing with the proposed arena theatre and stating that a proscenium form of theatre was essential for a Civic Theatre. The site restrictions did not allow for a proscenium theatre with the requirement of a fly tower.

- i. Scottish Opera, which had grown out of the Scottish National Orchestra, under Alexander Gibson, had become an immediate success, measured by popularity and artistic acclaim internationally since its commencement in 1963 (Wilson, 1973). Over the four year period, Scottish Opera had established itself on the international network of professional opera companies and had adopted a Scottish identity previously directed towards the Scottish National Theatre and the emphasis on drama. Scottish Opera, while based in Glasgow, received a grant from the Edinburgh Corporation and played for a short annual season at the Kings Theatre. In so doing, Scottish Opera became a further critical voice over the facilities at the Kings Theatre and an advocate of a new opera house. The proscenium opening at the Kings Theatre was too narrow for a few of the larger operatic productions, such as Wagner's 'The Ring', which were rarely performed. However, during the 1967 season, Scottish Opera did produce the Ring cycle emphasising the physical inadequacies of the Kings Theatre and their enthusiasm for a new building. For the Town Council, a new opera house and an extended annual season could mean the transfer of allegiance from Glasgow to Edinburgh of Scottish Opera and overcome the 'white elephant' charge of an empty opera house during non-Festival periods.

By July 1968, the Lord Provost's Committee met to consider these issues and, as a result of their deliberations, were able to recommend to the full Town Council that:

- a. the Royal Lyceum Theatre/Castle Terrace site was overcrowded and that a new site should be found for the hotel. In fact, Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Ltd., had decided not to accept the offer to lease a section of the site in February 1968, thereby releasing the whole of the Castle Terrace site for the opera house. Conference facilities would be considered on an adjacent site which had recently become vacant, by the

closure of the Caledonian Station.

- b. an opera house and a small drama theatre would be built on the Castle Terrace site, and improvements carried out to the Usher Hall, at a cost of £3 million. The opera house was to contain 1600 seats, and the multi-purpose nature of the auditorium retained.
- c. the Royal Lyceum Theatre was to be retained, but then replaced on its own site at a cost of £1 million following the construction of the new opera house.
- d. the Kings Theatre was to be purchased at the cost of £200,000, retaining the management policy and staff but not extending the facilities at the rear. The Kings Theatre would continue as the venue of opera and other large-scale productions until the new opera house was ready. The Scottish Arts Council's offer of half of the cost was not pursued; with the Town Council concentrating on the funds from central government for the opera house. The Gateway Theatre was not to be purchased, since the Royal Lyceum Theatre would be retained until the new opera house was complete.

At the meeting of the Town Council on 3rd October 1968, the plans were approved and agreement reached to apply for a government grant of £2 million (half the total cost of the new opera house and replacement of the Royal Lyceum Theatre) through the Arts Council. Provost Brechin, six councillors and officials visited London and discussed the possibility with Miss Lee, the Minister responsible for the Arts, and Lord Goodman, the Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain, on 27th November 1968. Miss Lee supported the proposal, thought the architectural solution "splendid", and expressed enthusiasm to the delegation but no firm agreement was given or any financial support proposed.

In the pursuit of providing adequate facilities for opera, by the end of 1968, the local authority had created a cleared site, formed the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company, and



acquired the Royal Lyceum Theatre and Kings Theatre.

The election of May 1969 produced a new Provost, James McKay, who became the fourth Conservative Provost to carry the responsibility of the Castle Terrace site. Not until the Town Council meeting of 4th December 1969 was the final approval given for the local authority to be committed to half the cost of the total proposal for the opera house and replacement of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, at an increased total cost of £4½ million. The Town Council was once more financially committed to their share of the scheme, and a full and firm application was submitted to the Treasury through the Arts Council of Great Britain. It was now up to the Arts Council to respond to the commitment by the Town Council. The Arts Council had been producing a report on opera and ballet in Great Britain since 1968, which was eventually published at the beginning of 1970. The report (Arts Council of Great Britain 1970) included a recommendation that there should be an opera house in Edinburgh or Glasgow: Edinburgh had advanced plans and the Festival requirements, while Glasgow had emerged as the home of Scottish Opera, and the Scottish National Orchestra.

A formal announcement about a government grant was not made until the eve of the Festival in 1971. The General Election of 1970 had produced a Conservative government and a change in the Minister responsible for the Arts and the policy towards arts expenditure. The election period had been an explanation for the delay by central government in reacting to the submission for a grant by the Town Council. The 1971 Festival happened to be the 25th anniversary of the annual event and it was Prime Minister, Edward Heath, frequent visitor to the Festival, and supporter of the arts, who announced in Edinburgh on the eve of the Festival that a grant of £2¼ million was to be offered by the government. The grant constituted half the estimated costs. On 30th

November 1971, the government's offer was accepted by the Town Council with the overwhelming majority of 53 votes to 8. Eight Labour Councillors, including Peter Wilson, Jack Kane and George Foulkes, opposed the proposal, claiming that cut-backs would be necessary if the opera house was built, the public in Edinburgh did not really want an opera house, and a peoples' theatre would be a preferred solution. The enthusiasts among the Councillors, otherwise, irrespective of Party, considerably outnumbered the objectors to the project and the expenditure locally and nationally. So in December 1971, money, brief, site, architect, Council approval and government grant appeared to be in place after eleven years of debate.

But by 1972, two new factors arose. The City Architect had retired and his replacement, Brian Annable, took up his appointment at the beginning of 1972, and the local elections of May 1972 produced the first, and only, Labour Provost, Jack Kane, of the Edinburgh Corporation, as well as the last Town Council before the re-organization of local government in 1975. By the end of 1972, the brief had been reconsidered, additional consultants had been appointed, the cost of the opera house alone had almost trebled, and Kininmonth had been dismissed as architect of the scheme, after twelve years of association with the various projects for the Castle Terrace site.

Provost Kane had been one of the minority of eight who had voted against the opera house proposal in 1971, and Councillor Wilson, a further opponent, became leader of the Labour group in the Town Council. Provost Kane and Councillor Wilson were now in a position to implement a decision inherited from the previous Conservative Town Council, and the government grant from a Conservative Government still in power. Furthermore the majority of their own party had supported the scheme in 1971. They never overtly opposed the progress of implementation or hindered the project's development, but neither displayed enthusiasm. The attitude

of Councillor Wilson was to give the proposal sufficient 'rope' hoping for the eventual 'hanging'. While Provost Kane accepted the role of implementor of the decisions made during the previous Town Council, he was able to control two specific aspects of the implementation. These were the briefing and the choice of the architect.

The Scottish Office had become involved, since the formal approval of a government grant in 1971, in the debate over the opera house as advisers to central government through the Scottish Education Department, the division responsible for the administration of capital appropriated to arts projects. The Secretary of State for Scotland, Gordon Campbell, had stated that:

"We must be satisfied together with the Corporation that the project is undertaken only on the basis that it can be carried out successfully and without delay". (The Scotsman 23.11.1972)

The Scottish Education Department, in collaboration with the Scottish Arts Council, required re-assurance over the brief. The new City Architect and the Depute City Architect, Stuart Harris, re-examined the brief taking advice from a further set of consultants and from the national opera and ballet companies as well as other potential users and "some three design experts in various branches of the theatre" (Edinburgh Corporation 1975, preface). The previous brief had become out of date and a new set of requirements were devised (Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 3). These included:

"the construction on the Castle Terrace site of (a) a new multi-purpose theatre, excellent for the general repertoire of opera and useful for larger scale drama and other shows, (b) a studio theatre, and (c) concourse, administrative offices, restaurants and backstage accommodation serving all three theatres (including the Royal Lyceum Theatre);

The demolition of the existing stage area of the Royal Lyceum Theatre and its rebuilding to a new design integrated with the above;

short-term repair and refurbishing of the rest of the Royal Lyceum Theatre buildings". (Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 3).

The brief also included further modifications to the Usher Hall. A second phase included restoration and minor improvements of the auditorium of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, and the reconstruction of the front-of-house areas of the building. The Depute City Architect organized a 2-day conference on auditoria acoustics in Edinburgh in May 1972, at which the delegates showed that a multi-purpose auditorium could be devised that combined the visual and aural constraints of drama with the acoustic requirements of opera. The maximum seating capacity of such an auditorium was 1400. The City Architect's Department produced their own feasibility study, including a model of the auditorium and a model of the overall massing.

A change to the previous briefs was the retention of the Victorian auditorium of the Royal Lyceum Theatre. No protest had been forthcoming during the 1960s over the demolition of either the Royal Lyceum Theatre or the buildings on the Castle Terrace site. The Poole's Synod Hall had contained a facade by James Gowan and an adjacent residential block had been designed by the same architect. The 1960s had seen an acceptable response to renewal schemes. The conservation lobby in Edinburgh only increased in strength and influence when the majority of the built forms as the result of renewal had been unfavourably received. The St. James' Centre in Edinburgh was a scheme which had produced the most adverse comments. Furthermore, Victorian architecture, including theatre buildings, was being reconsidered (Howard 1970), and the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company under the new director, Clive Perry, in the late 1960s had shown in the Royal Lyceum Theatre that modern productions could be presented in a proscenium theatre. The experimentation in theatre form in the 1960s had not produced an alternative form of stage/audience relationship that could accommodate the majority of known plays.

At the Town Council meeting of 19th October 1972, the City Treasurer revealed that the revised cost of the Royal Lyceum

Theatre/Castle Terrace project was £8.96 million for the total scheme, according to the August 1971 building tender prices. This figure was almost twice the previous costing of December 1969 as submitted to the Town Council: the increase was due to the general increased building costs and the more extensive accommodation and machinery included in the new brief. Councillor Wilson, the leader of the Labour group on the Council, expressed his pleasure at the increase in costs since an increase would probably mean the abandonment of the scheme: Wilson had been consistently opposed to the scheme. Also at the meeting, Provost Kane reported that Kininmonth had been dismissed as architect for the project. The City Architect had sent a letter to Kininmonth terminating his appointment "at the end of the feasibility stage" of the project on 21st September 1972.

The City Architect had produced a report dated 15th September 1972, stating that Kininmonth did not have the man-power resources to carry out the theatre project. This report had been presented to the Lord Provost's Committee which had approved the cessation of Kininmonth's involvement in the project. However, the City Architect's letter to Kininmonth had been sent without the knowledge of the majority of the Councillors. The City Architect and the Depute City Architect had claimed that their Department within the Edinburgh Corporation could handle such a project, with the evidence of the Meadowbank Sports Centre. This building had been completed in a short period of time, on time and on cost for the Commonwealth Games in 1970 by the City Architect's Department. Many members of the design team were still working in the Department. Further, the new City Architect had stated that, unlike the previous policy of the Council, he would like to see more of the prestige City projects remain in his Department and not given to private architect's offices. Retention of the prestige projects would attract a better quality of architect into the public sector. Provost Kane, was sympathetic to this approach in principle.



In a statement published in The Scotsman on 21st October, 1972, Kininmonth claimed that there had been a concerted effort to oust him by the City Architect and the Chief Architect to the Scottish Development Department. Tam Dalyell, M.P., for West Lothian, asked for a House of Commons statement over the dismissal, accusing civil servants of St. Andrews House of improper conduct. On 13th December 1972, the Secretary of State for Scotland answered Tam Dalyell in the House of Commons over the opera house proposals stating that considered views were to be presented soon and that the Edinburgh Corporation had the sole responsibility over the choice of architect. Dalyell approached Sir Alan Marre, the Ombudsman, to investigate the situation over the opera house but was turned down. Kininmonth took the issue of his dismissal to the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, who reported in July 1973 that they were critical of the manner in which the Edinburgh Corporation had handled Kininmonth's appointment and dismissal. The report also added that a full investigation had been limited as correspondence generated by the Scottish Office over the dismissal had not been made available to the investigating committee as they were covered by the Official Secrets Act.

At the meeting of the Town Council on 7th December 1972, the Councillors said that they had been ill-informed about the costs and the dismissal of the architect. Councillor Malcolm Rifkind (Conservative) walked out of the meeting in protest. Certain Councillors and officials, he claimed, had stifled discussion of the scheme. The City Architect had also sent invitations to each of the Councillors to a 'teach-in' so that the progress over the previous months of the opera house could be explained. The 'teach-in' was scheduled for 18th December 1972. Conservative Councillor, Tom McGregor, questioned whether an official could organize such an event and stated that the 'teach-in' should be boycotted. Only twelve Councillors actually attended, including Councillor Rifkind who still felt that discussion was inadequate.

A letter was sent by the Secretary of State for Scotland to the Edinburgh Corporation, dated 30th January 1973, confirming that the government were still prepared to offer half the cost of the revised scheme on condition that the alterations to the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the restaurant were not part of the agreement, a steering committee were to keep the project under continuous review of the planning and construction, there were no commitments to running costs by any central government agency, and the government grant was dependent on approval by the Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland. This meant that, of the £8.96 million (1971 prices), £7.47 million was considered to be subject to the 50% grant (i.e. £3.78 million) leaving £5.18 million to be found by the local authority, with costs increasing at 5% annually of the basic costs. The Town Council eventually agreed to accept the grant and to pay the contribution by the Corporation at their meeting on 1st June 1973. At the meeting fourteen Labour Councillors and one Conservative supported the abandonment of the project but lost to the 45 majority. The project was opposed in particular by the leader of the Labour group, Councillor Wilson, who however advocated 1p on the rates towards a people's theatre on the Castle Terrace site: the City Treasurer felt that the opera house was "for the privileged and articulate minority;" Baillie Meek claimed that if the project were put to a referendum, the citizens of Edinburgh would answer with a "loud raspberry".

At the Town Council meeting of 26th July 1973, the City Architect stated that the choice of architectural firm for the project had been reduced to three: Renton, Howard and Wood; Basil Spence, Glover and Ferguson; and Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners. The list had been devised in consultation with the Royal Institute of British Architects, and, at a previous meeting of the Town Council in June 1973 the City Architect's own Department had been excluded and Kininmonth's name included on the insistence of the Councillors. The City Architect recommended, Renton, Howard

and Wood but the Councillors voted for the Edinburgh Office of Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners. The outline design was announced on 23rd June 1974 but with a further increase of the cost to £18 million at 1974 prices. The outline design was presented to the Town Council by Stuart Harris, the Depute City Architect who had become the project manager for the Castle Terrace project, and Sir Robert Matthew and John Richards for the architects. Harris also became the principal spokesman for the project. The Royal Fine Art Commission gave their approval on 2nd November 1974 after the scheme had been revised by lowering the fly-tower. By the end of 1974, the architects were producing detailed plans; the project was following the programme for completion in 1980, and confidence was high among the design team. Furthermore the morale of the designers was further heightened by the prevailing mood of pride in all things Scottish, explained by the discovery of north sea oil with its affect of increased prosperity for Scotland and the nationalists' political achievement of putting Scotland on the map.

The confidence was short-lived. Certain external and internal factors adversely affected the project such that, by the end of 1975, the scheme had been abandoned, and, by the end of 1977, the Castle Terrace site was to be leased for hotel development.

Soaring costs and economic recession had produced government restrictions on all capital projects by local authorities, including the Castle Terrace project. Building costs had risen in the previous three years at a faster rate than at any other comparable period since the Second World War, and the economic recession had been exacerbated, in part, by the extent of capital expenditure in the 1960s by local authorities and the continued burden of loan charges. The euphoria for a new building diminished as the capital and running costs

consequences became apparent. While the winter of 1973, with its 3-day weeks and petrol shortage, had brought energy into the category of crisis within the public consciousness, seen directly in the running costs of buildings. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his budget speech of 12th November 1974, had defined the level to which financial restrictions had to be imposed on local authorities, saying that:

"No matter how much we would like to see a further development of standards and services, the rate of increase which so far outstrips the growth in national resources cannot go on indefinitely..... they (the local authorities) must limit the rise in their expenditure to what is absolutely inescapable".  
(Hansard, 12.11.1974).

The White Paper entitled The Public Expenditure Survey for 1975 (Cmnd. 5879) showed the intentions of central government by insisting that local authorities were to restrict their rate of growth in spending to  $2\frac{3}{4}\%$  per year. The Budget of 1975 went further, proposing cuts of 10% on capital expenditure and services and a reduction in current expenditure by  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ . The process of releasing resources from the public sector (to encourage industrial expansion through private investment) by reducing the budgets of local authorities continued with increasing stringency through the 1970s (Public Expenditure White Paper, Cmnd.6393, 1976).

A counter-proposal was initiated by the 'Save the Playhouse' campaign, to re-use the recently closed Playhouse Cinema in Edinburgh, as an alternative to the opera house on the Castle Terrace site. In 1973, the Playhouse Cinema in Greenside had closed and was sold for £260,000 to Maxwell Properties (East) Ltd., who intended to demolish the building and redevelop the site for commercial purposes. But planning permission for redevelopment, as proposed by the developers, was refused, and in December 1974 the Secretary of State announced that the recommendation of the Historic Buildings Section of the Scottish Development Department to list the building had been approved, thereby effectively halting any immediate possibility of its demolition. The Playhouse was

large with an auditorium containing 3,300 seats, and had been built originally as a variety theatre with full back-stage accommodation but since its opening in 1929 had operated only as a cinema. It was the Scottish Theatre Organ Preservation Society which first became concerned about the possible demolition of the building and had formed the 'Save the Playhouse' campaign. The 'Save the Playhouse' campaign had collected 15,000 signatures to support a petition which was sent to the Town Council in 1973 for the preservation of the building. The campaign was not explicitly seen as an alternative to the opera house project on the Castle Terrace site. No action was taken by the Town Council over the petition. However the Scottish Arts Council commissioned Theatre Projects Ltd., to examine the potential use of the Playhouse as a theatre. The report, completed in February 1974, was favourable and recommended purchase by the local authority, and its use, after conversion, as a theatre. The cost of purchase at the time, as stated by Maxwell Properties (East) Ltd., was £290,000. The report, which was confidential, was submitted to the Edinburgh Corporation by the Scottish Arts Council, with the suggestion that the Playhouse could be seen as a serious contender to the opera house on the Castle Terrace site. On the advice of the City Architect, the Lord Provost's Committee decided to take no action, once more, over the Playhouse purchase. The City Architect had concluded that the stage area would have to be completely altered, the acoustics were inadequate, there was no guarantee that the government would give a grant and the rate-payers would experience a greater financial burden than with the new, and entire, Castle Terrace scheme. Perhaps a more pertinent reason for the rejection was that the local authority in 1974 was committed to the Castle Terrace project having already spent heavily on fees and expenses for the project and with, at the time, a design team of sixty persons involved in its development.

In September 1974, the Scottish Theatre Organ Preservation



Society, unsatisfied with the response by the Edinburgh Corporation, extended their campaign to include the Playhouse as an alternative to the Castle Terrace project. They asked the Secretary of State for an investigation into the 'opera house affair'. No immediate action was taken. In February 1975, the organizers of the 'Save the Playhouse' campaign arranged a private visit, with a song recital, for the Councillors and other interested citizens. The organizers claimed that the majority of those invited were enthusiastic, and surprised at the scale and quality of the auditorium. Evidence of the success was that by March 1975 the City of Edinburgh Labour Party stated that their official policy was to abandon the Castle Terrace project, to consider the Playhouse as an alternative and to recommend that the Castle Terrace site should be reserved for another use (Evening News 3.3.1975).

The re-organization of local government in 1975 was to replace the Edinburgh Corporation by a two-tier system and new local authority departments of recreation with a responsibility for the performing arts, at both the District and Regional levels. The policy for theatre provision in Edinburgh became the basis of preliminary skirmishes between the two bodies, as respective responsibilities were established. The new ruling Conservative group elected into the first District Council in May 1975 inherited the commitment, although interest was waning, to support the Castle Terrace project as well as the contradictory directive to work within the government's restrictions on local authority expenditure. They also had the policy of immediate action to develop the numerous derelict or empty sites in Edinburgh including the Castle Terrace site, within a general aim to reduce or contain the financial burden on the rate payers. The new Lothian Regional Council was controlled by the Labour group and decided to support the campaign for the Playhouse purchase, and not to support the Castle Terrace project. Councillor Wilson, who had become convenor of the Regional Council, had consistently opposed the Castle Terrace

project as Corporation Councillor. He now was able to counter-act the project with support for the Playhouse. Similarly, Regional Councillors Foulkes and Cook who had criticized the Castle Terrace project as Corporation Councillors, advocated consideration of the purchase of the Playhouse by the Region as an alternative.

The running costs incurred generally by the performing arts had increased during the early years of the 1970s at a higher rate than the average large inflation increase. Income through ticket sales had not kept pace. Ticket prices had only increased marginally in the years 1970-1975, which placed an increased responsibility and pressure on the local authority, central government and the Scottish Arts Council to increase their level of financial subsidy to the performing arts. The recurrent financial commitment to the Edinburgh Civic Theatre, Scottish Opera and Scottish National Orchestra had become an immediate issue for the Town Council to increase its grants as subsidies to these companies.

Increased running costs also accentuated the financial dependence on the annual grants from the Scottish Arts Council for these, and other, companies. The increased demands on the funds of the Scottish Arts Council produced a shift of policy by the Council from a responsive to a more promotional role to determine a method of resource allocation, the Council commenced to outline policy towards the arts and consider priorities, rather than only responding to local initiatives. In so doing the Scottish Arts Council became more concerned about theatre provision in Edinburgh and the effect on recurrent grants to the established companies. The National Theatre in London was about to open, which had shown that the considerable increase in running costs due to the move to the new building from the existing Old Vic Theatre, the first location of the National Theatre Company. The payment of the increased costs was to fall mainly on the Arts Council of Great Britain.

A further increase in the estimated cost of the Castle Terrace project occurred due to inflation. The total cost, based on tender prices for January, 1975, ascertained from the government index published in March 1975, was estimated at £19.5 million, of which, based on the original offer by central government, £8.5 million would be forthcoming as a grant, leaving £11 million as the local authority share. Over the previous three years the indexed price of building had shown that the purchasing power of the pound had almost halved. These financial details were explained at a public meeting held on 28th April, 1975 by the Depute City Architect on behalf of the Edinburgh Corporation.

The Theatre Royal in Glasgow showed that conditions suitable for opera did not necessarily require a new building. The existing Theatre Royal in Glasgow had been purchased in 1973, renovated, and opened in October 1975, with the aid of a government grant covering half the total cost of £2 million. The remainder of the money had been raised by appeal and contributions from the Scottish Arts Council and local authority. The success of the Theatre Royal which had become the permanent home of Scottish Opera in Glasgow rather than its Capital city, exemplified the advantage of conversion of existing theatres: the Kings Theatre in Edinburgh, was of comparable size, and could accommodate those productions of Scottish Opera, styled for their own theatre.

By the autumn of 1975, political interest had waned in the Castle Terrace project, which was abandoned by the District Council on 30th October 1975. The new Provost in 1975, James Millar, who supported the project, was unable to take the full Conservative group with him. Four Conservative Councillors defied the whip. Councillors Cornelius Waugh and Brian Crombie voted with Labour and Councillors Gordon McAra and Brian McFarlane abstained. The voting was 32 to 47.

So ended the story of the opera house on the Castle Terrace site. A decision that the government was not prepared to make any financial commitment to the Edinburgh opera house had been conveyed the evening before the meeting of the District Council. The communication was by telephone. The Prime Minister, Harold Wilson (a Labour Government had been returned at the 1974 election) explained later that the Scottish Office had had only a short period of time to confirm the withdrawal, hence the method of communication of his decision. In a letter to Malcolm Rifkind (who had become Conservative M.P. for Edinburgh Pentlands), the Prime Minister confirmed that there was no alternative to the government's decision not to make a financial commitment (letter dated 16.10.1975). The government, though, by its pre-meeting communication had virtually stopped the scheme for the foreseeable future (the District Council could have continued in principle on their own), but the informal nature of the communication placed the onus on the District Council to appear to be formally rejecting the opera house.

The abandonment of the opera house coincided with the opening of the Theatre Royal by Scottish Opera in Glasgow.

As an alternative to waiting for the opera house project on the Castle Terrace site to be resurrected, if ever, the Scottish Arts Council, in February 1976, proposed that three existing auditoria in Edinburgh should be improved to provide facilities for large- medium- and small-scale productions. That was, either the Playhouse or the Empire Theatre should be purchased and adapted for large-scale opera, musicals and the like; the Kings Theatre was to house medium-scale productions; and the Royal Lyceum Theatre was to continue its present policy for drama and small-scale productions but with its backstage facilities improved. The proposal represented the first main intervention in the policy for theatre provision in Edinburgh by the Scottish Arts Council.

Previously their role had been restricted to responding to the suggestions presented by the local authority. In addition to the examination of the re-use of the theatres in Edinburgh, the Scottish Arts Council actively promoted this proposal as a specific policy. Their intervention also coincided with the first year of the re-organization of local government, when the District and Region were working on opposing policies.

If the opera house project on the Castle Terrace site had been given the go-ahead, the future of the Playhouse and the Kings Theatre (whose function, in part, would have been replaced by the new opera house) would have had to be re-considered, with the two buildings both being listed by the mid-1970s. The renovation of the auditorium and the public spaces of the Royal Lyceum Theatre, including the backstage re-construction, had been included in the last of the projects for the Castle Terrace site.

A contribution made by the proposal of the Scottish Arts Council, as well as its realism in 1976, was the separation of production scales between the three theatres. Over the history of the new opera house on the Castle Terrace site, the multi-purpose nature of the auditorium had been a controversial requirement. The multi-purpose requirement came about regarding the proposed use of a new theatre during the non-Festival periods at a time when the Royal Lyceum Theatre, as the principal location for drama, was to be demolished. The brief for the new opera house had included the requirement that the auditorium was to be ideal for opera and good for drama: ideal for opera meant acoustically, as the physical constraint on the auditorium design was aural, and visual limitations were imposed by the requirements of drama. These constraints limited the number of seats in such a multi-purpose auditorium to 1400, and the combination of drama and opera required a sophisticated technical solution to the stage/orchestra pit/fly tower arrangement, which was expensive. (If opera had been the



only requirement of the Castle Terrace theatre then the seating capacity of the auditorium could have been increased to 1800+, but there would have been difficulties accommodating an increased size of auditorium and associated public spaces on the already limited site area). The separation of the scales of production among, and the re-use of, the three existing auditoria in Edinburgh was a less costly solution (than the single new theatre) and provided for potentially larger audiences. The proposal offered a broader range of facilities, and dealt with the issue of the Playhouse purchase, the role of (and expenditure on) the Kings Theatre and the Royal Lyceum Theatre. While the immediate needs of large scale productions in the City including the Edinburgh Festival could have been satisfied in a shorter period of time than if a new building had been realized. The total cost of the re-use of the three auditoria was less than the entire cost of the Castle Terrace project in 1976, although less attractive to the rate-payers of Edinburgh if a government grant was not forthcoming. To illustrate the variation in capital costs for the presentation of large-scale opera, the building cost per seat in a new opera house with the multi-purpose Castle Terrace project, with its 1400 seats, was £13,500, while the cost of a seat in the Playhouse, purchased and renovated, was £1,600, with more seats and a larger potential financial return.

The District Council, who had become under the re-organization arrangements owners and licencees, and who were responsible for the management and fabric of the Royal Lyceum Theatre and Kings Theatre, viewed the proposal by the Scottish Arts Council favourably. A joint meeting of the Policy and Resources Committee and the Recreation and Leisure Committee of 15th April, 1976 recommended the immediate improvement of the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the adaptation of the Kings Theatre to comply with the proposals of the Scottish Arts Council. Purchase of the Playhouse was rejected by the District, arguing that the level of interest in the theatre

did not justify three theatres in the City. The Regional Council showed further interest in the Playhouse, which, with its purchase and renovation, would have meant a positive role for the Region in the centre of Edinburgh in the provision of the arts and entertainment for the people.

Following the abandonment of the Castle Terrace project in October 1975, the pressure group advocating the conversion of the Playhouse was placed in a stronger position. In August 1975, the Edinburgh Playhouse Society had been formed to raise money for the conversion of the building into Edinburgh's "third theatre" either by purchase by the District Council or the Regional Council, or through a trust. Patrick Brookes, chairman of the Edinburgh Playhouse Society, had consistently opposed the various Castle Terrace projects and emerged as the principal advocate, other than politicians, for the abandonment of the Castle Terrace project with the substitution of the Playhouse (letter to The Scotsman 9.9.75).

The acoustics of the auditorium of the Playhouse emerged as a main technical issue. Stuart Harris, the Depute City Architect and project manager for the Castle Terrace project, at a public meeting on the Castle Terrace project in April 1975 stated that the City had rejected the Playhouse as the acoustics were inadequate. The auditorium could not accommodate the multi-purpose requirements of the Castle Terrace brief. Harris further explained his views on the inadequacy of the acoustics of the Playhouse in a letter published in The Scotsman in March 1975. Brian McDermote replied (The Scotsman 13.10.75) that Harris referred to acoustic tests that had shown poor acoustics, but the auditorium was empty at the time of the test (Harris had carried out a test in 1974), and reminded him that the Castle Terrace project was for both opera and drama, whereas the Playhouse could be solely for opera (or rather, large scale productions). He added that the Playhouse conversion could

be achieved more quickly and cheaply than the Castle Terrace project. This would have been the case.

The Department of Architecture at Heriot-Watt University prepared a detailed proposal for the conversion of the Playhouse and showed in fact that the acoustics could be comparable to the requirements considered for the Castle Terrace project. The group included an acoustician who had been involved in the design of the Castle Terrace project.

To counteract the criticism of the acoustics of the Playhouse, the 'Save the Playhouse' campaigners organized further acoustic tests but with the auditorium occupied: 2,000 senior citizens were invited free to the Playhouse on 21st September 1975 and acoustic tests were carried out by a team from Bristol University. The tests, which proved favourable, were sponsored by the Scottish Arts Council. The purchase of the Playhouse by the local authority had been supported by the Scottish Arts Council since 1974, in order that the building at least would not be demolished or become a further bingo venue. In February 1976, the Scottish Arts Council stated clearly their view that the purchase of the Playhouse was the first priority in their strategy for the Edinburgh theatres.

Following the decision of the District Council in April 1976 not to purchase the Playhouse, the Regional Council decided to purchase and convert the building for large-scale productions, encouraged in their decision by the report of the Scottish Arts Council. By July 1976 there had been four studies of the re-use of the Playhouse: the "Save the Playhouse" campaign scheme, the Heriot-Watt scheme, the scheme by the City Architects Department in the, then, Edinburgh Corporation, and the proposal by the Scottish Arts Council. To these were added the study by the Architects' Department of the Lothian Regional Council, which confirmed the feasibility of the adaptation of the building for large-scale productions at a cost of £3.5 million. This cost was

one-third of the cost of the same level of conversion, but at a low level of standard and expectation, as estimated by the City Architects' Department of the Edinburgh Corporation, over a year earlier. The Regional Council, encouraged by the relatively low cost and the enthusiasm for the Playhouse by the convenor, Councillor Wilson, agreed to approach the Secretary of State for Scotland for borrowing consent to purchase the Playhouse. The application was refused, but this was not to deter the Regional Council from including the Playhouse purchase in their arts policy (The Scotsman 20.7.1976).

In parallel to the application to the Secretary of State for Scotland by the Regional Council, the District Council had been making an application for the renovation of the auditorium of the Royal Lyceum Theatre at the cost of £650,000. By 1976, the rift between the Region and District became exposed, with the Region supporting the Playhouse and the District opposing its renovation. The District threatened to close the Royal Lyceum Theatre, which was rented by the Region for the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company (the responsibility of the Region after re-organization) if the Region did not support their application to the Secretary of State for Scotland for the capital expenditure for the renovation work. In addition the Regional Council had a Labour majority with the convenor, Councillor Wilson, and the leading members in the Labour group, such as Councillor Foulkes, ex-members of the Town Council of the Edinburgh Corporation. With the District Council having a Conservative majority, the Region's Labour Councillors tended to take any opportunity to publicly criticize the decisions of the District Council. The rift between the Region and District Councils was not peculiar to the theatre provision in Edinburgh but found its expression over this debate since leisure policy was the only duplicated function between the two tiers of local government. In refusing the Region borrowing consent for the purchase and renovation of the Playhouse, Frank McElhone, of the Scottish Office, had

requested that the District and Region should produce a collective view on the provision of theatres in Edinburgh. In July 1976, the District, Region and the Secretary of State for Scotland agreed to produce a combined theatre policy, with advice from the Scottish Arts Council. Joint meetings though did not achieve this objective.

During the 1976 Edinburgh Festival, as a Fringe activity, John Reid held a 'Festival of Pop' at the Playhouse, which for three weeks presented 'pop' groups to audiences averaging over 90% capacity for the three week period. Reid was an impresario and theatrical agent for such performers as Elton John, Queen and Kiki Dee. The success of this venture boosted interest in the purchase of the building. While on 18th October 1976, the owner of the Playhouse, Maxwell Properties (East) Ltd., went bankrupt and was placed in the hand of a provisional liquidator, Grindlays Bank. A deadline was placed on the purchase of the building and a minimum figure of £400,000 was set by the liquidator. The closing date for this offer was 26th October 1976. The Regional Council made a fresh approach for borrowing consent to the Secretary of State for Scotland with a modified scheme at £890,000 to purchase and convert the Playhouse. The deadline passed but as no one had purchased the building in the short period of time available (only two days) the Regional Councillors saw an excellent opportunity to be gained from its purchase probably at a lower figure set by the liquidator. The proposal submitted by the officials to the Secretary of State for Scotland was for a theatre similar to the Apollo Centre in Glasgow. The conversion would not achieve the standards required for major opera and ballet. The proposal was for an entertainment centre: in the eyes of Councillor Wilson a peoples' theatre.

However, the Regional Council rejected the proposal on 9th November 1976, and agreed to abandon their plans to convert the Playhouse because of the financial situation, influenced by the immediate reason that government borrowing consent



had not been given. A Labour split rejected the idea of an entertainment centre as conceived by Councillor Wilson and the Conservative amendment to abandon the proposal was approved by 30 votes to 19 with nine Labour, one Liberal and the S.N.P. Councillors voting with the Conservatives. Councillor Wilson was quoted as saying after the meeting that he had not abandoned the Playhouse as an entertainment centre as circumstances might change (Evening News 10.11.1976). He was optimistic that the building could be purchased by an insurance company and leased to the Region, so that a "Theatre for all the people could be achieved" (The Scotsman 10.11.1976). While Patrick Brookes, chairman of the Edinburgh Playhouse Society, commenting on the failure of the Region to agree to purchase the Playhouse, lamented that it was ".....a waste of a fine building" (Evening News 15.11.1976).

For a further eighteen months, the Edinburgh Playhouse Society continued to campaign for the purchase of the Playhouse either by the local authorities or by the formation of a trust. No other organization had taken an interest in the purchase of the building. Various groups of businessmen were brought together to purchase the Playhouse by the Society but without success. Fund-raising activities continued including a lottery. Towards the end of the local government financial year of 1977/78, which also coincided with the election period of a new Regional Council, money became available in the Region to purchase the Playhouse. The purchase had been orchestrated by Councillor Wilson, who ensured sufficient money remaining in the 1977/1978 budget. Within the tradition of local government, the allocated funds required to be spent by the end of the financial year. In the period from the owners bankruptcy in 1976 to the purchase date in 1978, the price had been reduced to £150,000. This figure reflected the economic and development constraints imposed on a building, such as the Playhouse, when listed as an historic building of architectural interest. The Playhouse had been listed

after the purchase by Maxwell, and had thus affected its re-sale value.

By May 1978, Councillor Wilson had his people's theatre, which, after some improvements, was officially re-opened in 1979.

In the meanwhile, the District Council, on the recommendation of the Policy and Resources Committee dated 15th April, 1976, agreed to dispose of the Castle Terrace site. The Councillors decided to consider an alternative function for the site and a five-star hotel was considered suitable. Crudens Ltd., won a limited financial and design competition organized by the District Council, with Crudens Ltd., obtaining the Hilton Hotel licence. The approval was given on 18th January 1980 for Crudens Ltd., to organize the construction of the new hotel. Furthermore, the Royal Lyceum Theatre was renovated by the District Council in 1977. The Kings Theatre remained the venue for opera and ballet with the extension at the rear held up by a difficulty to purchase a single remaining flat in the adjacent tenements. The owner was reluctant to sell and the local community association was campaigning on the owner's behalf.

#### Commentary

Probably without the Edinburgh Festival, the question of the opera house would not have been raised or the issue sustained so long. The standards set by the visiting opera companies from the continent, the demands of the Directors of the Edinburgh Festival from 1960, the evolving story of the opera house diligently recorded by the local and national press, the annual reminder of the inadequacies of the theatres in Edinburgh in which to present opera, and a public expectation that Edinburgh deserved a civic building paid for from mainly national funds, at least ensured that the opera house question remained on the agenda of the Town

Council. The growth of Scottish Opera through the 1960s and 1970s may have initiated an opera house for Edinburgh, if there had not been an Edinburgh Festival. However, Scottish Opera itself had started through the stimulation of visiting opera companies at Festivals (Wilson 1963).

The commencement of the annual Festival in 1947 had occurred more from the activities of Rudolf Bing in the south of England than from any source in Edinburgh. Bing was the general manager of the Glyndebourne Opera Centre which had been closed for performances for the duration of the Second World War. He and John and Audrey Christie, who had created the Opera Centre in Glyndebourne, had been conscious of the need to sustain the performing arts during the war years. In addition, through the emmigration of mid-European artists during the war to Britain, there appeared to be the basis of an international festival of the arts. The pre-war continental arts festivals such as Salzburg, Munich and Bayreuth were not able to re-commence immediately at the end of hostilities. Various locations in Britain were considered by Bing, but in 1944 he met Harvey Wood, the Director of the British Council in Scotland, who extolled the benefits of Edinburgh. The extent of theatres and hotels made Edinburgh a suitable venue for an arts festival (Keir 1966 p 835). Edinburgh had gained from the commercial investments by Moss Empire Ltd., and Howard and Wyndham Ltd., in the Victorian and Edwardian periods. With the City established as a tourist attraction, no other provincial city in Britain at the time could match its benefits.

Sir John Falconer, the Provost, and the Town Council were persuaded of the value of the festival and funds were allocated to Bing to establish the first Edinburgh Festival in 1947. The Edinburgh Festival Society Ltd., was registered under the Companies Act in 1946 as the independent organizing committee, with the Provost and Councillors as members. The Town Council supported the first International Festival

of Music and Drama in Edinburgh by £20,000, with the Scottish Committee of the Arts Council and money raised by private donations contributing equal amounts. This pattern of subsidy from public and private funds continued with subsequent Festivals. The Kings Theatre became the venue for opera, the Empire Theatre the venue for ballet, the Royal Lyceum Theatre the venue for drama and the Usher Hall the main location for music. From 1948 the Assembly Hall served for the three week period of the Festival as a drama theatre.

The first Festival opened in August 1947 and marked the beginning of a series of such festivals of the arts throughout Europe in the post-war period. The Festival in Edinburgh had been initiated at a time of financial restrictions at the end of the Second World War, against the advice of central government, and in spite of particular problems such as the difficulties of arranging for artists from continental Europe to travel to Edinburgh. The Festivals were successful and the benefits of prestige and favourable publicity accrued from the annual cultural enterprise, initially at a modest cost to the City, while using existing building stock and imported artistic skills. They produced a confidence among the Town Councils and particularly among the Provosts towards the arts in the 1950s and early 1960s. There was a willing acceptance of Edinburgh as a major cultural centre in Europe among its more articulate citizens which was not to wane until the 1970s (if measured by the letters to The Scotsman). The peak of confidence was from 1963 to 1966 during the period of office of Conservative Provost Weatherstone: it was his period that saw the initiation of the direct involvement of the Town Council in providing the finance for the opera house, in addition to the recurrent grants to the Civic Theatre Company and an increased commitment to the Festival and the national companies.

The increase of the public sector involvement generally in the arts in the late 1950s and 1960s had been rapid. Since the 1948 Act, the formation of the Arts Council of Great Britain and subsequent regional arts organizations, the period saw the building of new theatres and the adaptation of old, the institution of civic repertory theatres, the subsidization of drama, opera, ballet and orchestral companies, the opening of new and improved art galleries, grants to art exhibitions and events, by local authorities and the central government agencies. In spite of not building a new opera house but as a consequence of the opera house discussions, the Town Council of the Edinburgh Corporation had ratified the purchase of the Royal Lyceum Theatre and the Kings Theatre, converted two church buildings into theatres, set up the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company, increased its grant to the Festival, provided an annual subsidy to the civic theatre company, improved facilities at the Usher Hall, provided a Civic Art Gallery and studios for artists, and gave grants to arts organizations, in addition to considering the purchase of the Playhouse and Empire Theatre.

Justification for this level of public intervention, with particular reference to theatre provision and the consideration of building a new opera house by the Town Council and other interest groups, covered the following:

- a. The Festival requirement placed an onus on the Town Council to provide proper facilities for opera in the City. This position had been recognised and the Town Council's role accepted by Provost Dunbar in August 1960 with his promise to Lord Harewood, the Director of the Edinburgh Festival, that either a new building or a converted building suitable for opera would be forthcoming. The problem of the inadequacy of the theatres in Edinburgh had arisen through the visits of German opera companies to the Festival in the late 1950s. Prior to this time the Kings Theatre was



considered adequate during the Festival period and for visiting companies, such as Glyndebourne Opera, during the non-Festival period. The German opera companies had formed or re-formed after the initial reconstruction period in the post-war years, and, with new and renovated opera houses in all regions of Germany, new standards of production and facilities had been created. Comparison though with Germany was limited. Germany had an administrative pattern based on a federal system of the adapted principalities in which each not only had its own Länd public administration but a set of cultural institutions including an opera house, unlike the British pattern of centralized administration and cultural concentration on London. Socially, the German population was more interested in opera, based on a long tradition of opera-going, and were prepared to pay substantially more for admission than their British counterparts. Within the public sector budget, Germany spent more on cultural subsidies, than Britain but less on education (Moro 1960 p 358). The prestigious benefits gained by the Festival's international reputation had a negative side, in that attention was focused on the relative poor standard of facilities in Edinburgh compared with a City like Salzburg with its own Festival provision, by those visitors and commentators conversant with continental festivals.

- b. The commercial sector could not retain their theatres as the market declined. Increased productivity of theatre was almost impossible since the product was a fixed item. With plays, for example, the number of performers could not be reduced. While production costs could be pared with an open stage form of theatre, the commercial sector was required to use their inherited nineteenth-century theatres. Income was restricted to box-office returns with the market limiting the price charged. The audience numbers

were declining through the alternative attraction of television, an attraction which also took performers and directors from the theatre. Baumol and Bowen (1966, 1974) have described, in detail, the need to increase the level of financial income beyond the box-office to sustain the same level of output by the performing arts.

With private sources not providing a reliable income, the onus was placed on the public sector to subsidize where the market was failing, if the performing arts were to continue. In order to compete in an international market, the arts in general required subsidization, as European and North American countries had some form of arts subsidy policy.

To retain the high standards achieved in the performing arts associated with Britain, and Edinburgh as a centre of excellence in the presentation of the performing arts on an international network of arts festivals, public subsidies were required. A distinction though was seen in Edinburgh, and not unique to that City, between the purchase of theatres from public funds (to avoid their demolition or re-use for other purposes by the commercial sector and to retain outlets for various forms of performing arts as a capital and cultural investment), and the subsidies to companies or events such as the Festival, which was a continuous financial commitment as direct encouragement of the performing arts.

- c. There was an increased number of professional interests in the arts world, producing an effective, if not always a unified, lobby. The 1960s saw more professional painters, sculptors, musicians, actors, actresses, designers, composers, poets and playwrights, than during any previous period (Redcliffe-Maud 1976), and an increasing number were salary-earners in arts

management. The acting profession had become unionized with Equity, acquiring a Scottish branch, and matching the strong Musicians' Union. The Trades Union Congress in 1960 had produced their Resolution 42, exalting the benefits of the arts and advocating the support for the arts from public funds. Central government had shown its support for the arts with the 1948 Act, the appointment of a Minister responsible for the arts and the formation of agencies whose sole function was the presentation, promotion and dissemination of the arts.

Newspaper coverage of the arts and performance reviews increased (Williams 1968 p 44), while art editors and art critics were employed by newspaper publishers, with such personalities as the critic Kenneth Tynan endorsing the revival of the British theatre in the late 1950s and 1960s (Tynan 1964 pp 54-62).

Radio, television and the cinema gave theatre productions and concerts publicity as well as being employers of performers, and with the British Broadcasting Company supporting orchestras.

The Civic Theatre Movement gained in momentum following the success of the three new civic theatres in the provincial centres of Coventry, Leicester and Nottingham (Elsom 1971 p 71) and Sinclair Shaw (a consistent critic of the opera house project) was its local chairman. The reputation of the performing arts in Britain was recognised internationally and the attraction of good theatre produced the ally of tourism. The repertory drama movement had expanded with the Gateway Theatre Company as the local example. The interests were channelled through a single institution with Equity in the early 1960s taking the primary role but concentrating on the interests of drama, followed by the Scottish Arts Council towards the end of the decade and especially in the 1970s articulating the well-rehearsed case for the arts and public funding.

- d. There was a symbolic demand for an opera house. In Edinburgh, as capital of Scotland and its public administrative centre. The sense of prestige associated with those roles was also not matched by political and cultural power. The centre of political decision-making was geographically located in London. The centre of artistic activity, expressed in terms of the financial support for the arts and cultural institutions, was seen to be also London-orientated. In the 1950s, and the early 1960s the major financial support for the arts from public funds had been directed towards provision such as the Royal Festival Hall and the large London-based companies and orchestras. The majority of the money provided by the Arts Council of Great Britain during this period was directed towards the established orchestral, opera, ballet and drama companies in London, with a few exceptions such as the Royal Shakespeare Company in Stratford. The first of the new Civic Theatres in provincial centres all were seen to be located, from the perspective of Edinburgh, in the south. The arts (and also sport) though were activities not dependent on the political concentration in London.

The Arts Council of Great Britain eventually gave its Scottish Committee devolved power, as the autonomous Scottish Arts Council. It received its own block grant annually, without any visible strings attached, distributed by Board members selected from the cultural and intellegensia elite in Scotland, and on the advice of the officials. Local initiative in Edinburgh had endorsed the Festival and seen the City as a natural venue for cultural events. Provost Falconer had said at the time of approving Edinburgh as the location of the Festival: "The glory of a capital city depends both on its material prosperity and its cultural interests" (Keir 1966 p 833). The Festival had been started against the external pressure

of the period immediately following the Second World War not to involve unnecessary expenditure: a defiant gesture against the pressure that had emanated from London.

But for the artist, as McKay (1912 p 307) had noted: "Historical acclaim required a move to London". Attempts were made in Edinburgh in the 1960s to establish Edinburgh as a centre of the arts with the City as a base for artists and galleries as outlets for the display of contemporary art, and a set of public and voluntary non-profit-making organizations. Nimmo (1975 p 181) noted that:

"The trouble with Edinburgh and the arts is that the Capital looks as if it could be one of the great centres, although perhaps the day of "artistic centres" has passed".

Although the only contemporary artist from Edinburgh with a high reputation internationally, Eduardo Paolozzi, had had to move to London, the level of artistic activity in Edinburgh did increase in the 1960s and the number of public and private art galleries rose from two to eleven, due, in part, by the stimulus of the annual Festival (Nimmo 1975 p 180) but also reflecting an increase in artistic activeness experienced generally in Britain during that decade.

Rivalry with London, which assisted the popular nationalistic movement politically, also spawned an identity expressed culturally, with the Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet and the demand for a Scottish National Theatre. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, before Scottish Opera and before Alexander Gibson had taken over the Scottish National Orchestra, the Scottish National Theatre as a drama theatre was seen as the main outlet for Scottishness. The evidence appeared clear: the Scottish National Players, under Tyrone Guthrie, had



been in existence since before the Second World War, the Gateway Company had taken over the role of presenting new and old Scottish plays with a core of Scottish performers, the local contribution to the Festivals had been drama and there were Scottish actors, actresses, playwrights and directors active in Edinburgh. Hence the lobby against the opera house in the early 1960s advocating the national playhouse. In 1960 opera was seen as essentially a performing art imported from London or the continent during the Festival.

However, under the young conductor, Alexander Gibson, the Scottish National Orchestra enhanced its reputation in the early 1960s. And with the start of its child, Scottish Opera, in 1963, Scottishness was displayed and embodied in one personality, Alexander Gibson, and shown internationally by reputation, recordings, broadcasts and tours. The need for a cultural discipline with a Scottish identity was transferred from drama to music and opera, with ballet a later musical offspring. There was the further benefit of a mystique about opera and music, not necessarily shared by drama and perhaps not fully developed with ballet in Scotland. Also opera and classical music in particular, were symbols of respectability, associated socially with the aristocracy and intellegensia (Dent 1965 p 15). Whereas philistinism was closely associated with those not fully appreciative of the finer aspects of opera and music, while drama, at times contraversial, had political connotations and had developed an avant garde, unlike opera and classical music which continued their association of respectability.

The interests in the Scottish National (Drama) Theatre became absorbed, temporarily, in the Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company.

For the performing artists, these companies in Scotland for music, opera, ballet and drama, were further outlets, beyond those based in London, for their talents and living. For audiences in Edinburgh, music, opera and ballet were respectable forms of cultural appreciation while drama remained yet to be proven. For the City as a whole, as perceived by the Town Councils, all benefitted from the prestige that accrued to the capital, although the Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Opera and Scottish Ballet were shared financially with Glasgow and their operating base was in Glasgow. The opera house with the adjacent Usher Hall could be seen therefore as not only recognising the place of opera, music and ballet in this definition of Scottish identity but also to retain Edinburgh as the cultural centre, as well as the capital, of Scotland. The new opera house could bring Alexander Gibson, singers, musicians and dancers to Edinburgh as their base. Glasgow also had plans to provide a centre for the performing arts and a site had been allocated.

Opera, ballet and music were activities competing with those seen to be recognised in London and were art forms which could be measured internationally by critical acclaim and by audience numbers on international tours, rather than the encouragement or emergence of a local culture with a unique identity. The Scottishness of opera, ballet and music was by location, funding mechanism, birth-place of the principal performers and the promotion. Given in the early nineteenth century, during the golden age, the frenchman Louis Simond (1912 p 190) had observed that:

"The amusements and way of life of Edinburgh are, as may be supposed, as close an imitation of the customs and fashion of London, as relative circumstances of wealth, numbers, etc., can admit".

e. There was the alternative manner by which theatre could be organized, a manner formally recognised by the Arts Councils, seen as the modern repertory movement. Since Matthew Arnold (Tynan 1964 p 40) in 1879 had exulted, as a reaction to the commercial Victorian Theatre: "The theatre is irresistible: organize the theatre", various alternative methods of organizing a non-commercial theatre had been considered. The commercial theatre, in addition to the requirement of profitability, had relied on long runs for financial return, a star system with large salaries and the "debilitating control of London over the provinces" (Elsom 1971 p 18). For the performers, the commercial theatre had not offered sustained employment, company units or adequate training, while theatrical experiment was discouraged by the demands of profitability. Whereas the repertory movement claimed to be organized, as Arnold had directed, responsive to a social need and not inhibited by commercial pressures, as a non-profit making company with salaried performers and theatre staff repertory theatre was able to strive for excellence of performance and encourage new writing. In so doing the theatre was to become a public commodity available to the population as a whole: "Indeed the time will come when people claim this opportunity as a right; as much a right as universal education or public health" (Dunbar 1974 p 127) The Social aim was summarized by Arnold Wesker (1970 p35) as: ".....to make the pursuit of the extraordinary experience of art an unextraordinary pursuit".

The movement was recognised politically by the publication of the White Paper, A Policy for the Arts: the first steps, in 1965 by the Labour Government, initiated by the first Minister with responsibility for the arts, Jennie Lee. The White Paper included the need for local authorities and central government, in a patronage partnership, to subsidize theatre in

provincial cities. The repertory movement had commenced at the turn of the century: 'the little theatre movement' and the experimental theatres (Marshall 1948) of the 1920s and 1930s had provided an alternative to the commercial theatre. The first permanent repertory company in Scotland had been founded in 1943 in the Citizens Theatre in the Gorbals area of Glasgow, receiving grants from public funds from the 1950s (Elsom 1971 p 196). In Edinburgh, the Gateway Theatre Company showed the benefits of the repertory manner of organizing theatre, also demonstrating the necessity for sustained public subsidies.

- f. The arts, including opera, were worthy of support by virtue of their intrinsic values. The arts, as merit goods (Cwi 1979 p 7), could not be evaluated in terms of individual preference or by any evidence of social, economic and prestige benefits accruing to the City. The arts were a set of human activities developed over time displaying endeavour, expression and excellence worthy of political support. As a result of that support, funds should have been forthcoming from the public sector, so that the arts were not left to the vagaries of the commercial sector. The director of the Scottish Arts Council, Alexander Dunbar, had said, in relation to the proposed opera house, that opera had no more or less artistic value through being expensive to produce, and as a form of human expression should be supported from public funds however expensive. The role of the Scottish Arts Council was to be the custodians and promoters of an artistic/aesthetic set of values in society but it had to be selective in its financial support of projects from its own funds.

All the minutes and plans of the Town Council and its Committees avoided any reference to an opera house, with the whole project known as the Castle Terrace scheme, in an

effort to avoid the association of the proposed theatre only with opera, while the briefs for the various schemes had included a multi-purpose auditorium to satisfy the various theatre production demands. An opera house appeared as an emotive title, though used consistently by the advocates of the building and derisively by its opponents with adverse comments directed at the elitist nature of opera and the lack of use during non-Festival periods. Reference to the people's theatre, as a counter-proposal perpetuated by Labour Councillor Wilson and finding expression in the Playhouse, was an example of the reaction to an opera house per se, while demonstrating the political allegiances of Councillor Wilson, appealing to a populist view of theatre contrasting with the elitist association of an opera house. To him, the people's theatre meant a venue for 'pop'-music concerts, films, variety acts such as Billy Connolly, folk music, jazz concerts and the like, i.e. the popular taste, or expression, of the mass of the people, defined as non-elitist. Critical acclaim of popular culture, especially cinema and 'pop' music, had given a credence and respectability to the tastes of those sections of the population regarded as cultural philistines. The people's theatre not only was a conceptual challenge to the opera house but questioned one of the functions of the Scottish Arts Council. For the Scottish Arts Council was required to encourage the dissemination of opera, ballet and drama, among other art forms, as opposed to popular cultural forms in order that, in the terms of the Keynesian justification for the public intervention in the arts, philistinism be reduced. The Rolling Stones' concert in Edinburgh in 1963 had been the first of an increasing number of 'pop'-music concerts presented at the Usher Hall or at one of the larger remaining cinemas, while the three week 'pop' festival at the Playhouse had shown the popularity of 'pop' music. Billy Connolly had continued the music tradition of Harry Lauder and provided an alternative definition of Scottishness as national identity to the emphasis on orchestral music and opera. The Scottish Arts Council seemed to be contradicting



its function by supporting the Regional Council over the purchase of the Playhouse, with Councillor Wilson's advocating publicly the Playhouse as the people's theatre. The policy of the Scottish Arts Council did not automatically provide for 'pop'-music concerts, folk music and so on, but was directed towards the orchestral, opera, ballet and drama companies which required the subsidy for their continuation. The value judgement of the cultural worth of, say, a 'pop'-music group had not arisen as 'pop'-music concerts were commercially self-supporting. However the Scottish Arts Council saw a benefit in the support of the Playhouse purchase, as a people's theatre or not, since, unless a large theatre in Edinburgh was not sustained by 'pop'-music and the like, then the City would eventually lack a venue for large-scale productions of opera and ballet.

For Councillor Wilson, the people's theatre remained a convenient title in two situations: as political opposition to the Conservative group in the Edinburgh Corporation and later in the District Council, and as a rallying position for Labour support; the type of productions able to be, and actually presented in the Playhouse on purchase with only a modest amount of money available for any conversion, were 'pop'-music concerts, films, folk music and similar forms of entertainment.

Various strategies had been proposed over time for the development of the Castle Terrace site. These were:

- a. a joint venture by the local authority with a speculative property company, with the company, the initiator of the venture, paying for the whole development but leasing part, the theatre, to the local authority. The company was to lease the land acquired by the local authority. The organization was in the hands of the property developer, with his own architect, funds and expertise. The brief for

the theatre and office block was the responsibility of the company but in consultation with the local authority. The brief for the theatre was devised by transferring the seating capacity and extent of accommodation of the demolished Royal Lyceum Theatre to the proposed building, adjusted by the experience gained by a visit to German Theatres by the architect. The joint venture incorporated the legal powers of acquisition and planning permission of the local authority with the available funds, access to funds and finance management of the commercial sector. This strategy in principle of joint venture and incentive for the commercial sector to invest in central-area redevelopment schemes but for the brief to include facilities seen as socially beneficial was advocated by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1961) and endorsed by the Conservative central government in the 1960s. The main example was the shopping/office/hotel complex of the St. James' Centre in Edinburgh. Donaldson and Sons Ltd., a London-based firm of finance management consultants advised the local authority on the Castle Terrace site, in addition to the St. James' Centre and other central-area projects as joint ventures in Britain.

The attraction of this form of joint venture for the ruling Conservative group in the Town Council was that the local authority did not have any financial, building or management responsibilities but received a social benefit, a new theatre, as a civic amenity and an increased income from the rates and land rent from the office development. The Company would have received financial benefits from the property speculation, sufficiently lucrative to cover the capital cost of the theatre building and the reduced return on that section of the site. The main benefit though was the site use through the acquisition powers of the local authority. This policy of attaching a public amenity to commercial developments through the mechanism

of planning approval was the conventional wisdom in the 1960s in situations where the commercial sector initiated development. In London a local bye-law had been agreed by the London County Council stating that any theatre demolished required to be replaced: the usual replacement policy was to place the new theatre in the basement releasing the whole site for day-lit offices. The first scheme by Meyer Oppenheim followed this pattern.

- b. a joint venture, with the local authority taking the initiative, between a commercial organization with specific expertise as opposed to speculation and the local authority taking responsibility for the development of the theatres. The site was divided into an area for an hotel developed by a hotelier with the function determined by the local authority advised by Donaldson and Sons Ltd., and a further area developed by the local authority with a new opera house and replaced Royal Lyceum Theatre. Each area would be developed according to the respective interests and expertise. The land for the hotel would be leased from the local authority. The local authority benefited from the income from rates and rent; the hotelier from the central site and the conference links with the adjacent Usher Hall and new theatre complex during the off-season periods. The brief for the theatre was developed by a panel of experts, with the architect appointed from the private sector by the local authority. This approach preceded the White Paper, Policy for the Arts: the first steps in 1965, endorsing local authority support for civic theatres but the Provost was conversant with the few new civic theatres built from the late 1950s, from visits and literature.
- c. a joint venture financially with central government, without any involvement by the commercial sector and with the retention of the Royal Lyceum Theatre as an

existing resource. This approach had two interpretations:

1. a brief and scheme for the opera house devised by the appointed private architect and a panel of experts, with a financial limit placed on the expenditure by the Town Council with its ruling Conservative group, and the 50% grant, approved by the Conservative Prime Minister, from central government.
2. a brief and feasibility scheme for the opera house devised by the City Architects' Department of the local authority and a new set of experts, approved by the ruling Labour group. The new brief and costing was checked by the Scottish Office as a condition of the central government grant with the checking as part of the administration of any funds from central government sources. There was no limit placed on the building cost by the local authority and an assumption that the principle of a 50% grant would continue irrespective of the actual cost. The Prime Minister and Cabinet of the prevailing Labour central government, though, from 1974, did not support any expenditure.

The joint venture financially between the local authority and central government had been the case with the National Theatre in London, while the Arts Council of Great Britain which controlled a separate building fund had followed the policy of a joint financial provision with local authorities, since the patronage partnership approach of the White Paper Policy for the Arts: the first steps (1965).

- d. the lease of the whole site for the construction of an hotel by the commercial sector, and the renovation of the Royal Lyceum Theatre by the local authority. The local authority gained financially from the rates and

land rent, a prestige facility as a 5-star hotel would still be a benefit to Edinburgh, an hotel would be a complementary function to the tourist and conference attractions and a 5-star hotel would complement the other hotels in Edinburgh which attracted other potential sections of the visitor market. At a time of no-growth for the local authority, the only method by which a site could be developed was by the utilization of international sources of money. This approach was supported by the ruling Conservative group.

The Town Council had arrived at a position of advocating an opera house on the Castle Terrace site and an increased direct financial support for the arts in general without preceding the acceptance of this position with a debate on the principles of public sector involvement and making explicit their political ideology that underwrote the involvement. The Provosts in the 1960s had been able to coerce, with varying degrees of personal conviction and lasting effect, fellow councillors in the ruling party and the voting public to support arts policies. Yet the opera house might only directly benefit a small number of the population, and prestige value for the City, the central justification, was difficult to measure. The empty site in Castle Terrace ensured its future use, and the City's theatre policy, remained on the agenda.

The Castle Terrace site had become associated with the location of the opera house through the original Oppenheim proposals. At no stage had alternative sites been formally investigated. The Castle Terrace site remained the assumed location, in spite of being over-loaded with the opera house/arena theatre/hotel scheme, and too small for the single theatre proposal with the Royal Lyceum Theatre retained. The brief in 1972 for the opera house was



adjusted by the elimination of one of the side wings to the main stage while the architectural solution by the architects, Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners oversailed the main road to accommodate the brief (Architects Journal 27.7.1974). The justification for the continued use of the site was the management convenience of the juxtaposition of the four auditoria: the opera house, the Usher Hall, the Royal Lyceum Theatre and a small studio theatre (Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 8). Jane Jacobs (1961 c 15) had criticized the principle of the juxtaposition of auditoria, reacting to the Lincoln Centre in New York, with the charge of a cultural ghetto. While the auditoria complex on the Castle Terrace site would have attracted 1000<sup>+</sup> cars at the peak period at the start of performances in the auditoria (Appleton 1975). The Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland, upon whose approval the government grant was dependent, criticized the visual impact of design of the opera house in relation to the Castle and surrounding buildings: the design was reduced in height in 1974 on their insistence (The Scotsman 2.11.1974).

Post-hoc justification for the site as the location for an opera house included its availability, as the local authority owned the site, and its civic prominence within the city centre (discussion with Deputy City Architect, 5.5.1978).

Distinct from the development of the Castle Terrace site was the set of policy options towards the theatre provision for professional companies in Edinburgh. Three broad policies were considered over the two decades:

The first was the construction of a new building with a theatre containing either a multi-purpose or single purpose auditorium. New theatre buildings appeared to give a boost to audience figures as had been demonstrated at the new civic theatres at Coventry, Leicester and Nottingham (Elsom 1971 p 71). A new theatre

technology was available, and a new set of theatre forms had been developed to improve the performer/audience relationship (Ham 1972). The Victorian image of theatre buildings was opposed to the new 'spirit' in theatre organization: and the old theatres were associated with commercial attitudes. New continental theatres had produced a design challenge, while no new opera house had been built in the twentieth century in Britain. The multi-purpose nature of the auditorium was an opportunity to display technical ingenuity by a range of theatre experts and acousticians. Further, there was the assumption that only a new building would attract a government grant in the 1960s.

The second was the improvement of the existing theatre buildings in Edinburgh, a city well-endowed with auditoria, with the existing buildings adapted and extended to achieve modern standards of provision technically. The existing theatres became listed buildings, satisfying the conservation lobby for their preservation and ensuring their retention as auditoria. Building skills in conservation had developed, and the adaptation of the Theatre Royal in Glasgow was a model example of restoration: any lowering of standards were off-set by the capital cost savings from the construction of a new theatre. The purchase and conversion costs had also been subject to a government grant.

The third was the adjustment of the policy for the performing arts to match the restriction imposed by the existing building stock: the buildings to be the constant, and the policy the variable. The Edinburgh Festival Fringe

productions had shown that performances could be accommodated in an array of settings, with minimum technical expenditure, using the available buildings in the City. This policy placed an emphasis on the ingenuity of the directors, playwrights and performers. In the case of the Playhouse, a director/manager, in the showman mould of Moss, Richard Condon, was a consultant on the potential use of the building. Any purchase or conversion costs were in the range suitable for public appeal, while the local authority, at times of no capital expenditure were able to service modest loans from revenue.

These policies reflected changing circumstances; the apparent affluence and municipal confidence of the 1960s, with a new building satisfying both a theatrical and symbolic demand; the effect of the conservation lobby and the parallel financial recession of the 1970s, with the emphasis on the improved use of existing physical resources; the pragmatism of the emerging 1980s adopting policies avoiding capital expenditure, responding to the initiative of the self-help groups (the Playhouse pressure group being a well-organized example) and emphasising the management role. The evolving policies also reflected cultural change and expectations: the initial concentration on opera and the effect of a limited group of decision-makers and arts interests including the Provost, certain Councillors and the Festival Director; the broad range of performing arts with selection influenced by the Scottish Arts Council; the concentration on the popular attractions with selection influenced by local initiatives. The twenty year period saw the decline of the influence of the local authority and the Provost in particular, against the increased role of central government and its agencies: the influence of both the local and central governments waned against the economic recession and their lack of financial power, allowing local

interests to mobilize and for the role of the pressure group to increase. Over the twenty-year period, the political stance of the two main local parties displayed distinctive but internal characteristics, reflected in their respective choice of policy towards theatre provision in Edinburgh. These were, as a summary:

CONSERVATIVE	LABOUR
1. private money directly or indirectly to finance the opera house	public money to finance the opera house and theatre provision
2. financial incentives to encourage private investment	financial intervention by the public sector
3. private architect and consultants	public architect and consultants
4. minimum public expenditure	not overtly conscious of restricting public expenditure
5. financial return from central area sites with prestige projects	social return from central area sites with the support for the people's theatre
6. interests lay more with opera than drama	interests lay more with drama than opera
7. prestige to benefit all	theatre policy to benefit all
8. support for 'high' culture	support for popular culture
9. <u>ad hoc</u> decisions	policy-related decisions
10. conscious of reputation beyond city	conscious of 'grass-roots' opinion
11. new theatre building	better use of existing buildings
12. 'natural' right to make decisions by Councillors resulting from years of experience in power	examination of policy consequences in the light of social benefits and political ideology.
13. Councillors drawn from the professional groups, well-established with closed social circle, in the 1960s, with a younger group mainly from the professions in the 1970s.	increase in the number of younger 'career' politicians with academic social science backgrounds, linked to pressure groups in the 1970s
14. party not organized, Councillors seen as independents in 1960s, but	party organized with party whip, but internal factions not always producing unity,

more organized as a party  
in the 1970s reacting to  
Labour party organization

reflected in Town Council  
voting patterns at times

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The two significant periods in the development of the opera house story, 1963 to 1966 and 1972 to 1975 saw not only different parties in power locally, but also different personalities of the Provost in Weatherstone and Kane: ". . . .; the contraversial crabapple, Sir Duncan Weatherstone, of the twinkling eyes and affable quip who so often became a newspaper headline to the last; Jack Kane, reserved, self-effacing, passionate defender of his city and his politics, who turned down a knighthood because he felt it wasn't quite his style" (Nimmo 1975 p 43).

The major influence on policy selection however was beyond the immediate control of the Provost and the ruling party especially during the 1970s.

This external change was the increase in building costs as tangible evidence of inflation which lowered expectations and changed policy directions. Building costs had risen at an unprecedented rate in the 1970s, with a 1,000% rise across the decade. The major local issue became that Glasgow had stolen Edinburgh's thunder, with its own opera house, a government grant, and a home for the Scottish national orchestral, opera and ballet companies.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE PROVISION OF FACILITIES FOR THE COMMONWEALTH GAMES IN 1970

The Meadowbank Sports Centre and the Royal Commonwealth Pool, two new public sports facilities provided by the local authority, were initiated as essential provision for the Commonwealth Games hosted by Edinburgh in 1970. The Town Council, at its meeting of 1st November 1956, had agreed that Edinburgh should sponsor the British Empire Games (as they were named at the time) in either 1966 or 1970 (Act of Council No. 23). The prospect of the Games in Edinburgh was first considered by the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation in association with the British Empire Games Council of Scotland. They approached Edinburgh Corporation to enquire if the City was prepared to sponsor the Games, and provide sporting facilities to the standard laid down by the controlling body of the Games. The Games in 1958 were to be in Cardiff and the 1962 venue was probably to be in Australia. The years of 1966 and 1970 appeared to be the earliest and most appropriate dates for an application. The British Empire Games had started in 1910, and, apart from the years of the two World Wars, had occurred since then at four year intervals, but never in Scotland. In 1956, the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation submitted a report on the requirements of the Games in relation to the existing facilities in the City. As no athletic track of Olympic standard existed in Edinburgh, the Federation proposed the adaptation of the Murrayfield Rugby Ground as the preferred location (the Old Meadowbank Sports Ground and the new Edinburgh University Sports Ground were also considered). No swimming pool which met the Olympic standards was available and the Federation proposed adaptation of the existing Portobello Open Air Pool. Boxing, fencing, weight-lifting, wrestling, bowls and cycling could be accommodated adequately in existing buildings. One thousand competitors and officials required to be housed and the Federation proposed the Redford Barracks, the Turnhouse

Camp, or University Hostels (during the summer vacation). In addition, the Federation pointed out that the host would be required to pay 15% of the return air fare of the athletes and officials involved in the Games, and provide all necessary equipment.

Members of the Lord Provost's Committee (the committee involved with policy), officials and representatives of the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation, had three meetings during the summer of 1956. The first was with the Scottish Rugby Union who were sympathetic to the prospect of their Murrayfield Sports Ground being converted for athletics (at the Corporation's expense) and the City Engineer showed that physical alteration was possible to provide adequate facilities. The second was with the University of Edinburgh who agreed that their Halls of Residence could be used to accommodate visitors to Edinburgh (places for only 300 were available at the time but an extra 700 places were expected in the following 8 to 12 years). The third was with one of the organizers of the forthcoming Games in Cardiff, who came to Edinburgh to discuss in detail the finances of sponsoring. He reported that there had never been a loss at the Empire Games since their initiation in 1910 and the Cardiff Games were not going to be an exception. A joint sub-committee of the Lord Provost's Committee, the Finance Committee, and the Civic Amenities Committee (the committee with responsibility for leisure facilities in general) met on 24th October 1956 to consider the evidence and decided to recommend approval of sponsorship of the Games in either 1966 or 1970 at the forthcoming full Town Council.

The Provost, Sir James Banks, in justification of the proposal considered the main benefits as:

- a. prestige and publicity to the City
- b. the improvement of facilities in the City
- c. revenue to be earned from spectators

Prestige benefits would accrue to the City at no cost to the

local authority. Capital expenditure would be covered by income generated by the Games, with the income including a contract for television coverage.

The ratification of the full Town Council meant that less than a year had elapsed between initiation and the decision to proceed by the Corporation. The formal application to the controlling body was considered at the Cardiff Games in 1958.

The Provost through the Lord Provost's Committee became mainly concerned with policy issues, including minimising the costs of the Games for the ratepayers. The Provost was also required to show that facilities could be produced at the required standard and on time, as stipulated by the controlling body for the Games. While the proposal to stage the Games in Edinburgh had come from the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation and the British Empire Games Council of Scotland, the responsibility lay with the Provost and his policy committee to promote and sustain interest within the local authority. Over the twelve year period from initiation to realization with the Games eventually held in 1970, four Provosts carried the responsibility, with a fluctuation of personal commitment to the project. Continuity of interest was achieved by the same political party being returned at local elections during this period. Also the Treasurer or Convenor of the Civic Amenities Committee of a previous Town Council became the next Provost. Continuity of factual and legal positions was provided by the Town Clerk, who among other functions, briefed the incoming Provosts and Convenors of committees, and dealt with all the correspondence pertaining to the site policy and finance of the Games.

### The Royal Commonwealth Pool

In the report submitted to the Town Council by the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation, it was stated that:

"there was no pool in Scotland which met international standards, but it was agreed that the Portobello Open Air Pool could be adapted".

Two overlapping factions within the local authority saw the opportunity to further their own interests with the swimming needs of the proposed British Empire Games in Edinburgh:

The first was a group of Councillors led initially by Councillor Wilkinson and later by Councillor Gerrard who had been concerned about the under-use of the Portobello open-air Pool. Portobello had declined as a holiday resort, especially since the Second World War, and the Pool, as a summer attraction, had experienced declining attendance figures. They had proposed the enclosure of the Portobello Pool in an attempt to increase the use and provide a local facility during the winter months. The further justification of the swimming needs for the Games, reinforced by the recommendation of the Scottish Amateur Athletics Federation, and the technical advice offered by the City Engineer on the structural requirements of the enclosure, prompted the group of Councillors to continue to press for public funds to adapt the Portobello Pool into an indoor facility. The Councillors were working through the Civic Amenities Committee, the Committee responsible for leisure facilities. The Civic Amenities Committee had not built a new indoor leisure facility since the 1930s: the agendas of this Committee through the 1940s and 1950s showed

a pattern predominately concerned with the maintenance of, and minor improvements to, existing outdoor and indoor provision, and the acquisition of new open space or existing open spaces which had been developed by private organizations.

Improvement of the Portobello Pool coincided with this pattern of incremental change, initiated mainly by the Councillors concerned about the improvements of facilities in their respective Wards.

The second was the officials of the City Architects, Town Planning and Baths and Washhouses Departments working through the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee (which reported to the Civic Amenities Committee). They were concerned with the comprehensive, and also long term, plan for swimming pools in the City. The existing pools were Victorian; suburban areas lacked pools and no pool in the City met the Olympic standards. Swimming especially as a youth activity was also increasing in popularity, encouraged by compulsory swimming instruction at school. The comprehensive plan, after modification by the Sub-Committee included a central pool and four district pools and had been initiated by the Superintendent of Baths and Washhouses, supported by the City Architect and Town Planning Officer. Advice about standards of provision was obtained from the national controlling bodies of amateur swimming interests and the National Association of Baths Superintendents. The initial plan was based on equitable distribution with an emphasis on the siting within public housing areas, reinforcing the neighbourhood centre concept which had been the planning basis of



most of the layouts. The single pool was to be centrally located for ease of access by the majority of the population in Edinburgh. The central pool was conceived as an international standard competitive facility. The City Architect took the lead in presenting the report, while the Town Planning Officer included the proposals into the statutory Development Plan for Edinburgh which was approved by the full Town Council. The preparation of the Development Plan had become the basis of a comprehensive approach to the distribution of most public amenities, and the statutory nature of the Development Plan, after approval, legitimized the action of the planning officials and committee. The requirements for swimming for the British Empire Games, as seen by the officials, were included in the Development Plan, as the proposed central pool.

The enclosing of the existing pool, reduction in the size of the water area, fresh-water, and a temperature of 70° was required. Enclosing the swimming pool at Portobello had been considered by the Town Council in the early 1950s to increase its use. For instance such as, at the meeting of the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee of the Town Council on 19th January 1954, Councillor Wilkinson had raised the question of the covering of the Portobello pool. He proposed flooring over the pool in the winter so that the building could be used for boxing, wrestling, roller-skating, dancing, badminton and carpet bowling. The City Engineer produced a cost of £200,000 for these proposals at the meeting of the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee on 13th April 1954, but later, on the advice of the officials, other than the City Engineer, any decision was deferred until an overview of pool provision in Edinburgh could be considered. A further attempt by a Councillor to consider the enclosure

of the Portobello pool, and pre-empt the officials' overview of city-wide pool requirements, occurred when Councillor Walter Gerrard raised the issue at the Civic Amenities Committee on 21st June 1955. Gerrard's motion however was deferred until the officials reported.

The report was eventually presented by the City Architect, the Town Planning Officer and the Superintendent of Baths and Washhouses, to the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee on 12th June, 1956. This report, titled "Central Bath and District Pools" was the first attempt in Edinburgh to produce a comprehensive plan for swimming pools in the City. The initial recommendations were simple:

- a. New facilities were to include one central pool, four urban pools and five suburban pools.
- b. Two of the existing five pools, Stockbridge and Dalry, were to be discontinued when the additional pools were built.

The estimated bathing population was taken as those between 10-29 years of age and calculation allowed for a possible population increase in the city. This report was the first to acknowledge formally the idea of a 'central bath' for the City, and referred to a pool of international standard suitable for the Empire Games, British record attempts and British championships, in addition to being suitable for use by the population as a whole. The Amateur Swimming Association and the National Association of Bath Superintendents had been consulted about the brief of a central pool. In addition to the central pool, the report recommended building five new pools located in the public housing areas of Pilton, Sighthill, Craigmillar, Comiston and North Clermiston. These pools were to serve population units of between 37,450 and 49,500 persons living within a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile radius of each pool. The Liberton and Burdiehouse areas were not covered, but an improved public transport system was proposed to link these housing areas with the existing pool at Infirmary Street. Each of these

pools was to be located in an existing or proposed neighbourhood shopping centre. A site in the new Sighthill Neighbourhood Centre, for example, as part of a large public housing scheme was chosen in preference to the predominately owner-occupied Corstorphine. An amended proposal with a single central pool and only four district pools (i.e. excluding the suburban pools) was approved by the Baths and Washhouses Committee, and these pools were incorporated into the Development Plan for Edinburgh by the Town Planning Officer.

The City Architect presented a brief report to the meeting of the Civic Amenities Committee dated 5th December 1958, titled 'Central Swimming Pool', supporting the view that a new pool located centrally was preferred to the adaptation of the Portobello pool for the proposed Empire Games. The City Architect passed over the Portobello conversion by saying that: "It is understood that the City Engineer has investigated the possibility".

Seven sites were suggested for a new centrally located pool: the east end of the Meadows, land adjacent to the Murrayfield Ice Rink and five sites which were part of re-development schemes within the Development Plan. The City Architect referred to:

"A considerable amount of thought (by officials) has been given to this proposition and the (Civic Amenities) Committee are reminded that their Development Plan makes provision for one central and four district ponds".

Nevertheless, the Committee agreed not to abandon investigation of the Portobello pool. The City Engineer had produced a further design and cost, at £162,000, to achieve a minimum standard of accommodation and amenity for the Games with an enclosed Portobello Pool.

The Portobello pool was eventually eliminated by the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee on 15th February 1959, as, on further investigation, the adaptation of the pool at

Portobello would have been more expensive than the City Engineer's proposal to achieve the specific swimming and diving requirements for the Games. A centrally-located site for a new pool had to be found.

Acquisition of a suitable site became a major issue. Sixteen sites were considered between 1958 and 1963. The first group included:

- a. the east end of the Meadows on open ground belonging to the local authority. Special Parliamentary powers were required to build on this land (as common land) and opposition to the use of the Meadows was anticipated.
- b. land adjoining the Murrayfield Ice Rink, belonging to the Scottish Rugby Union. The Union though were reluctant to sell this piece of open space.
- c. the Old Corn Exchange in the Grassmarket, the St. Leonard's redevelopment area, a site in Queen Street, the Leith Street-Picardy Place area, and the Greenside Place area. Each of these sites were in the central area but not in the central core except for the Queen Street site. Existing properties would have had to be acquired and demolished.
- d. an island site bounded by Lauriston Place, Graham Street, Keir Street and Heriot Place, which was predominately housing. Difficulties were anticipated over the acquisition of the properties and the re-housing.
- e. a site east of the Murrayfield Ice Rink, known as the Roseburn site, which belonged to the local authority. The site had been acquired in 1906, with a land title which restricted its use to a public park, so consent from the Feu Superiors would be necessary. Modification of the Development Plan was required, as the site was zoned as open space, and the consent of the Secretary of State for Scotland was also necessary. This site was regarded as well-located for the increased

population in the west suburban areas of the City, although not within the traditional central area.

Of these, the Roseburn site was unanimously agreed by the officials as the preferred location of the swimming pool to be provided for the British Empire Games (Report by the Town Clerk, August 1959). The Town Council approved the location at Roseburn (15th September 1959) with the view that the existing allotments and playing pitches could be displaced. The City Architect reported that a new pool would cost £600,000, and Councillor McPherson justified the expenditure as "an investment in youth". Councillor Sheila King Murray raised an objection, not to the location, but considered district pools more important than a central pool. This objection was not sustained.

The brief for the central pool had been clearly defined by the sport's controlling body, the professional institute and the Games committee. Public funds had been allocated in principle for swimming facilities for the Games. A site, at Roseburn, had been chosen by the officials and approved by the Town Council by September 1959, allowing sufficient time for the design and construction of the new pool if the Games were to be held in Edinburgh in 1966.

The site location however was not finally settled. A letter to The Scotsman, dated 24th September 1959, stated local reaction to the location of a central pool at Roseburn and heralded a re-consideration of this site by the Councillors. William Cook, a local resident, wrote saying that, as the Roseburn site was used for hockey and children's play, the open space served a useful recreation function, and the pool should be built elsewhere or the Portobello pool converted. Cook wrote:

"Necessities come before luxuries, and until the need for new and better houses and schools are satisfied, to mention only two crying needs, the project now suggested merits only the name which I gave it earlier - folly".



The cost of the central pool, at £600,000 was also questioned, in a series of letters from individuals to the Edinburgh Evening News (21.9.1959). The Chairman of the Civic Amenities Committee replied and justified expenditure on new provision as the Edinburgh pools were "all ancient monuments built in the 1880s and 1890s". Councillor Williamson took the opportunity to reconsider the decision against the adaptation of the Portobello pool, by placing a motion to the Baths and Washhouses Sub-Committee of 13th October 1959: "To reconsider the decision to erect the new indoor swimming pool at Roseburn Park" and to reconsider the Portobello pool. The Committee agreed to re-consider the Roseburn site in the light of local objections, and also Feu complications, but to continue with the new central pool. Over a six month period the City Architect and Town Planning Officer endeavoured to provide the Committee with a suitable and easily available site but none were forthcoming although many explored. On 23rd June, 1960, the Town Council re-committed to the Civic Amenities and Planning Committees for joint consideration the provision of a new swimming pool in the centre of the City. The need to provide a suitable site was made more explicit.

Eight sites previously not considered were examined as potential locations for the new pool: the Boroughloch Square site, which was occupied by housing, shops and commercial premises; the Waverley Market which was an existing exhibition building off Princes Street; the Greenside clearance site, which was considered difficult and costly to develop and some adjoining property would have had to be obtained; the lower London Road site which was occupied by houses and commercial development; a site bounded by the Queensferry Road, and Orchard Brae, in an area zoned in the Development Plan as residential; a site on the corner of Keir Street and Graham Street which was occupied by houses; a site in the Haymarket area on the corner of Osbourne Terrace, occupied by houses; Old Meadowbank, as the site being considered for the stadium for the British Empire Games.

Meadow Park East and Roseburn were also reconsidered, as the only sites so far found that avoided the demolition of housing or had adverse site constraints. Of these, the Roseburn site, once again was considered, by a narrow majority, the most suitable site by the joint Committee.

Meanwhile, C. R. Webster had written to The Scotsman on 18th July 1960 protesting against the continued consideration of the Roseburn site: a petition with 1035 signatures was sent to the Town Clerk from residents in the Roseburn area; two residents in the neighbourhood made representations to the Town Council; the Cockburn Association wrote disapproving of the Roseburn site (22.7.60). At the meeting of the Town Council on 28th July 1960, the question of the site was not satisfactorily concluded.

Following a further deputation from the Roseburn residents disagreeing with the use of the Roseburn site at the meeting of the joint Civic Amenity and Planning Committee on 1st November 1960, no further mention was made of this site.

Throughout 1961, the joint Committee considered two possible sites for the central pool. The first resulted from an initiative from Edinburgh University. A letter (16.12.1960) had been sent to the Town Clerk by Charles Stewart, Secretary to Edinburgh University, suggesting co-operation between the local authority and the University in the construction and also operation of a new swimming pool. He also indicated a financial contribution, the benefits gained for the University community, and that adjustment of the University's development area would enable the swimming pool to be built within the area designated. A detailed proposal, including a swimming pool was produced by representatives of the University, the Town Clerk and the Town Planning Officer. The proposal involved adjustment of the development plan for the Boroughloch Square area, and an extension of the area zoned for University purposes in the vicinity of the Old College buildings. It was

concluded by the joint Committee that the plan adjustment would take some time to complete, existing buildings would have to be demolished and an area of the Meadows,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres, would have to be used which raised again the problem of the use of common land for another function. The second type of site considered was part of a redevelopment proposal as designated within the Development Plan. Four central redevelopment areas were examined, which were St. James Square, Tollcross, St. Leonard's and Central Leith. The necessity for an immediately available site eliminated the St. James Square and Tollcross sites as the majority of the properties were still to be acquired by the local authority, while use of land for a swimming pool in the other two sites would have meant loss of housing. In any case the Leith Central site was eliminated because it was not central to Edinburgh as a whole.

By the end of 1961 the Civic Amenities Committee had agreed that the running track, with modifications, at Old Meadowbank would be a suitable location for the athletic events at the Empire Games. As a result of this decision and the inability to find a suitable site elsewhere, the joint Committee resolved to recommend approval of Meadowbank as a general sports area including the swimming pool. A counter-proposal of the Town Council at their meeting of 25th January 1962 that another site should be found was defeated by 39 to 14 votes. The officials however were unsure of this proposal. Their reasons included that a pool at Meadowbank would not make any contribution to the public buildings in the City, the site at Meadowbank would be shown to be too small (as was the case) and the two sets of users on one site would produce congestion (memo to the joint Committees of Civic Amenities and Planning, from the City Architect, 29.9.61). The officials further argued that the City was well served with existing pools in the eastern sectors, and that a pool on the Meadowbank site would not be seen as central and could compete with the proposed district pools. Nevertheless, the Town Council continued with a

combined scheme and appointed Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners as architects, to prepare a scheme for the development of Meadowbank incorporating a stadium and a swimming pool (15.2.62). The aim was to provide the facilities for the 1966 Games. The location, once more, seemed settled, but the Meadowbank site did prove to be too small. On 18th December 1963, the Lord Provost's Committee invited the joint Committee to think again about the location for the new swimming pool, and the Boroughloch site was considered once more, in spite of its attendant problems, especially with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres belonging to the Crown.

By the end of 1964, the effort to sponsor the Games in 1966 had been abandoned in preference of the 1970 alternative. The meeting of the joint Committee to discuss the material change of circumstances and the renewed interest in the Boroughloch site for the pool, coincided with a report submitted to the Town Clerk that the owners of an area of ground at the junction of Dalkeith Road and Park Road, zoned for private recreational open space, had indicated that they would consider selling to the local authority about four acres of ground for the erection of a swimming pool to Olympic standards. The site, on the edge of the central area, was owned by the Scotsman Publications Ltd. The joint Committee resolved to enter into provisional negotiations on 19th January 1965, and eventually the local authority acquired the Park Road site for the erection of the pool.

A central pool was constructed to Olympic standards by the 1970 opening of the Commonwealth Games.

#### The Meadowbank Sports Centre

Unlike the swimming pool, provision for athletics in Edinburgh generally was not so clearly represented by any particular interest group within the local authority. The

amateur competitive athlete would have probably been a member of one of the voluntary organizations which owned their own track such as the Edinburgh Southern Harriers, or would have been part of an educational establishment, with Edinburgh University, the main source of athletes who excelled in national and international events. The Parks Department of the Corporation were responsible for the public recreation grounds within the City boundary, and in 1958, the year the proposed sponsorship of the Games was initiated, the local authority owned four public running tracks in the City. The national amateur athletic associations held their track and field events at the best of the publicly owned tracks in Edinburgh, which happened to be located at Old Meadowbank. This track had a modest stadium and banked terraces for spectators. The facilities were also used for the Edinburgh Highland Games, which the local authority had launched in 1947. But the facilities at Meadowbank, when compared with similar internationally, were well below standard. The national amateur sports organizations saw the opportunity of an invitation to house the Games as a way in which facilities of an international standard could be provided by the local authority for local amateur use as well as national and international events after the Games.

The justification for the sponsorship of the Games, as promoted by Provost Bank in 1958, was that prestige benefits would accrue to the City at no cost to the local authority. The initial costing, which formed the basis of the formal agreement to host the Games, was based on the adaptation of existing facilities. The income, including a contract for television coverage, would match the capital expenditure. The capital cost though increased through the various stages of the development of the sports facilities over the twelve year period leading to the Games in 1970, as a result of the inappropriateness to adapt existing facilities, the expansion of expectations, additional specific requirements and the general effect of inflation.



These changes were due to influences not directly within the control of the local authority, and included the following:

- a. The initial proposal to concentrate on the adaptation of the existing sports facilities within the City had been devised by the Scottish Amateur Athletic Federation. When examined in detail this arrangement proved physically unsatisfactory and, new, and therefore more costly, buildings were required. The original concept to convert the Murrayfield Rugby Ground was abandoned. A close examination of the track requirements in relation to the rugby pitch showed that two physically incompatible, and the overall size of the area for track and field events meant adjustment, if not a complete replacement, of the main covered stand. The Rugby Union took back their original offer of co-operation between themselves and the local authority.

The Old Meadowbank Recreation Ground became a convenient alternative but, although the site already contained a track and small stadium, a completely new set of facilities were required. Meadowbank was convenient as the land was already owned by the local authority, zoned for recreational purposes in the Development Plan, and associated with international athletics. The site was large (17 acres), located two miles from the City centre along a main radial route, and was sufficiently distant from residential areas, with the branch rail line to the north and the St. Margarets locomotive depot and main rail line to the east of the site. Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners were appointed architects for the Meadowbank development. The approximate cost of the development at the time of the appointment in 1962 was between £1-1½ million (based in part on the Cardiff experience). The initial brief for a new sports stadium was produced in consultation with local amateur athletic groups, the Central Council for Physical Recreation (who were running the recently-opened

Crystal Palace) and had a Scottish Committee, and from knowledge gained from a visit to comparable continental centres by the appointed private architects. The architects had visited Germany, Denmark and Sweden "to see the latest developments" (Edinburgh Evening News 7.9.1962).

- b. The improved performances, in athletics, internationally, during the 1960s were in part due to advances in sports technology such as the tartan running track instead of cinders. The need to improve the accuracy of results produced more sophisticated timing and control devices. Increased expectation of athletic performances affected training methods which, together with provision for pre-race 'warm-up' periods, required indoor facilities preferably near to the track. The Olympic Games in Rome and Tokyo (1960 and 1964) set new standards of design and provision for athletes. Television coverage of sports generally had produced an increased public awareness of the major international athletic meetings, including the Olympic Games and British Empire Games and the quality of their attendant facilities through the 1960s. The world-wide nature of television coverage benefitted the increased political dimension in sport, with an emphasis on high performance in international competitions first encouraged by the east European countries.
- c. In the mid-1960s, the Sports Council of Great Britain, as a central government agency, was formed, and a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Education and Science, with special responsibility for sport in Britain appointed, who was, in the Labour Government of 1964-1970, Dennis Howell. The Scottish Sports Council was set up in 1966 by the Secretary of State for Scotland, and the opportunity was immediately taken to examine the brief for the development of Meadowbank for the Games in 1970 in relation to the implementation

of central government policy for indoor sports facilities, not for international meetings such as the Games but for local community use.

Further grant aid from central government and borrowing consent for the Meadowbank project became dependent on favourable comment from the Scottish Sports Council, which changed and expanded the brief to include the indoor facilities for community use.

The policy of central government to encourage the contribution of the indoor community sports centres to urban leisure provision had been adopted following the success of the centre at Harlow New Town. Indoor sports centres had been constructed in educational institutions including secondary schools, colleges and universities, in addition to in industry and the armed services. None had been provided for general community use, until the opening of the Harlow Sports Centre in 1964.

The Centre at Harlow was accessible to the whole community, encouraged a management policy to cater for the requirements of all age groups, and provided purpose-built indoor facilities for a range of sports. The Harlow Sports Centre had been initiated by voluntary effort and was run by a charitable trust. The flexibility of use, the management policy and the long hours (16 hours a day, every day) appealed to the community and the Centre became a success.

The Scottish Sports Council recommended to the Secretary of State for Scotland that a government grant should be forthcoming only for the indoor sports facilities for community use following the Games, and that such facilities should be seen as a prototype for similar indoor facilities to be provided by local authorities elsewhere. The proposed grant for the Meadowbank

facilities did not cover the full cost of the additional indoor facilities, so the local authority was obliged to increase its financial commitment to receive grant aid and obtain borrowing consent.

Through 1963, a design was produced by the appointed architects in consultation with the City Architect, with Meadowbank as the location of improved facilities for athletics and other sporting events including swimming. At the Town Council meeting of 31st December 1963, the Town Clerk indicated that the preliminary target cost for the whole project would be between  $\pounds 1\frac{3}{4}$  - 2 million, of which the swimming pool would cost approximately  $\pounds 1$  million. In spite of the previous commitment to host the Games, the Town Council voted in favour of a complete rejection of the Meadowbank scheme in the light of the costs that had been revealed: 36 members voted for rejection, 28 for proceeding. At the same time, the Town Council and Provost Weatherstone, who was not a particular enthusiast for sporting events, had committed finance to increased grants to the Festival and to other arts organizations, had initiated the subsidized and public Edinburgh Civic Theatre Company, acquired the Royal Lyceum Theatre and were to embark on the proposal for a new opera house on the Castle Terrace site to be financed by public funds. The Town Council had initially agreed to a scheme that would be of modest capital outlay, covered by the financial return at the Games.

Nevertheless during the year 1963, the Treasurer, Herbert Brechin, and Councillor Magnus Williamson, both sports enthusiasts and principal proponents of the Games in the ruling Conservative group, visited Perth in Australia with the proposal for the Games to be held in Edinburgh in 1966 or 1970. A report accompanying the application showed all the facilities located on the Meadowbank site. They returned with the agreement that the Games should be held

in Edinburgh in 1970, not 1966, which both released the Town Council of 1963-1966 from any immediate commitment, and provided a specific target date for the provision of appropriate facilities. The later date extended the period for further consideration of costs and siting. On 18th December 1963, the Lord Provost's Committee asked the Civic Amenities Committee to consider the erection of a stand seating 4,000 and changing facilities along the north side of the existing track at Meadowbank, a site elsewhere for those indoor sports activities required for the Games, consider a separate site for the swimming pool, and for an estimate of costs.

After a detailed investigation of various alternative layouts and locations by the appointed architect and the City Architect's Department together with the City Engineer and the Director of Baths and Washhouses, the Town Council (30th July 1964) decided not to accommodate the pool on the Meadowbank site but to house the other requirements with a scheme which included a modified existing track, a stadium and a modest sports hall for the Games. At the same meeting, the Councillors agreed to discontinue the services of the appointed architects for Meadowbank and to appoint the City Architect to develop the proposal to mainly modify the existing facilities at minimum cost. The appointed architects were to continue with the swimming pool. Councillor Williamson, who had been to Australia with the invitation from Edinburgh to host the Games, took on the responsibility within the Town Council to ensure that arrangements were to be completed on time: he had tabled the motion "to consider what steps are now required to bring the existing running track and enclosure at New Meadowbank up to the standard required for the invitation to hold the Commonwealth and Empire Games in Edinburgh in 1970". The motion was referred to the Parks Sub-Committee (of the Civic Amenities Committee), which was responsible for Old Meadowbank, for consideration. At a special meeting of the Park Sub-Committee on 17th August 1965, the brief was



agreed with advice from the City Architect, and at the same meeting members agreed to seek government financial support for the scheme.

By 1966, the Meadowbank site and the outline brief covering nominal alterations to the existing facilities therefore had been agreed.

The local elections of May 1966 did not change the political party in power in Edinburgh but did produce a new Provost, Herbert Brechin, who had been treasurer in the previous Council from 1963 to 1966, and had negotiated the invitation with the controlling body of the Games in Australia in 1963. Provost Brechin was personally committed to the Games being held in Edinburgh in 1970 and his aim during his three years of office was to ensure that the facilities were provided on time. A sketch design produced by the City Architects' Department was presented by the Provost to the Commonwealth Games Federation during the 1966 Games in Jamaica. By then the name of the Games had changed from 'British Empire' to 'Commonwealth' Games. The design included a stadium with a running track in the existing location, and a small hall for indoor sports at Meadowbank. The estimated cost to the local authority was £550,000. This figure was almost half the estimated cost of the scheme rejected by the Town Council in 1963. The Federation approved the proposal, and the design for Meadowbank, and also the swimming pool. These plans became part of a formal contract between the Federation and Edinburgh Corporation. The Civic Amenities Committee agreed at their meeting of 12th July 1966 to recommend acceptance of the scheme and cost: the full Town Council concurred.

Following further consultation with the Scottish Amateur Athletic Association and the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation over the details of the brief, a working party of Councillors and officials prepared a final scheme, and a submission to central government to obtain a grant for

both the Meadowbank developments and the swimming pool. The proposals were sent to the Scottish Education Department and the Sports Council of Great Britain for their comments. The full Town Council on 20th December 1966 ratified the brief, cost, grant application and approaches to central government. By the beginning of 1967, as far as the local authority was concerned, the brief was agreed, the City Architect had sufficient time to produce all the necessary information to construct the facilities at Meadowbank, an extra adjacent piece of land had been acquired from British Rail which eased the planning of the facilities around the existing track layout, and the Organizing Committee for the Commonwealth Games in 1970 had begun to make arrangements for the Games at Meadowbank.

It was at that stage, in the beginning of 1967, when the Sports Council of Great Britain, the Scottish Sports Council and Dennis Howell, the Under Secretary of State with special responsibility for Sport, in the Labour government, began to directly intervene in the briefing and financing of the facilities for the Games. Howell, in fact, had visited Edinburgh in 1965 with members of the recently-formed Sports Council of Great Britain to discuss with the Town Council and officials arrangements for the Games. Following a meeting on 10th September 1965, Howell, had issued a press statement indicating the government's (moral) support for Edinburgh's initiative to sponsor the Games, and he had suggested that the Town Council should examine the new Harlow Sports Centre, claiming its suitability as a sports facility for Edinburgh. The Councillors had arranged for representatives to visit Harlow on 18th November 1965 but, while some minor alterations were made to the layout of the facilities on the Meadowbank site as a result of the visit, the scheme had not been developed on the lines of the Harlow Sports Centre as a community facility suitable for use after the Games. The submission of this slightly modified scheme to the Secretary of State for Scotland for a government grant and borrowing consent

at the end of 1966, on which Town Council and Games Federation approvals had been reached, coincided with the formation of a Scottish Sports Council, as, at the time, advisers to the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The officials of the new Scottish Sports Council were mainly from the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, who had advised the Town Council from 1958 over the brief for the Games facilities. Nevertheless, Kenneth Hutchinson, the secretary of the new Scottish Sports Council, wrote to the Town Clerk on 24th January 1967, expressing considerable doubts about the proposed development and the brief, and indicated that support for a government grant would not be forthcoming from his agency. In addition Sir John Lang, the civil servant and the government adviser on sport in the Department of Education and Science in London, and the Director of the Sports Council of Great Britain, Walter Winterbottom, visited Edinburgh during January 1967 to discuss the application for an exchequer grant with the Provost and the Scottish Sports Council. At these discussions further concern was expressed over the brief. Both the Scottish Sports Council and the Sports Council of Great Britain stated that they were prepared to support grant aid if the brief was amended and an indoor community sports centre included. Denis Molyneaux, the Deputy Director and Principal Research officer of the Sports Council of Great Britain, also visited Edinburgh in January 1967 to discuss the brief in detail and the indoor community facilities in particular. Molyneaux was a principal advocate of the Harlow Sports Centre. Reference was made during his visit to the publication Community Sports Halls (Perrin 1965) that had been published jointly by the National Playing Fields Association and the Central Council of Physical Recreation, which, once more referred to the advantages of the indoor sports facilities open to the whole community, with Harlow the main example. Molyneaux spoke of a possible matching grant from central government to encourage the local authority to contribute equally

to the overall cost of, in the case of the Meadowbank development, that part of the brief pertaining to indoor community facilities. On 27th February 1967, the Scottish Sports Council submitted their own brief to the Town Clerk. A plan prepared by the City Architect showing a new layout of the proposed facilities at Meadowbank as suggested by the Scottish Sports Council. The revisions to the previous brief included not only the indoor community sports facilities but also additional requirements for the Games provision.

The Civic Amenities Committee met, in private, to reconsider the Meadowbank development in the light of the activity throughout January and February, and the Scottish Sports Council proposal. On a division, the Committee agreed to recommend to the Town Council that with one exclusion, the brief provided by the Scottish Sports Council should be approved. The excluded item related to the number of fixed seats under cover in the grandstand of the athletics stadium. The Scottish Sports Council insisted that the full brief was adhered to before they gave their support for grant aid. The Civic Amenities Committee agreed.

The definitive design to meet the full brief, but at the increased cost of £2,200,000 was presented by the City Architect on 6th June 1967. This scheme accompanied the application, once more, to central government for grant aid for both the Meadowbank development and the swimming pool. The government grant aid in principle was approved and announced in the House of Commons by Howell. William Ross, the Secretary of State for Scotland, in a Commons written reply on 26th July 1967 confirmed that a grant had been offered towards the £2.2 million scheme amounting to £750,000. He further confirmed that no money was available for the swimming pool as a grant. Provost Brechin responded by praising Howell for his generosity, especially as the grant was the first of its type in Scotland (The Scotsman 27.6.1967), and also confirmed that the swimming

pool would be going ahead in any case, since this facility did not rely on grant aid or borrowing consent. The Scotsman of 27th July 1967 reported that, while Provost Brechin was pleased, the Edinburgh Members of Parliament had taken the opportunity to show their anger over the reply by the Secretary of State for Scotland as the balance would still be required to be borne by the ratepayers of Edinburgh. In their opinion the Commonwealth Games were for the whole of Scotland, thereby constituting a national facility. Also the pleasure that Provost Brechin expressed was not fully appreciated by the majority of the Town Council. For the grant from central government, as the Councillors were to realize, was dependent on a matching grant from the local authority for those indoor community sports facilities. The Town Council was being asked to increase their contribution as a result of grant aid. The choice for the Council was between:

- a. a scheme with a limited indoor sports provision for approximately £1 million, which had had approval from the Games Federation and the Town Council in 1966.
- b. a scheme with extensive indoor sports facilities, including sports halls and squash courts not all required for the Commonwealth Games, but available for community use after the Games were over. The total cost was £2,210,950 and with a grant of £750,000, the local authority was required to spend £1,460,950, which was almost a 50% increase over choice (a).

Provost Brechin, enthusiastic about the proposal and grant, stated that the extra money required to be spent by the local authority could be borrowed through the normal channels from central government or on the open market. Furthermore, reserve funds were also available at the disposal of the local authority. The benefits for the larger scheme seemed clear. However the Town Council at their meeting of 27th August 1967 decided not to adopt the



the larger scheme, but to accept the less costly proposal. In so doing the Town Council abandoned the offer of a grant from central government. The voting was 37 to 18. Councillor Leonard Baily had led the opposition during a lengthy and heated discussion in the Council Chambers, arguing that:

- a. acceptance of the grant would have raised costs by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ -3d on the rates, while the smaller scheme was the equivalent of 1d on the rates (this calculation was not fully correct with the lower rate equivalent based on the 1965 cost, rather than that of 1967)
- b. the borrowed capital for the larger scheme would have been equal to more than four Edinburgh Festivals each year for the next thirty years (on top of the annual grant to the Edinburgh Festival already committed).
- c. the smaller scheme coincided with the agreement with the Games Federation in Jamaica.
- d. he did not wish to see a 'white elephant' and that there was no evidence of community indoor facilities working in Edinburgh. Indeed, he stated, all the Games stadia had become overgrown with weeds (a statement he later retracted).
- e. if extra accommodation was required for the opening and closing ceremonies and certain events, then the Scottish Rugby Union ground at Murrayfield could be used for the larger events and the gymnasium at Edinburgh University could provide a location for certain events.

Other counter suggestions made at the meeting ranged from a proposal by Councillor Rupert Speyer that the stadium and other facilities at Meadowbank should not be built at all to the idea presented by Councillor Sheila King Murray who felt that the Games, as a national event, should be held at

Livingston New Town. No one at the meeting listed the benefits that would accrue from the larger scheme. Provost Brechin happened to be in Russia at the time of the meeting.

The decision by the Town Council caused considerable concern among those involved in the organisation of the Games and in central government. The British Commonwealth Games Federation called for a full report on "the shocking decision" by the Town Council in Edinburgh; Dr. Dickson Mabon, the Scottish spokesman on sport in the Labour government, expressed his deep personal disappointment at the decision; the Treasury was astonished at the decision not to accept the grant, while Howell was unable to comprehend the City's attitude. David Wright, a member of the Games Council for Scotland, questioned if the Games could be held at all in the smaller scheme; Laurie Liddell, Chairman of the Games Committee questioned his own position and was considering resigning (he was also chairman of the Scottish Sports Council); Councillor Williamson, a consistent supporter of the Games who was also a member of the Games Executive was disappointed and expressed doubt that the City Architect could produce a scheme adequate for the Games on the lower of the two figures (Edinburgh News and Dispatch 28.7.1967). The Edinburgh Members of Parliament called for a meeting with the local authority to urge for the larger scheme, while a telegram from Tam Dalyell, Member of Parliament for West Lothian, was sent to Howell suggesting that he spoke "bluntly to the Corporation". A meeting was arranged for three of the Edinburgh Members of Parliament (Norman Wylie, Tom Oswald and E. Willis) to meet with the Civic Amenities Committee for 2nd August 1967. The Committee had first to vote if a free debate with Members of Parliament was in order, giving rights to them not offered to other citizens. The Members of Parliament argued that they were public representatives as well as citizens, which convinced the Councillors and the debate continued. The Councillors explained the position including the following points:

- a. the smaller scheme did not breach the contract that had been made in Jamaica. Some proposals, the Councillors agreed, had not been adequately costed with the cost rising from £550,000 to £1 million without an adequate explanation from the officials. The £1 million outlay was excessive and above expectations, let alone the £2.2 million.
- b. higher costs had also been achieved through inflation and higher expectations not anticipated at the time of the original contract. The request for additional facilities and the revised brief by the Scottish Sports Council had come some time after the contractual discussions with the Games Federation, and it was the Scottish Sports Council who had increased the scheme and the costs. The implication was that central government should pay for those requirements suggested, and insisted upon, by themselves.
- c. apart from having never agreed, even in principle, for the larger scheme, the Councillors expressed concern about running costs, following the Games, of the larger scheme. There was no comparable local authority facility in Edinburgh.
- d. above all, the press had been campaigning for the larger scheme without being fully conversant with the facts.

These (correctly-argued) points were presented to the Members of Parliament by Councillor Kenneth Borthwick, chairman of the Civic Amenities Committee.

Muriel Brown in The Sunday Times (13.8.1967) continued the controversy, arguing that "Edinburgh's gross under estimation of the cost of providing facilities for the Commonwealth Games in 1970 could mean that Scotland will lose the Games. It is now touch and go"; while Hugh Davidson in The Observer of the same day reported that "Edinburgh (was) on the mat over cut-price Games". These newspaper comments

heralded a week of negotiations between Provost Brechin (who had by this time returned from Russia) with Councillor Borthwick and Howell, who met in the Scottish Office in London on 15th August, 1967. By the end of the week, Provost Brechin agreed to ask the Council to think again (Edinburgh News and Dispatch, 17.8.67). Howell argued that the larger scheme was less likely to be a "white elephant" than the smaller scheme, and, if only a stadium was provided, as with the smaller scheme, the facilities after the Games would be available for only the three summer months of the year and certainly would be a burden financially on the local authority. Howell claimed that an indoor sports centre would undoubtedly pay. By this time he was able to call upon the experience of over twenty such centres in Britain, although none had been built by local authorities in Scotland.

The controversy continued to attract comment: the Edinburgh Evening News for 30th August 1967, reported that the Edinburgh and District Trades Council had agreed by 30 to 11 votes to urge the Council to adopt the larger scheme; Edward Heath, leader of the opposition had said at a press conference during the Edinburgh Festival of 1967 that "Edinburgh should aim high" (The Scotsman 4.9.1967); the City of Edinburgh Labour Party came out in favour of the larger scheme as the proposal was in line with national Labour Party policy for indoor community sports facilities.

The Civic Amenities Committee met on 5th September 1967 to reconsider the decision of the full Town Council to reject the larger scheme. They resolved to support the larger scheme, persuaded by its long term advantages and were prepared to recommend to the forthcoming full Town Council meeting that the expenditure of £2.2 million would accrue benefits for the community not found in the less costly scheme. A crucial factor in the re-consideration had been the re-evaluation of the costs of the smaller scheme which had been previously priced at approximately £1 million.

The figure had risen to £1,370,000 (through inflation and additional requirements primarily for the Games). The Finance Committee of the Town Council at their meeting of 20th September 1967 declined to give advice on the cost implication for the local authority and rate-payers, and felt that the decision was now political, consequently leaving the decision to the full Town Council.

On Tuesday 22nd November 1967, the Town Council met and, after a long and heated discussion, reversed its previous decision and agreed to support the £2.2 million scheme for Meadowbank: the voting was 34 to 24. Councillor Leonard Bailey, who had led the opposition to the larger scheme, expressed his lack of confidence in the Civic Amenities Committee and asked for a new committee to be formed, a motion seconded by Councillor James Miller, but which lost by one vote; Councillor David Burnside criticized the officials who had originally priced the scheme at £550,000 and who had allowed the costs to increase after the decision to house the Games had been adopted; Councillor Donald Renton said that "the cost of the Games have escalated year by year. The people of this town are being held up for money to suit the prestige of a few individuals" and that he would prefer to see the last slum in Edinburgh cleared away before agreeing increased expenditure; Councillor Robert Smith stated that the confused information which the Councillors had received questioned how local government was organized, including the role of the Scottish Sports Council; Councillor Donald Swanson was more forthright and said that the local authority had "made a complete mess of it"; the imbalance between the expenditure on the Games and other services was a particular concern of the Councillors, with Baillie Pat Rogan, as an example, preferring better roads and houses to the Games. It was left to Councillor Borthwick to speak on the benefits of the larger scheme and he also indicated that further delay must be avoided as the Games were soon to be held in the City. Following the reversal, Councillor Clive Murphy resigned stating that



expenditure on the other services in Edinburgh was more important. A counter-attack by Baillie James McInally at the next full Town Council on the reversal by challenging the minutes of the Council meeting. This counter-attack failed.

At this meeting (3.11.1967) the two major schemes for the Games, the Meadowbank development and the swimming pool, and their costs (£2,210,000 and £1,644,445 respectively) were approved.

The design period for the approved scheme was short with only nine months to complete the layout, produce the working drawings and receive the tenders. The City Architects' Department achieved the programme with Crudens of Musselburgh producing the lowest tender. The cost however leapt to £2.7 million and produced a further row in the Town Council confirming the fears of those who had consistently opposed the larger scheme. The Crudens tender was approved and the facilities opened on time for the Games in 1970.

#### Commentary

As predicted by Provost Banks in 1956, the Commonwealth Games brought publicity, which extended world-wide, and prestige to the City. The Games also provided a set of local sports facilities. The facilities however were more extensive than first anticipated, and the capital costs of all building work were not covered by the revenue accrued by the Games.

The Games were a sporting and political success, and were shown to be a relatively inexpensive method of bringing prestige to the City, in spite of the increased capital cost. The Royal Commonwealth Pool became instantly popular following the Games, as the officials had predicted. Similarly the

Meadowbank sports Centre, as predicted by the Sports Councils, became a popular facility. The Pool attracted almost one million visitors annually, and continued as a venue for international swimming competitions. The Meadowbank Sports Centre became well-used from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. each day, daily, by individuals, groups and voluntary organizations, and as a training ground for athletes of an international standard and for professional sportsmen and women. The Centre generated a third professional football team, and was the venue for local, national and international amateur and professional competitions, including the Edinburgh Highland Games, and the revival of the Powderhall Footrace at New Year.

Various individuals and bodies claimed that their role was the basis for the success of the Games, these included the City Architects' Department, the Parks and Recreation Department, the Baths and Washhouses Department, the Conservative group in the Town Council, the Scottish Sports Council, the organizing committee for the Games, and the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation, which had initiated the idea of Edinburgh hosting the Games.

The Commonwealth Games was an event able to be staged in Edinburgh, independent of central government (although benefitting from a government grant) and the political and cultural domination of London. The Games also satisfied the requirements of national and local identity, being an event of an international reputation, and in an area of human endeavour able to be measured on an international scale. While the Edinburgh Highland Games, for example, was a sporting event sustaining a local cultural tradition unique to Scotland, the Commonwealth Games satisfied the further requirements of prestige and Scottishness for events to be recognised internationally. Furthermore, sports performance dependent on the greatest height, length,

strength or time by athletes and swimmers was a simple measure of international success than achievements in the performing arts. While the prestige to the City was accrued at a considerably lower cost than subsidies to theatre companies, events like the Edinburgh Festival and buildings on the scale of the opera house.

The financial support for the Games was a less contentious topic than support for the arts, and opera in particular. The prospect of the Games had been supported by representatives of all political parties in the Town Council, and no counter-proposals had been forthcoming. The enclosure of the Portobello Pool as an alternative to the new central pool was more an opportunity to deal with a local problem than a counter-proposal and an issue that remained on the agenda of the Town Council after the Games. Interest in the Games through the 1960s had benefitted from the continuity of the same ruling political party and the support by successive Provosts with Weatherstone displaying the lowest interest and Brechin being the most influential.

Provost Brechin inherited both the provision for the Commonwealth Games and the Opera house, Both became considered for a central government grant during his term of office. Arrangements were made in London for Provost Brechin and other representatives of the Town Council to visit the Arts Council for Great Britain in the morning and the Sports Council of Great Britain in the afternoon (14.7. 1967), receiving only a promise of a grant from Miss Lee, as Minister responsible for the arts, and Lord Goodman, chairman of the Arts Council, at that time, while being offered a specific financial and briefing proposal by Howell, the Minister responsible for sport and Molyneaux, Deputy Director of the Sports Council. Provost Brechin, more a sports than arts enthusiast, set himself the task during the period of his office to bring the Games to Edinburgh and to settle the financial arrangements, including the acceptance of the financial support by the Minister of Sport, while

central government continued to consider a grant for the opera house. The promotion of the Games had received particular attention from Councillor Williamson, who had an interest in sport and recreation, and from Councillor Peter Heatly who had been a treble-gold medalist in diving in the 1950, 1954 and 1958 Commonwealth Games, and who later was to become chairman of the Scottish Sports Council.

Those sports associated with the Games did not generate the associations of social class as with the arts. Sports were activities measured by merit, closely associated with the aspirations of youth and mostly common to the secondary education of all. Edinburgh was a City with broad amateur sport interests, seen in the number of sports clubs, the former-pupil tradition based on sports, the number of golf courses and bowling greens, and so on. Support for athletics was centred with the educational institutions in the 1960s, with colleges of further education and the Universities as the main source of athletics development, while swimming had become a common sport activity in secondary education. At the time of the Commonwealth Games proposal for Edinburgh, only one Olympic medalist, a measure of success in athletics, had been produced by the city since the commencement of the Olympic Games in 1892: Eric Liddell had won the 400 metres in Paris in 1924 and had been at Edinburgh University. Justification for the support of the Games was not able to rely on a tradition of individual success in international sport but appealed more to the broad social acceptance of, and interest in, sport, in addition to the maximum prestige return from a minimum financial outlay, with nominal risk, and the prospect of new local facilities as a result of an international event. For the amateur athlete and swimmer, new facilities for the Games meant training and competition provision lacking in the City and elsewhere in Scotland.

The lengthy process of site acquisition for the swimming pool was due to the lack of centrally-located and cleared sites in public ownership or easily acquired. The problem of the acquisition of a centrally-located site for a civic building was not new for the Town Council: the site for the Usher Hall, for example, had taken twenty four years to acquire. For historic and economic reasons the centre of the City was intensely used and did not provide undeveloped areas. Sites of low financial yield had either had their use changed or density increased and commercial and retailing interests had claimed the core of the central area, with the larger public institutions in the central area expanding into the adjacent inner city areas during the late 1950s and 1960s. Reinforcement of the central area to avoid its decline through the growth of the suburban areas had been the implicit policy of the Town Council since the Second World War with the expansion of Edinburgh University and the Royal Infirmary, and especially the comprehensive redevelopment scheme of St. James Centre in the central area core. A central site for the pool required acquisition in competition with commercial interests, with the exchange value of the sites related to commercial zoning and not recreation, or the replacement of high-density housing and the associated social consequences of displacement. Compulsory purchase, the change of the development plan and the political consequences of locational conflict would have been time consuming. The expansionist position of the University saw the opportunity to benefit from the proximity of an Olympic pool and the adjustment of the development plan in their favour exchanged for a financial contribution and a site. The eventual site which became fortuitously available was sufficiently distant from the core not to attract commercial or retail development, while being too expensive a site for housing and with the concentration on suburban housing developments in the 1960s.

The decision to reject the Roseburn site for the pool by 1960 appeared to be easily taken, especially since the



protest against the use of this site was not extensive. Also the petition was comparable in size to the one objecting to the demolition of the Poole's Synod Hall (later in 1965) which was ignored by the Town Council. This rejection of the Roseburn site though was within the context of a lack of conviction among certain members of the ruling Conservative group in the 1950s to commit public funds towards the central pool. While the enthusiasm for the opera house appeared high, especially from Provost Weatherstone in the mid-1960s and the demolition of the Poole's Synod Hall was a means to the construction of a new theatre. In spite of the support to host the Games and approval had been given in principle for a central pool in the 1950s by the Town, the cost of a new building remained an issue and the source of apprehension within the Town Council. It had been the officials who had led the proposal for the new central pool, while no single Councillor or group of Councillors were identified as its main advocate. Rejection of the Roseburn site meant either the abandonment of the proposal, or the search for a cheaper solution. The motion by Councillor Williamson on 13th November 1959 which led to the rejection of the Roseburn site had attached the possibility of the adaptation of an existing building. Further the officials were not fully convinced about the Roseburn site not being centrally located. An overriding factor to the choice of this, or another, site was to avoid a change of the Development Plan, which not only took time to obtain (and without guarantee of success) but probably could have encouraged the challenge of the Development Plan elsewhere in the City.

The site area required for the Meadowbank Sports Centre should have made location a more acute problem than for the pool. The area for the Centre included space for a stadium, track, indoor sports facilities, practice areas, cycling track and car park. The location characteristics were seen to be not suitable for central area acquisition because of the cost and extent of land required. The alternative

locational strategies were to adapt an existing facility as with the original proposal, to acquire a site on the urban fringe (accepting the problem of low accessibility) and the displacement of an area of open space or area of dereliction in the suburban areas. The actual site combined open space and derelict site. The site also benefitted from a buffer area between the area allocated for development and the adjacent suburban housing (which avoided the adverse environmental effects of large numbers attracted to large sports events on existing residential property) as well as being in public ownership Meadowbank Sports Centre was located in an area which happened to consist of predominately public and low rent housing with a low level of local leisure provision, which assisted the immediate popularity of the indoor sports facilities following the Games.

Compared with the opera house, the political sensitivity of the facilities for the Commonwealth Games was considerably lower. The central pool had been accepted in principle prior to the proposition to host the Games by the Town Council, and the cost of the pool was never formally queried by the Councillors (although attempts were made to reduce the cost by proposals to adapt existing buildings). The increased capital cost of the Meadowbank Sports Centre, and anticipated financial loss on the Games as an event, became a particular concern, directed though towards the intervention by the Scottish Sports Council. The Conservative controlled Town Council consistently supported the Games and associated facilities with the post-Games benefits of sports facilities for the City being of less importance. Except for the final reversal, the Town Council had voted at each stage for the least expensive means by which the Games could be staged. The political conflict lay between the emphasis on prestige and the short-term benefits as seen by the ruling Conservative group in the 1960s and the community-related policies and the long term aim of the

Labour government towards indoor sports centres, reinforced by the role of the Scottish Sports Council whose sole function was the development of sport within the community. Adverse publicity had been the reason for the reversal of the decision by the Town Council over the rejection of the government grant, rather than ideological conviction that community-related provision was justified. Adverse publicity was contrary to an aim of the hosting of the Games to attract favourable publicity.

The central pool related directly to a local authority department, the Baths and Washhouses Department. The Director of Baths and Washhouses was keen to promote swimming in the City and was conversant with the design and management of pools. He could call upon the advice from his professional institute over the type, layout and location of swimming pools. He was also a leading advocate of the concept of the leisure pool within his profession.

The Meadowbank Sports Centre, as with the opera house, did not benefit from such a level of expertise within the local authority and relied on Councillor advocacy, an initial brief from the Scottish Amateur Sports Federation and the Scottish Council of Physical Education, and pressure and advice from the central government agencies of the Sports Councils. The Meadowbank Sports Centre became part of the account of the Parks and Recreation Department, the department responsible for amenity and recreational open space, through the ownership of the land on which the Centre was built and the association of recreation with open space. The central role of the Parks and Recreation Department was the maintenance of the extensive publicly-owned open space in the City. A study of open space requirements in 1969 for the City was carried out by the local planning authority and not the Parks and Recreation Department (Edinburgh Corporation 1969) emphasising their role in maintenance rather than policy. Also, as with the opera house, there was no experience of the initial costing of the construction,

management and, particularly, expenditure of sports facilities in the local authority. The briefing of the Meadowbank Sports Centre initially was a combination of external expert advice, through the controlling bodies of amateur sport, and the experience of the appointed architect's visit to continental examples. The Meadowbank Sports Centre was the first major opportunity for central government involvement through the new-formed Sports Councils in the mid-1960s. The involvement combined the application of government policy towards urban sports provision and the demonstration of political persuasion of central over local government. The Sports Councils also were not concerned about the one-off event of the Games but concentrated on the community, and long term, provision. Long-term referred not only to use of provision locally post-Games but also to developing a model facility to encourage other local authorities to adopt.

The success of the Games and the subsequent popularity of the Royal Commonwealth Pool and the Meadowbank Sports Centre saw the further ascendancy of the sports interests over the arts lobby within the local authority in Edinburgh and was also a contributing factor in the political eclipse of the opera house proposal. The sports interests saw expression in the two periods in the 1970s: the first was the production of a comprehensive plan for community-related indoor sports centres during the period of the Labour-controlled Town Council from 1972 to 1975, and the construction of the Jack Kane (Sports) Centre; the second, during the period from 1975 and the ruling Conservative group in the newly formed District Council, was the agreement to create a sports complex in Leith, as a prestige project for national and international indoor athletics, and the approval to host the Commonwealth Games (once more) in 1982 or 1986. In so doing these projects followed the traditional political association of the Labour group with

community orientation and the Conservatives with prestige.

The approach in 1978 to central government, by the ruling Conservative group in the District Council for support to holding the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh in the 1980s, was refused: Howell was once more the Minister of Sport in the Labour government which had been returned at the elections in 1974. With the change of central government in 1979, support was given by the Conservative government and approval was obtained by the Games controlling body for the location to be in Edinburgh in 1982 or 1986 (14.7.1980).

For the District Council, hosting the Games in the 1980s would mean a high level of prestige and world-wide publicity but, with the facilities already provided, required only a nominal capital outlay and virtually no risk.



## COMMUNITY-RELATED PROJECTS

A concept of community has often been employed in public policies based on geographical areas within a city. Such policies have included community schools, community education, community development programmes, and so on, in which leisure provision has been included as a component of the policy. Community arts, community centres, community management of leisure centres, community bus projects and so on, have been examples of policy directed specifically towards leisure provision in the public sector.

But 'community' had various definitions. George Hillery (1955) has identified more than ninety different definitions of community and discovered a nominal area of similarity. The assumed size of a community ranged from a few pursuing an esoteric interest to the combination of nations as with the European Economic Community or wider with a world-wide grouping such as the Commonwealth.

The word 'community' has referred to a grouping, but has been used to express more than association through a common factor. Community has been consistently used as a desirable, and therefore positive, value, with sometimes a romantic, if not heroic, connotation, but as stated by Wirth (1933), community "has been used with an abandon reminiscent of poetic licence". Dennis (1968 p 74-94) has observed that community "is one of those terms which, as Le Bon said, are uttered with solemnity, and as soon as they are pronounced an expression of respect is visible on every countenance, and all heads are bowed". While Nisbet (1962 p X1) has viewed community as the "essential context within which modern alienation has to be considered".

In an urban context, community definitions have been, broadly, either territorially-based or interest-orientated, linked by a common interest or experience. The case-studies in this section related to community, defined territorially, seen in physical sub-divisions of the city with the actual sub-

division varying according to the policy-makers. The political issues included the distributive principles that underlay the provision of community-related facilities and the physical sub-division of the City: the evolving attitudes of the public sector towards intervention in such provision; the distinction between the distributive principles adopted by the officials in the responsible local authority department and those adopted by the Councillors; the level of participation, if any, by those directly affected by the service. The case studies also include policies concerned with a similar level of provision throughout the City irrespective of, or adjusted towards, the variations in the social characteristics of the population, and policies with a positive discrimination directed towards specific areas. The settings were:

- a. the provision of community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries.
- b. the provision of leisure facilities in Wester Hailes.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE PROVISION OF COMMUNITY CENTRES, INDOOR SPORTS CENTRES AND LIBRARIES

The Scottish Sports Council's dictum "Sport for All", the Scottish Arts Council's policy of Community arts and their touring operatic company of "Opera for All", the local authority provision of library services for all sections of society and the community-related distribution of indoor sports centres, the local education authority provision of community centres, have been examples of leisure policies concerned with equality of access to specific services provided by the public sector. The common objective shared by these was to encourage all sections of society access to a set of leisure activities deemed appropriate for consumption, with the initial intervention by the public sector justified in the name of the 'public good'. Leisure facilities though were freely available to all but not enjoyed homogeneously with visits constrained by the level of accessibility:

"Geographical distance and accessibility alone mean that some will be, literally, better placed to enjoy the advantages or disadvantages, whether the structure is a hospital, concert hall, motorway, factory or sewerage works. Location decisions and plans for the spatial allocation of resources must be made with great care, if the benefits and penalties are to be apportioned among the population in a predictable and equitable manner" (Smith 1977 p 23).

Communities within a city varied in their access to scarce and desirable urban resources: there were localities with similar social characteristics but with access to different numbers and quality of leisure facilities provided by the voluntary and commercial sectors as well as the public sector; conversely, there were areas with different social characteristics but supplied with the same leisure facilities and programmes of use. The local political process has determined the territorial distribution of resources and in so doing raised normative questions as to which social groups benefit from the public policies which distribute scarce

resources, and the method by which benefits of distribution were established.

Changes in the territorial distribution of leisure facilities, as public goods, have seldom occurred in a revolutionary manner, but as a slow evolutionary process, with a succession of minor adjustments of the spatial and social order. The process has included the introduction of a few experimental projects usually by the voluntary sector, their success, adaptation or failure, and if successful their gradual acceptance through time as provision by the local authority, endorsed by the central government and its agencies, and embodied in legislation. With education, schooling had been a desirable attainment for all in the nineteenth century evolving to compulsory attendance at school until the age of 15 after the Second World War, with such access to education seen as a right. Such obligation to provide a full coverage of activity outlets in urban areas had not been contained within legislation pertaining to leisure provision. Legislation covering community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries had been enabling with no political attempt at any stage to make any form of provision obligatory. The 1964 Library Act however placed on the local authority an obligation to provide a library service but avoided a definition of its distribution. Encouragement was shown by the enabling legislation itself for local authorities to provide certain leisure facilities. The formation of the central government agencies of the Scottish Sports Council and the Scottish Arts Council whose sole purpose was the promotion of sports and arts interests was a major influence on local authorities to recognise their role in provision and appropriate finance for leisure facilities. Certain services in the public sector emerged as an obligatory function while legislation remained enabling or not specific over the level of provision: the branch library was such an example.

Edinburgh had experienced in the 1880s and 1890s the rapid increase in the number and range of urban leisure facilities provided by the voluntary and commercial sectors at a rate approaching the revolutionary. Two further periods of rapid cultural change became contenders for this category: the first occurred between 1957 and 1964, according to Williams (1968 pp 28-31), with the rise of television ownership and viewing, the introduction of commercial television, the decline of commercial cinema and theatre, and the revival of European drama. The second was the "participation revolution" (Roberts 1975 p 3) in the 1960s, and the parallel rise of the contribution of the public sector to the provision of leisure facilities, with a substantial, but fragmented, increase of public money. The local education authority through the Youth and Community Service and the community centre, and the local authority with the indoor sports centre and the library service, accelerating its traditional role, became the main recipients of public subsidies for community-related provision. Public subsidies in the arts provision were concentrated on city/regional-based facilities. The location characteristics of the Royal Commonwealth Pool, the Meadowbank Sports Centre, the Opera House and the Playhouse, as single city/region-based facilities, included regional accessibility and sites with prestige associations, with the sites avoiding the core of the central area, exchanging a maximum level of regional accessibility for land availability and/or lower land values. In the case of the provision of community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries, a central policy issue was the territorial distribution across the city of a series of facilities and raised the questions of what type of provision and in which locations. Comprehensive plans to overcome spatial disparities were produced by the officials with the distributive principles varying with each of the three building types. A simple spatial re-organization though was not achieved by comprehensive planning studies, with the actual locations and provision the result of a bargaining process involving Councillors and officials, and opportunity determined by budget allocation and site availability.



### Community Centres

The provision of community centres by the local education authority in the suburban areas of the City developed from an initial concern for youth welfare during the pre-Second World War period. The first attempt by the public sector to assist in a service aimed at providing leisure activities for youth was through a partnership with voluntary organizations which, for religious or humanitarian reasons, had attempted to meet the needs of youth when neither home nor school could do so. The Scottish Education Department in 1939 had issued Circular 142, which proposed a partnership between the public sector and voluntary organizations to provide a social education for the young during their leisure time (Wirz 1974 p 134). Circular 142 allowed grants to be given to support voluntary organizations, to appoint youth officers and to form local committees consisting of representatives from the voluntary and public sectors. So by the outbreak of war in 1939, youth welfare had received a modest level of official support.

The formalized Youth Service was established in 1942 by the Scottish Education Department (Circular 244). Decline in educational standards due to the war and the effect on youth of their parents' involvement, emphasised the need for the local authority to provide a service aimed at the leisure time of youth in urban areas. As the war progressed so the Youth Service, in co-operation with the voluntary organizations, took on a more positive role beyond the initial concern to prevent delinquency. This expanding function was recognised in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 (Sections 41 and 52) and became an accepted function of the local education authority. Through the financial restrictions of the immediate post-war years, the Youth Service became ineffective and the intentions in the 1945 Act became frustrated. The 1950s saw little development, except for a renewed public concern over the social condition of youth at a time of accelerating social and cultural change. By 1960, the effect of the post-war birth 'bulge' had increased

the relative proportion of teenagers in the population. The Consultative Council for Youth Service in Scotland was established in 1959 under the chairmanship of Lord Kilbrandon in Scotland (Scotland 1969 p 176) and, more significantly, the Albemarle Report on the Youth Service in England and Wales (Ministry of Education 1960) was published in 1960. The report recommended an increased budget for the Youth Service, and the training of full-time youth workers. The recommendations were immediately adopted by central government, and a substantial amount of money was made available for an extension of the building programme, and the increase in the expenditure on the Youth Service.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1962 placed an emphasis on the construction of community centres, and the extension of the service primarily for youth to one which embraced the whole community. The 1945 Act had included the intentions of community leisure provision but the 1962 Act gave the increased financial opportunity. The division within the local education authority had already recognised the extended function with the changed title to the Youth and Community Service.

In Edinburgh the Youth and Community Service had commenced in 1949 when the Education Committee of the Edinburgh Corporation appointed Community Centre officers, who were required to assist voluntary organizations, primarily youth clubs in the City. Previously the Town Council's policy had been to supply grants only to boys' clubs as their contribution to youth welfare. Community centres were provided by the Education Department in the 1950s and early 1960s, but located in an ad hoc manner (Edinburgh Corporation 1974 ap 19) in selected public housing areas. The opportunity was taken to allocate pockets of land by the Planning and Education Committees in areas in public ownership, developed for council housing. The first purpose-built centre was opened in 1965 to cover Royston, Wardieburn and Pilton, as part of a comprehensive plan including eight such centres. By 1972 the plan was complete. These

purpose-built centres were run by a warden and full-time Youth and Community workers, while the management committee consisted of local community representatives. About these centres were constructed smaller satellite community centres, but only as meeting places for voluntary organizations. Bookings were taken by a local resident. These satellite centres were distributed less systematically than the main centres, but by 1975 there were nineteen satellite and main centres covering the whole of the suburban areas of the City, except an area in the centre of Portobello and the district of Cramond/Barnton. In these areas, the local Community Association provided leisure opportunities in Portobello, with a grant from the Education Committee, and the residents of the Cramond/Barnton area could use the extensive recreation facilities in the Dunfermline College of Physical Education. In the 1970s certain pockets of population in the inner city areas became further locations for centres, as existing youth clubs, social clubs and church facilities closed or became less popular: Gorgie/Dalry was such an area. The actual siting of community centres across the City tended to be in the new public housing areas.

Thus a network of meeting places had been formed for voluntary organizations, with professional full-time staff assisting the formation, development and co-ordination of voluntary organizations for a range of leisure activities. On top of this pattern of community centres was a network of venues for adult education classes, incorporating not only the community centres but schools and colleges of further education, and with the Education Committee relating their classes to those provided by Edinburgh University and the Workers' Educational Association. The 1962 Act had also encouraged further use of school facilities and gave a financial impetus to the expansion of adult education classes. A central office co-ordinated the activities of the Youth and Community Service, including the adult education classes and provided City-wide publicity. In the period 1963 to 1975, the number of community centres

had increased from 3 to 19 and the number of classes from 425 to 842. The staff of the Youth and Community Service had risen from 16 to 285 over the same period, with the staff in the community centres trained in the skills of community development and specific skills such as sports or arts education. From 1975, the Education Committee of the Regional Council (the local education authority had been placed in the senior tier at the time of re-organization of local government) encouraged the development of the existing secondary schools as Community Schools, with access throughout the whole day by non-school age members of the community the school served, as a complementary provision to the community centres.

By the early 1960s, the briefing procedure for community centres was well-established by the local education authority. Previous briefs were adopted, or adapted, with additions such as a coffee bar. The variations were suggested by the Youth and Community workers, and by the Scottish Education Department, and were the result of experience elsewhere. The Clovenstone Community Centre at Wester Hailes was so devised. In spite of efforts to involve the community representatives in the management of the centres while in use, the policy towards provision was prescriptive, not allowing for participation in the briefing procedure. With the Community Centre in the Jack Kane Centre in Craigmillar which opened in 1975, the local community group, the Craigmillar Festival Society had produced their own brief as a result of survey work and discussions within the community. The Society had also commissioned an architectural feasibility study. This exercise was ignored and the Centre was designed based on a similar brief to all other community centres in Edinburgh by the Education Committee. Similarly the community association in Gorgie/Dalry had produced a brief in 1971 for the St. Bride's Church which had been purchased by the local education authority from the Church of Scotland for conversion as a community centre. The association's brief was acknow-

ledged but not fully incorporated into the conversion proposal. Peter Williamson, Depute Regional Community Education Officer, stated that:

"Community Education had the skills and the experience and was required to work within a restricted budget, not always appreciated by local community groups. Local initiatives should not raise the expectations of the people" (discussion with Williamson, 9.5.79).

Not only did the Education Department as a whole take the largest share of the Region's budget annually, but this department had the largest staff, related closely to the equivalent central government department, the Scottish Education Department, and was the most autonomous of the local government departments based on almost a century of experience of public intervention and education administration. Legislation from the Second World War had ensured that the Education Department was able to be the main and most comprehensive provider at community level, with their role embracing leisure activities and also community development under the broad interpretation of continuing education.

#### Indoor Sports Centres

As a consequence of the success of the Meadowbank Sports Centre and the Royal Commonwealth Pool, Edinburgh Corporation prepared a comprehensive plan in 1973 for the spatial distribution of indoor sports halls and swimming pools to achieve ease of access to these facilities by the whole population. The preparation of the comprehensive plan occurred during the term of office of the Labour Provost, Jack Kane, from 1972 to 1975. This section identifies the procedure by which a plan was devised by the officials, the actual provision of sports facilities as decided by the Councillors, and the alternative proposal for similar facilities by the Region following the re-organization of local government in 1975.



The Town Council ratified a motion initiated by the Civic Amenities Committee in January 1973 to:

".....carry out research on and to survey the needs of and proposals for various sports and recreational facilities throughout the city and to prepare an overall plan"

A working party was constituted consisting of officials from the Parks and Recreation Department, the Baths and Washhouses Department, the Town Planning Department, the City Architects' Department, the Town Clerk's Department, the City Chamberlain's Department (O. & M./computer Division) and a representative from the Scottish Sports Council. The specific aim of the working party was restricted to producing an overall plan for Edinburgh, identifying locations for indoor sports centres, which included a sports hall, swimming pool, squash courts, practice halls and general purpose rooms, as well as social facilities (Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 6). The officials of the working party were conscious of following a systematic methodology to ensure full coverage of the City with indoor sports centres available to the largest numbers.

Noticeably, representation from the Education Department was excluded from the working party, on the insistence of the Director of the Parks and Recreation Department. The Education Department was seen as a competitor, and threat to the position, of the Parks and Recreation Department who were reinforcing their role as provider of indoor sports facilities following their success of the Meadowbank Sports Centre. With the sports provision in secondary schools and community centres, in addition to the expansionist tradition, of the local education authority, their exclusion was seen as essential to give the Parks and Recreation Department the opportunity to establish their role as the provider of community-based indoor sports facilities. Furthermore, discussions over the divisions of responsibility between District and Region pending re-organization were taking place at the time of the formation of the working party. The Meadowbank Sports

Centre and Commonwealth Pool were being considered as a Regional responsibility, with Parks and Recreation, and Baths and Washhouses, in a single District department but not responsible for these prestige facilities. Meadowbank, in particular, was being considered as part of the responsibilities of the Education Department in the Regional Council at one time during the discussions in 1973. To emphasise the exclusion of the Education Department, the existing sports provision in the secondary schools available for public use and the nineteen community centres were omitted as activity outlets in the planning calculations by the working party in the production of the overall plan.

The Baths and Washhouses Department had been responsible for swimming pool provision and management for over 80 years. The six Victorian and Edwardian pools in Edinburgh had been adapted through time, with the introduction of water filtration, showers, mixed bathing, club use and lessons by professional staff, as well as from the 1960s, the promotion of the use of the pools. The Royal Commonwealth Pool and its popularity gave the Baths and Washhouses Department the necessary encouragement, and, for the officials, an increased case for further public funds to be directed towards their interests, including the construction of new pools within a comprehensive plan. Sports halls and squash courts were new provision for the local authority.

The sports hall, in particular, had been limited to a set of sizes based on the combination of court dimensions for a range of indoor sports. The set of sizes formed a hierarchy of provision in urban areas from the local hall based on a badminton court to a major setting for national and international competitions such as the sports halls in the Meadowbank Sports Centre. Similarly the swimming pool dimensions, based on water surface, had been standardized, producing a set of sizes within a hierarchy of provision.

This process of simplification coincided with a general policy adopted by central government in the 1960s towards standardization, to benefit from the economics of scale and system building. The National Building Agency in the late 1960s in Scotland produced a 'packaged' building for a sports hall in the C.L.A.S.P. building system (National Building Agency 1969). Although this 'package' was not adopted by any local authority in Scotland at the time, as had been expected by the National Building Agency, the proposal was indicative of the prevailing policy of central government towards building. The City Architect, who had taken up his appointment in 1972, had been the Director of the National Building Agency in Scotland and was eager to apply his experience of standardization to sports provision to Edinburgh.

The squash court had received a similar treatment to define sizes. In the case of this facility, the requirements of the game virtually determined all aspects of the building.

The Scottish Sports Council was able to advocate a simple set of well-defined building types for urban areas, and their representative on the working party so advised. The success of the Royal Commonwealth Pool and the Meadowbank Sports Centre, in terms of popularity measured by attendance figures, reinforced its prescriptive attitude towards provision among not only the Scottish Sports Council but also the officials of those departments represented on the working party.

The primary task of the working party was the distribution of the indoor sports centres. The catchment area was taken as the population contained within a circle, defined by a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile radius from a proposed centre. The City was so sub-divided into a string of such circles, closely packed, to ensure full coverage. The built-up areas within the

City boundary happened to be made up of a series of communities, defined territorially by natural and artificial barriers, which virtually corresponded with the catchment areas devised by the circles of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile radii, in most of the cases. With ten such communities, ten locations, each centrally placed within each of the communities, were proposed for the siting of indoor sports centres. The catchment area, defined by the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile radius, was claimed by the working party to be based on the national research referring primarily to the publication Planning for Leisure (Sillitoe 1969) as the authority. At the same time, the Sports Council Study Indoor Sports Centres (Birch 1971) was available to members of the working party. But, in fact, neither of these publications had recommended calculation by distance and each had emphasised the time period for travel to a facility as the preferred basis. Also, in terms of distance, both studies had concluded a larger actual travel distance (by road rather than by radius) of 4 miles. Furthermore, Planning for Sport was primarily concerned with open space recreation and showed figures only as an aggregation of swimming and all other indoor sports, and did not express the variation in travel distance according to activity.

The working party was therefore less anxious to optimize the location of a network of facilities based on travel distance in accordance with prevailing empirical evidence, and more concerned with the identification of territorially based communities and to reinforce these sub-divisions by centrally sited facilities for indoor sports. The working party was influenced by the need to encourage use by placing as many people within walking distance of the proposed network of facilities and suggested that a maximum distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles would satisfy this particular requirement. In addition, actual sites were chosen, but never actually acquired, on streets served by public transport and, where possible, adjacent to existing shopping or community centres. The forthcoming local government re-organization in 1975 was to include the re-definition of

Ward boundaries, and, while not formally recorded in the report of the working party, it was hoped to influence possible Ward layout to coincide with their community definition. The officials were more concerned with planning neatness than community definition by social perception. The sub-divisions suggested by the working party did not coincide with those devised by the local education authority for the catchment areas of their community centres or with those devised by the Social Work Department.

In addition, the local planning authority had consistently recommended, prior to the formation of the working party, the inclusion of 'neighbourhood centres' in public housing areas as the social focus (following the urban village or neighbourhood concept as well-entrenched ideals of the planning profession). The geographic neatness of the proposals of the working party, with the community emphasis was received sympathetically by this department. Councillor Smith, as leader of the liberal group in the Town Council and Chairman of the "key" Planning Committee was to support the results of the working party's deliberations. The community-based proposals co-inciding with Liberal policy advocated throughout the 1960s. Provost Kane, and Councillor Wilson as leader of the Labour group, supported also the direction of the proposals and their community orientation. The City Architect, who had been in his position for eighteen months, had produced his first annual report supporting community-based leisure facilities and his department had taken the lead in the operation of the working party, initiating the community definition, facility locations, and standardized building types.

The estimated total cost of ten centres was £14 million. A priority list was produced to spread the cost over an unspecified period of time. The working party in the determination of the priority listing made a distinction between the greatest demand, i.e. the areas with the largest



numbers within the catchment, and the greatest need, i.e. the areas which would benefit most socially by provision. The areas of 'greatest need' meant those with the highest deprivation factors, with the statistics, and views, supplied by SHELTER. The first phase included three schemes, each in an area of social need, so defined. At the presentation of the report to the Town Council by the working party, Councillor George Norval questioned the priority listing and wished to see a location in the west of the City as the first and only priority. He would campaign to this end.

Following the presentation of the report to, and approval in principle by, the Town Council, the City Librarian, Allan Howe, attended the subsequent meeting of the Civic Amenities Committee on 8th November 1973 and expressed concern over the emphasis on sport in the approved indoor sports centres, claiming that the original remit included the consideration of non-sporting elements.

The City Librarian expressed the view that there was more to recreation centres than physical activity and that after-sport facilities were required for social mixing and a library should be included in these new centres. There were financial and managerial benefits to a multi-function building which also offered social benefits of attracting a wider group of people. He proposed that the Library and Museum Committee and the Civic Amenities Committee should work together. The proposal was approved but a joint effort did not take place before re-organization in 1975 and the formation of a single recreation department bringing together libraries, indoor sports centres and other recreation facilities. Howe became Director of Cultural Services in the new arrangement. He also had been on a lecture tour of Germany in 1973 advocating the recreation centre as the preferred location of the public library.

The first, and to date, the only indoor sports centre proposed in the report of the working party, to be built was not one of the group of three first priorities. Neither was the first to be built on a site suggested by the working party. The first centre was built in Craigmillar, in the Ward of, and named after, the Provost, Jack Kane. Provost Kane had represented Craigmillar, as one of its sons, for twenty years. Craigmillar was an area of totally public housing, and one of the areas of the City classified as multiply deprived. This centre, the Jack Kane Centre, was open for use by anyone in the City, while the adjacent Community Centre, part of the same building but with a separate entrance and owned by the Education Department had a catchment restricted only to the residents of Craigmillar. The Jack Kane Centre opened in 1975 at the end of the term of office of Jack Kane, the end of the Edinburgh Corporation and the start of the two-tier local government with the Conservative group returned as the majority in the first District Council. A further result of re-organization was that the Sports Centre became the responsibility of the new recreation department at District level while the physically adjacent Community Centre became the responsibility of the Education Department but at the Regional level.

A further indoor sports centre was considered by the Conservative ruling group in the District Council from 1975 to 1978. The proposed centre completely ignored the recommendations of the working party. The proposal was to re-use the old stadium building in Leith and was approved in principle by the District Council in 1977. The main feature of the Leith centre was to be a 200m athletic track. The track would become the only such indoor facility in Britain as the R.A.F. station track at Gosford was closing as the sole location for 200m national and international competitions in Britain. The 200m track was a common feature of indoor sports centres on the continent, as had been discovered by a visit by Councillors to Germany to investigate current trends for themselves, and the 200m

sprint had become a recognised race internationally. In addition, the area required for the indoor athletics and the spectator provision was also to be used for international professional tennis tournaments, which had been held in the Meadowbank Sports Centre, but the ceiling height had restricted the tournaments to matches not recognised by the L.T.A.. These tournaments had shown the benefits financially to the City with the television coverage supplying also a prestige value. Similarly the 200m track would attract financial benefits, television coverage and prestige, as advocated by the leader of the Conservative party from 1975, Councillor Waugh, in the District Council. Councillor Waugh was from Leith, as was Allan Wells, who was emerging as an international sprint athlete at the time of the decision. This £6 million scheme was the first priority for expenditure on leisure when local authorities were in a position to continue with capital projects.

The newly-formed Recreation and Leisure Department of the District Council continued from 1975 to advocate the recommendations of the report. The officials spoke at professional meetings and conferences and used the report as an example of comprehensive planning within local government. William Bell, who had been chairman of the working party had become Director of the Recreation and Leisure Department and Angus McBain, head of the previous Parks and Recreation Department, had become the new Director of Physical Recreation as a division of the recreation department, while Colin Black, previous head of Baths and Washhouses, retired.

In the new Recreation Department in the Region, a new group of officials commenced in 1975 to appraise the leisure provision in Edinburgh, and to produce a leisure strategy for new facilities, including the location of indoor sports centres.

In addition, the national agencies of the Countryside Commission for Scotland, the Scottish Sports Council and Scottish Tourist Board, had combined their research budgets in 1975 in a project known as the Scottish Tourism and Recreation Planning Studies (S.T.A.R.P.S.). The Scottish Arts Council and the Scottish Education Department declined the opportunity to be associated with S.T.A.R.P.S.. In co-operation with the newly-formed Regional Recreation Departments throughout Scotland, the aim was to construct regional strategies, and to implement national policies. In so doing, a further study, of the indoor sports requirements for Edinburgh including swimming pools, sports halls and squash courts began. The study was based on the implementation of defined standards of provision and catchment devised by the national agencies. The S.T.A.R.P.S. was a mechanical application of standards, location, characteristics, and population characteristics as a consequence of nationally-based research (Countryside Commission et al 1975). A plan for swimming pools and sports halls (and golf courses) was produced by the Region, within the S.T.A.R.P.S., and submitted to the District for comment. The Recreation and Leisure Committee and their officials 'acknowledge the report' (8.8.1978).

During this period, District Councillor Norval, had continued the campaign for a sports centre in the West of the City. He claimed that that part of the City had been neglected for too long (Edinburgh Evening News, 22.11.1978) A specific proposal was submitted to both the District and Region which claimed that the existing facilities in the area could be used more effectively and looked towards the existing schools as the base for community-orientated facilities. St. Augustus and St. Forresters secondary schools had two sports halls, three gymnasias, a swimming pool, squash courts, tennis courts and thirteen outdoor pitches. The chairman of the Recreation and Leisure Committee in the District Council, Councillor Alastair McIntosh, was sympathetic. The officials in the District

were not, referring once more to the report of the working party. While the Education Committee of the Region, which was responsible for the schools, regarded the proposal favourably. The two schools were placed on the list of potential Community Schools. Community Education was asked to develop these two schools to provide the sports requirements for those living in the West of Edinburgh (15.1.1979).

### Public Branch Libraries

Perhaps the main characteristic of the public library service has been its consistency over time, changing by degree rather than by kind, and expanding to follow the major physical developments in the City, since the first of the libraries opened in Edinburgh in the 1890s. The nineteenth-century branch public libraries still operate, with only minor internal adaptation and the subsequent libraries evolved slowly from the early pattern. The library service became a well-established component of local government, and, after its controversial beginnings, accepted as a free service to the users and as the sole responsibility of the local authority to provide public library facilities. The Public Libraries and Museums Act of 1964 placed a statutory responsibility on the local authority, replacing the enabling legislation of the nineteenth century, to provide an adequate library service for all residents in their area. There remained the question of the method by which an adequate service could be achieved, within a policy of full coverage of the population of the City, including the inherited services to hospitals, prisons, homes for the elderly and similar institutions with potential but physically constrained consumers.

The library service, through the Central Library and the branch libraries in Edinburgh, had been open for all to use, with no management barriers to prevent anyone using a library, but libraries have not been used by all, with only 19% of the



whole population regular visitors to libraries (Appleton 1976 p 24), and those regular visitors were not representative of the social profile of the population as a whole. Of course, not all in Edinburgh were book-readers in their leisure time, and, of those who were book readers, not all were regular library users. Almost a quarter (23%) were not book readers, i.e. they did not read books as a leisure activity. Of the remaining three-quarters, i.e. the book readers, over half were library users (Appleton 1976 p 24).

In order to attract an increased number of users, attitudes by those in the service have evolved from an initial paternal period when the educational role of the service predominated, through the main period in which the service was expanded to respond to the needs of the consumers as expressed in the borrowing and request patterns, to the current policy preoccupations with promotion. This additional promotional role was aimed at demonstrating that the expertise of the library service was applicable to a broad range of information needs, beyond the traditional functions, and directed towards all sections of society. The evolving attitudes have been reflected, in part, in a changed building character: the formal institution with sombre interiors was displaced by the more colourful and informal layouts of recent libraries; the porticoed masonry civic buildings such as the Leith library of 1932 gave way in the 1960s and 1970s to the more attractive single-storey buildings with an almost domestic scale, as was the case with the Blackhall library, which opened in 1968. Latterly, to encourage use, policies for leisure facilities have included the addition of meeting rooms, cafeterias and specialized sections, i.e. gramophone records. Furthermore libraries have been located in shopping centres, recreation centres or similar complexes where large numbers were attracted and the library benefitted from the numbers visiting the primary attraction.

Recently the library provision has been concerned with two further issues relating to the role of the librarian and the library facility.

The first was the library service as the cultural leader in a community (Wilson 1968 p 10). The library facility was seen to be "one of the principal centres of cultural life" and a function of the library service was to "promote participation, enjoyment and appreciation of all the arts" (Department of the Environment 1973 p 35). Cultural activities covered lectures, concerts, exhibitions, drama performances, film-shows, story hours and so on. The service initiated, organized and publicized cultural events and became the base for local voluntary arts organizations. Reinforcing the concept of libraries as the cultural centre in local communities, the re-organization of local government in 1975 grouped libraries with theatres, concert halls, museums, art galleries and public halls within the Cultural Services Division of the newly-formed Recreation and Leisure Department in the District Council. Thompson (1974 p 9) had commented:

"The involvement of libraries in these cultural activities of society also involved them in the community's recreational and leisure activities. As one librarian has said, the library now links itself with the museum, the theatre, the cinema, the record club, the concert hall, the meeting hall and even (with some libraries providing cafeterias) the restaurant. Since leisure features so very important in modern life, the adoption by libraries of "extension work" has further reinforced their power and influence".

During the debate over the nature of the local government re-organization, the choice for the library service was an association with either Education, responding to a traditional function of the library service, or with Culture Services. Since the policy shift within the library profession towards cultural leadership so the library service in Edinburgh linked with theatres, concert halls and so on, rather than being in a subordinate position within Education (Howe 1976 p 19). Allan Howe, who had been City librarian,

became the first Director of Cultural Services as a consequence of re-organization. Associated with the library as a cultural centre has been the proposal that the librarian became an active promoter of cultural activity in a community with the traditional role giving way to:

".....a second, more outward-looking, role in which the librarian, from the profusion of published material, exercises more discrimination in presenting it, identifies those who can make use of the information and encourages them by display, study guides, etc., to utilize it. Perhaps the librarian of the future will have an even more dynamic role as an organizer, although the french word 'animateur' probably describes it better. He will go out into the field, creating relationships, activities or groups which did not occur spontaneously but which will enable the library to benefit all sections of the public, disseminating cultural traditions more widely: in fact, becoming a positive social force within the community" (Luckman 1971 p 36).

The second recent issue was the extension of reference information, associated with library provision, to satisfy individual information needs in solving specific and general problems. The information function of the library service had been recognised in the 1920s with the Kenyon Report: "The librarian's aims (include) placing at their disposal the information necessary for the ordinary duties of a citizen" (Kenyon 1927 p 43). The result was that reference sections became common provision in libraries. But in recent years, a series of voluntary and statutory agencies had grown in number. The function of these agencies included the dissemination and translation of information to assist consumers to cope with their every-day problems. The agencies have included the Citizens' Advice Bureau and the Civil Rights Office. Edinburgh had seen a number of agencies offering information and advice: civic information, consumer advice, the law, jobs and careers, tourism, local events and specialist information such as the Samaritans and Alcoholics Anonymous. As the public library service had a statutory responsibility to provide for the information needs of the community they served (1964 Library Act), the service was conscious of the alternative sources of information, and

the expressed demand for such information. The Library Association Record (1971 p 12) has summarized the proposed extension of the library service, seeing the public libraries becoming information centres, and referral contact points to specialized sources of information. The expertise peculiar to the library service appeared to be classification, co-ordination and mediation skills, in addition to the offer of free, open-to-all, and well-distributed facilities. This extension of the information service implied co-ordination with existing agencies, an alteration in the role of the staff in libraries and placed an emphasis on specialist staff functions (Wilson 1976 pp 46-57).

Associated with the expansion of reference material and specialist advice from library staff was the additional aim, promoted by a section of the library profession, to re-define the library as: "... a relevant service to the disadvantaged rather than remaining the exclusive preserve of a cultural minority" (Asser 1974 p 114). According to Hendry (1973 p 134): "The public library movement came into being to serve and to help the working class, and to widen their outlook on life". The service though had become predominately, but not exclusively, a middle-class preserve (Darcy and Ohri 1975 pp 1-31) with:

"In areas of urban deprivation, however, the library is often unattractive, irrelevant and unresponsive to people living in the local neighbourhood. In these areas probably more than elsewhere, people need relevant and accessible information. The library service has not yet found effective ways of fulfilling this need". (Darcy and Ohri 1975 p 1).

This aim was to redefine the library service, directed towards the socially disadvantaged, providing non-occupational information and assistance on solving particular legal, welfare, monetary or social problems.

The libraries in Edinburgh in middle-class areas were heavily used, compared with those in the working-class areas, and confirmed the Darcy and Ohri criticism of the prevailing service. The Morningside library, the most popular of the

seventeen branch libraries in Edinburgh, issued 630,961 books in 1976, while the Blackhall library, the second most popular, issued 442,982. The ratios between the number of people living within a 2 klm. travel distance of the library and the number of annual issues were 1:26.0 and 1:26.1 respectively. Whereas the Muirhouse library was the least popular with only 17,216 issues in 1976, followed by the Sighthill library with 22,446. The ratios between the numbers living within a 2 klm. catchment were 1:6.1 and 1:7.8 respectively. The Morningside and Blackhall libraries served predominately middle-class areas, while those at Muirhouse and Sighthill served exclusively public housing areas.

The current Edinburgh library service had experienced only a very modest expansion of the traditional functions. 'Community Information Packs' and a file on voluntary organizations had been included in the existing branch libraries from 1973. Anthony Shearman, the City Librarian in Edinburgh, from 1975, acknowledged the potential role of the librarian as cultural leader, and a consumer- and information-orientated library service. But adjustment of policy appeared to be constrained by four factors:

- a. the existing staff attitudes, the professional educational requirements and the well-defined career structure within the local authority based on the traditional library pattern, in which staff tended to be reluctant to work in the libraries located in public housing areas.
- b. the 1970s as a period of economic recession, which was not conducive to expansionist policies.
- c. the legal requirement to provide and sustain a comprehensive service across the whole City, as the paramount aim.
- d. the attitudes of the Councillors, especially those on the Library and Museum Committee, who were the final arbiters on location, expenditure and general policy.



For the officials of the library service within the local authority, the immediate issues, as opposed to professional aspirations, were the comprehensiveness of the service, budget allocation to sustain and expand the provision, and the <sup>rs</sup> persuasion of the Councillors to these ends.

Various attempts by the library service had been made since the nineteenth century to provide an "equal and full distribution of library provision" (Scottish Library Association 1951 p 37). The first in Edinburgh was probably the proposal to link the Central Library by telephone to peripheral offices, served by a van delivering requested books from the Central library. This proposal was devised in 1890s. By 1900, an inner ring of suburban branch libraries provided a full coverage of the built up areas. While an outer ring of public libraries covering private and public housing estates developed through the twentieth century, and since the Second World War a mobile service covered areas not served by a permanent library, continued to ensure a comprehensive coverage.

A succession of comprehensive plans for the location of libraries occurred in Edinburgh, initiated by the budgetary requirements within the local government system. Annually a comprehensive plan was prepared, or a previous plan adjusted, for the location of new libraries and adaptation of the existing libraries by the officials. The plan included a specific list of new and adapted libraries considered necessary to be included within the forthcoming financial year. The comprehensive plan, the specific list and the cost implications were submitted to the Library and Museum Committee. The Councillors usually added locations not on the list or adjusted the priorities, before a final budget figure was prepared and finally agreed. In the mid-1970s, a library to cover the Liberton area of Edinburgh was suggested by the local Councillor, Peter Wilson, who was a

member of the Library and Museum Committee. The location of this library became an area of conflict between the members of the Committee and the officials of the library department.

Liberton had been suggested as a suitable area for a new library by Councillor Wilson at the Library and Museum Committee meeting on 29th February 1968. The City Librarian had previously proposed a single permanent library at Gilmerton, on a site next to the Gilmerton Primary School, with mobile libraries only serving the adjacent housing estates of Morédun and Liberton. Gilmerton rather than the adjacent area of Liberton had been on the list of proposed libraries in the comprehensive plans from 1965. At the meeting of the Library and Museum Committee of 2nd July 1970, the Councillors suggested a further alternative that a new large library covering the Newington, Gilmerton and Liberton areas could be included in a scheme proposed by a property developer. The inclusion of a new library would be part of the planning permission conditions. The developer's scheme was in Newington. The City Librarian, Charles Cochrane, was able to discourage the committee arguing that the Gilmerton site remained the preferred location. Gilmerton had been included in the 1971-1974 local authority investment programme.

On 1st June 1972, a motion was put forward by Councillor Wilson: "that the proposed library for Liberton be built on a site suitable to the majority of Liberton residents". At this time, the Labour group were in power in the Town Council and Councillor Wilson was its leader. Also Cochrane had retired and Alan Howe was City librarian. Twenty-one sites were investigated by the City librarian before the number was reduced to two: Liberton Recreation Ground and a site in Lasswade Road in Liberton. The Planning Department considered part of an area allocated for a neighbourhood centre in Liberton also a suitable site. But Councillor Wilson chose a site next to the day nursery

and clinic in Gilmerton Dykes Street in Liberton. His choice was approved at the Library and Museum Committee.

Acquisition of the site in Gilmerton Dykes Street proved difficult. As an alternative and immediate solution, the City Librarian proposed three smaller and temporary libraries at Liberton (on the Recreation Ground site), Moredun and also at Craigmillar, which was adjacent to Liberton. Councillor David Brown, who lived in Craigmillar had also placed a motion before the Library and Museum Committee that: "Urgent consideration be given to the provision of a library in a central position in the Craigmillar Ward" (7.10.1972). The motion had been approved. Against the advice of the City librarian, the library at Craigmillar had been included in the 1973/1974 estimates following the approval of the motion. The proposal had the support of Provost Kane, whose constituency was Craigmillar.

Each of the three temporary buildings as proposed by the officials as an expedient to the various claims for library provision was to cost in the order of £30,000. The City Architect produced three identical designs for the temporary libraries. The City Librarian also requested that a survey of the residents in these areas was essential to establish reading habits and the potential number of library users in the Liberton/Moredun/Craigmillar area. He was skeptical about the level of use and concerned about the level of vandalism that could be experienced in these areas. The three areas were predominately public housing estates. He admitted that:

"Experience had shown that a single large conventional type of library though was still preferred to the idea of smaller units, as smaller units would cause management problems. But better than waiting for another site".

Meanwhile Councillor Wilson continued to advocate the single library in Gilmerton Dykes Street and to persuade the Library and Museum Committee accordingly. But the full

Town Council followed Provost Kane's advice and reversed the decision in favour of the three smaller units. The proposal was to construct a small library first at Gilmerton (as opposed to Moredun), Craigmillar would receive its library second, followed by the third library at Liberton. Funds were allocated for the buildings to be in position by May 1975, the end of the Edinburgh Corporation and the time of re-organization. In reality the library at Craigmillar opened in 1974 and the one in Gilmerton in 1975. A site for the Liberton library remained an issue involving the Planning Department, the local community association in Liberton and Councillor Wilson, who was still insisting on a single permanent library located in his area. A determined effort was made by Councillor Wilson to provide a library somewhere in his constituency. He "sat down with the officials to sort out a location and the result was the third temporary building in Moredun" (discussion with City Librarian, 5.10.1976). The Moredun library opened in 1975.

As a consequence of the 'Liberton experience', the officials of the library service considered that such a decision-making procedure should not be perpetuated and were critical of the piece-meal manner of past decisions concerning library location. The City Librarian suggested a research programme, similar to the residents' survey suggested in the 'Liberton experience' but covering the whole City. The results would be the basis of a comprehensive plan. The Director of Recreation in 1975 stated that:

".....an enforced 'go-slow' in the immediate future will afford the opportunity for a research programme designed to establish the optimum locations for a network of libraries throughout the City". (Memo to Cultural Recreation Sub-Committee, 6.10.1975).

The research programme was carried out, and a comprehensive plan suggested the location of five new libraries (Appleton 1976). The proposals were approved in principle by the Cultural Recreation Sub-Committee in 1977, pending action at a time of a more favourable economic climate.

The officials were more apprehensive than the Councillors towards the actual level of use of libraries in public housing areas. They saw the mobile service and the temporary library as the mechanisms to test demand before permanent buildings were constructed in Wards with predominately public housing. From the early 1960s, vandalism of libraries had become a serious factor for the officials. The breaking of windows, graffiti, stolen books, and so on, were closely associated with public housing areas. Also since the 1936 survey the officials were aware that the libraries in the public housing areas were used less frequently. Library staff were often reluctant to be associated with these libraries, experiencing, at times, unattractive buildings, which were vandalized and under-used. The low popularity of the Muirhouse and Sighthill libraries, as examples, had prompted the City Librarian in 1976 to consider their closure. His decision was hampered by the knowledge that closure would bring reduction in staffing and a weakening of his department's position in budget allocation. The officials tended to express contrary views: the annual bid for increased public funds directed towards the library service, including the expansion of the traditional role of the library, and the consolidation of the service concentrating on the more popular libraries i.e. those in middle class areas, while closing the under-used libraries in the public housing areas.

The comprehensive plans, including the proposals as the outcome of the 1976 research programme, were part of the annual bargaining process, in which the officials were required to bid for their share of the public funds available in the local authority, with Councillors and other departments. With the increased control by central government as the 1970s progressed, so the library service, along with the other local authority functions, not only had to consider the future requirements but to argue for the retention of their current pattern of service. Cut-backs took precedence over development.



Location of new libraries was influenced by changes in available funds, housing developments and shifts of population. The actual location of a library was more subject to the persuasiveness of individual members of the Library and Museum Committee, drawing attention to deficiencies in their own Wards, than the comprehensive plans annually produced by the officials or particular advice over a specific location by the officials. An over-riding factor was the availability of suitable sites for new libraries, in part conditioned by the foresight of previous policies and the purchase of land for future developments of library provision when funds became available or when a site had been allocated within a public housing area at the time of its planning concept. Full coverage though had been achieved by incremental change, so that by 1970 the whole of the population of Edinburgh had a mobile or permanent library within 2 klm. distance of their home. The sole exception was Cramond, a relatively small area of the City. The comprehensive plans tended to include additional permanent libraries which replaced the mobile service.

While the City Librarian, the officials and the librarian profession as a whole advocated extended roles of the library service, devised comprehensive plans and methods of calculating distribution, and debated the advantages of district versus local centres, the actual pattern of provision, size of the building and style of the service had not changed substantially through the history of the service in Edinburgh from 1900.

### Commentary

The policy decisions in these case studies were primarily concerned with the spatial distribution of public facilities provided by the three sections of the public sector: the common distributive principle was to minimize the spatial constraints on access to facilities for those groups seen as the consumers of the provision. The evolving policies on distribution of the library service in principle, rather than in practice, included:

- a. the subdivision of the city geographically to achieve a numerical equality of accessibility, calculated by a simple arithmetic distribution. The aim was to achieve an optimal location pattern whereby each library, providing a similar service, served a similar number of people within each catchment area.
- b. a consolidation within the existing service concentrating on those areas with a high use of their local branch library, measured by book issues, and the closure of those facilities where issue rate fell below a certain level. The concentration acknowledged social distinctions in the spatial distribution by limiting the use of libraries to the main user groups, traditionally drawn from the higher-income and better-educated groups. A disproportionate amount of resources would be allocated to these user groups, whose qualification for merit was through their frequency of use.
- c. similar district libraries with large facilities offering a wide choice of books and lending services, and serving a large catchment area consisting of various social groups. This policy classified as an attempt to balance the benefits of consolidation with arithmetic distribution. Such a policy tended to disguise actual use by the traditional user groups.
- d. the distribution of similar local libraries with small facilities offering less choice but encouraging use by propinquity. By less choice, the actual service tended to be aimed at a stereotype of the local users.

- e. a directed service devised to satisfy the specific information needs of particular social groups and individual requirements, rather than the traditional library service, across the whole population. The measure of the service output would be the numbers using the library service rather than merely book issues. The aim of a directed service was the equalizing of the opportunity to benefit from the skills of the librarian in response to individual needs, in terms of a broad definition of information.
- f. the active promotion of library use by animation and location linkages. A socially directed policy aimed mainly at those groups classified as non-users. This policy was concerned with achieving equality of result, defined by the number of users at each library. Such equalization required an unequal treatment to raise the use of facilities at least to minimum level to justify initially the retention or inclusion of a library in areas with a nominal use of the traditional library service.

The shift of policy was from equality of opportunity, which had resulted in the concentration of use among the higher social groups, to equality of results measured by use of library provision for information needs including book borrowing, rather than only a lending service. The equality of result, as a minimum standard, implied a disproportionate distribution of resources from the public sector towards those with the larger information needs and those required to be stimulated to use the library service by animation. In so doing the policy shift reflected three inter-related influences:

- a. the re-consideration of the economic and social role of local government, primarily but not exclusively involved in the redistribution of community surplus in favour of those with the greatest economic and social needs as opposed to the traditional beneficiaries, as in the case of library provision.

- b. an adjustment of attitudes in the library profession to increase the social relevance across all sections of society of the library service, and to justify public expenditure on and increase of budget allocation towards library provision. The professional concern to extend social relevance was not peculiar to the librarians but affected other professional groups through the 1970s such as lawyers (Scottish Legal Action Group) and architects (New Architecture Movement).
- c. the move from the aggregative principle of spatial distribution (Barry 1965 p 81) with the increase in the total amount of use irrespective of the characteristics of the recipients [which encouraged the consolidation policies], to the distributive principle, whereby the concern was primarily with the individual consumer (Netzer 1968 p 438) and the allocation of resources proportional to need (Barry 1965 p 115). Distributive policies were based on the needs of individual consumers, while the aggregative principle had been not necessarily concerned with the effect on the individual. The variation between the aggregative and distributive principles were reflected in the often conflicting aims of efficiency and equity, with efficiency concerned with the maximising of the output from given resources, such as the increase in the mean level of accessibility to all facilities (Schneider and Symons 1971 pp 22-24), and equity allowing a permissible inequality considered socially just, and, in terms of the level of accessibility to library provision, an acceptable deviation from the mean level (Rawls 1971 p 60).

The policies associated with the provision of community centres and indoor sports centres followed a similar progression: facilities serving sub-divisions of the City defined arithmetically; a consolidated or directed service; a policy response to individual needs; the stimulation of

use through animation and promotion; with the additional policy of the better use of existing provision, e.g. sports provision in existing schools. In terms of promotion, the local education authority advertized their adult education classes and community centres on commercial radio, by posters and in public transport and newspapers. Similarly, the Scottish Sports Council developed their 'Sport for All' programme, to encourage physical exercise by all ages which was advertized on commercial television and radio, on posters and in newspapers. Distinctions over spatial distribution lay with the territorial definition of community with different sub-divisions of the City for each of the three building types. A further distinction was the extent that policies were 'built into' the physical provision. Two broad approaches were adopted. The first was the deterministic policy by a local authority department, with support from central government or its agency, selecting a specific activity for financial support, which required specialist facilities, such as libraries, swimming pools and squash courts: provision satisfied a demand for a particular activity, such as book borrowing, swimming and squash. The second was the indeterministic policy, with a facility containing a general or multi-purpose space as an 'umbrella' under which use was determined by the management policy, responding to the fluctuations of local requirements: this policy was associated with the community centre, where the emphasis was on community development rather than with a specific activity. In the case of the community centre, activity choice could be filtered by the Education Department with certain activities prescribed in the name of social development such as coffee drinking over alcohol, badminton over bingo. Participation, defined as the involvement in the decision-making procedure by those affected by the decisions (Abrahamson 1977 p 186), was not seen readily as a feature of the policies relating to the provision of community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries. Policies by the three departments of local government within the case studies either preceded the



statutory public participation in physical planning or became independent of the formal participation procedure. Participation in the comprehensive plans for the provision of community centres, indoors sports centres or libraries as separate policies was not a statutory obligation: apart from only one produced by 1977 in Edinburgh, the statutory local plans, devised by the local planning department as the formal document for public consultation, did not necessarily include the type and location of community facilities. The relationship between the decision-makers, the Councillors and the officials, to the users of three building types was paternalistic, with the respective local authority department determining the community needs and necessity for intervention (Ross 1955 chap. 1, Department of the Environment 1977 p 11-12): programmes were prescribed and the decisions legitimized by research, experience and professional expertise (Reins 1969 p 234). Participation in terms of self-determination and direct control over resources was not considered a natural function of the local authority departments: evidence of public participation was restricted to local pressure groups advocating the location of either an indoor sports centre or library, in a particular area as a priority, suggesting a satisfaction with deterministic policies, and inclusion of users on the management committee of a community centre, as a facility owned, organized and managed by the local education authority. The decision-making procedure as a demonstration of democratic elitism (Bachrach 1969 p 100) allowed participation in terms of the inclusion in the bargaining process over priority treatment by pressure groups through the informal channels of representation to the local Councillor or directly to the officials, rather than procedure classified as radical democracy (Bachrach 1969 p 87) with the control of resources and policy by the consumers as demonstrated in voluntary organizations with their own premises (Abrahamsson 1977 p 186). A distinction though with the financial arrangements of a voluntary organization was the need for public accountability of the allocation of public funds of which officials

and Councillors were conscious: voluntary organizations controlled social behaviour in a private domain; facilities provided by public funds, whoever was in control, were accountable to the whole community which contributed the funds, and to its elected representatives. An application for a bar in a community centre had been turned down by the Education Committee in 1966, the application for a bar in the Meadowbank Sports Centre had been refused in 1969 by the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Parliamentary Commissioners (The Scotsman 24.7.1969), and bingo as an activity had not been allowed in community centres by the Education Committee in 1967: whereas drinking and bingo would be common activities in the workingmen's social clubs.

Each set of officials in their respective departments was concerned about the boundaries of their policy responsibilities. The overlap of policy territory between the Education Department and the Parks and Recreation Department (later part of the Recreation and Leisure Department) over leisure provision was regarded as a particularly sensitive issue within the local government structure. The Jack Kane Centre, with its two halves separately administered, was an example of guarded territories between the Education Department and the Parks and Recreation Department, in addition to the evidence of lack of co-operation over policy and resource management in an area of common interest and at a time of corporate management as public administration ideology. The two-tier local government with recreation interests in each tier with the national agencies courting the Regional recreation department, produced a further ambiguity of responsibility, exasperated by the political aggravation between the District and Regional Councils. The senior officials were concerned also about their respective staff, with each department having its own professional ideology, expectations, working methods and career structures, while Councillors evaluated proposals against political ideology and election commitments. Other distinct differences between the characteristics of

officials and Councillors were as in the following list:

OFFICIALS	Dimension	COUNCILLORS
Long term view of policies	SCOPE OF POLICY	Short term view of policies
Concerned with city-wide policies, based on empirical research		Parochial interests relating to constituency sensitive to local requirements
Promoted comprehensive planning proposals		Satisfied with incremental decisions
Power base was the ability to mobilize information and expertise	POWER BASE	Power base was the ability to mobilize political support, voting strength in Council and Ward representation
Continuity and stability of their department		Restricted period of office to three year increments
Control over information, agendas of meetings and implementation		Control of budget, procedure, priorities and
Concerned about their department development in addition to professional institutions	REPRESENTATION	Concerned about Ward representation and response to pressure groups, in addition to political party and ideology
Competed with other departments		Competed with other Councillors
Considered that Councillors required to be stimulated, persuaded or placated		Considered officials as a further pressure group, advisers and implementers
Departmental service measured by activeness, as visit numbers and increased demand	OUTPUT	Political contribution measured by results, seen as new or adapted facilities
Prepared to exchange professional aspirations for departmental expansion		Prepared to exchange ideology for results, and political survival

Overriding these distinctions was the political culture of conservatism, with the attempts to adjust this tradition within the Labour-controlled Town Council from 1972 to 1975 and the re-organization of local government in 1975.

The annual reporting by officials and the reports by ad hoc working parties were not only an opportunity to display mobilization of information and expertise, in comprehensive planning and priority listing, but were a bargaining position over budget allocation. The process of bargaining was towards an incremental adjustment of previous annual budgets, involving Councillors as promoters and arbitrators. The officials placed annual bids, supported by Councillors on the relevant Committee of the Town Council for their share of the budget for the coming year: the variables of negotiation included political sensitivity, success of the particular service measured by activeness, the quality of the presentation, and the persuasiveness of the officials and Councillors. Departments were placed by the Councillors on a reputation rank order, with Education placed higher than the Library service and the Parks and Recreation Department, considering only those featured in the case studies: Education appeared as a model, with this department more autonomous than the other two. The lower ranking of Parks and Recreation was based on the lack of experience with indoor sports centres, in spite of the success of the Meadowbank Sports Centre. With the approved annual budget for each department, which had been based on specific requests, latitude with the allocation allowed Councillor preference to operate within the budget year.

Territorial distribution of community centres, indoor sports centres and libraries was not the simple application of a comprehensive plan to eradicate spatial disparities. The distributive mechanism was a self-regulating process over time of an interplay between the persuasiveness of Councillors, annual budget allocation, officials' requests, financial and

political opportunity, available and suitable sites, strength of local pressure and community groups, the recognition of a short-fall of provision and central government borrowing approval. The interplay machinery, the conflict of interests, and the changing balance of power over time did not allow for the mechanical distribution of facilities to produce an optimum equality, however defined, with optimization techniques at least requiring political stability. The interplay mechanism for territorial distribution did not allow those normative issues<sup>s</sup> to emerge, against which equity and an acceptable level of social inequality could be judged.



## CHAPTER NINE

### THE PROVISION OF LEISURE FACILITIES IN WESTER HAILES

This case study is concerned with the provision of leisure facilities within a new and large community, located on the periphery of Edinburgh. The emphasis is on the attempts by the local authority to involve the local residents in the decision-making over the type and extent of provision. The process to provide leisure facilities involved various, and overlapping, strands, including most of the local authority departments, initiatives by certain Councillors, a community development programme and a variety of local efforts. The provision of leisure facilities also included those anticipated in the initial physical layout, devised by the architect/planning consultants, Sir Frank Mears and Partners.

Wester Hailes was conceived in a period of high expectation during the 1960s. The need (defined politically) was to provide new public housing to improved spatial and environmental standards, at a time of an increased perceived level of public and private affluence, and anticipated increase in car ownership. The scheme created a new community for 18,000 people, on the periphery of the built up area of the city, for those on the housing list, those displaced by the slum clearance programmes in the older sections of the City, and for an anticipated population increase in the City.

The leisure provision in the original plan had included:

- a. the central park, or greenway, as a dominant feature which swept through the scheme for over one mile, and contained the main pedestrian route linking the housing to the proposed community facilities. At a brisk pace, the time taken to walk from one end of the 'greenway' to the other was twenty-five minutes.

- b. land allocated for a public library and a community centre in the Wester Hailes Centre. Together with shopping, the Wester Hailes Centre was considered as the real centre for the whole scheme, not just as a retail outlet but the main focus for social and recreational activities.
- c. other pieces of land allocated along the 'greenway' for local social and recreational activities within the Neighbourhood areas, associated with the location of primary schools.
- d. an outdoor recreation ground on the reclaimed Hailes Quarry, predominately for playing fields, known as Hailes Park.

Construction work started in 1967. By the early 1970s and when only a small percentage of the anticipated population was housed, the initial expectations were lowered. Evidence of profound social problems became apparent and community identity was not evident, while financial restrictions in the public sector constrained full implementation of the scheme. The reality varied from the original concept of a carefully developed community, incorporating appropriate social and recreational facilities, correctly and timeously located. The plan for Wester Hailes concentrated community facilities in each of the six neighbourhood areas, but, during the construction of the first phase of housing, all social and recreational facilities were eliminated from the plan and other community buildings, such as the secondary school, were slow to appear. The Hailes Quarry had been reclaimed but finance was not available to complete this recreation ground as the Hailes Park.

Local agitation and frustration had grown since the first phase of housing was occupied, over a series of issues including the lack of social and recreational facilities, as well as the cost of public transport to the City centre

and places of work, heating costs, dampness in the houses and lack of facilities for children's play and for the elderly to meet. For those re-housed into Wester Hailes, especially those on low incomes, including the elderly, found that their incomes were eroded living in the new housing scheme, by increased rates, rents and cost of heating and travel compared with their previous locations. Wester Hailes was designated an area of multiple deprivation and became one of the four selected areas in Edinburgh subject to the Social and Community Development Programme (S.C.D.P.) by the local authority. Local agitation was able to find expression in the official S.C.D.P. (an expression not always formally recognised), and through the local voluntary F.I.S.H. (For Information and Social Help) Good Neighbourhood Scheme.

Provision of indoor leisure facilities became to be seen

- a. by the community, as a symbol of their own initiatives, producing, in direct response to their needs facilities which they could control in an area totally regulated by the local authority.
- b. by the officials, and certain Councillors, as evidence of the success of their own community development programme at a time when there was virtually no public money available for social and recreation facilities.

In so doing, the provision of indoor leisure facilities became a focus to establish relationships between the local authority and the community. In addition, such facilities became a vehicle to combine interests within the population of Wester Hailes.

In 1971, frustration over the lack of community facilities was expressed by the first residents' association, the Wester Hailes Association of Tenants (W.H.A.T.): for example,

residents were required to cross the double-carriageway road, which ran along the boundary of Wester Hailes, to visit the nearest public house and community centre located in Sighthill. Also by 1971, the lack of public funds for community facilities in the new housing area had become a growing concern among certain Labour Councillors in the Town Council. An exhibition on the development of Wester Hailes was proposed, by Councillor George Foulkes, as primarily a public relations exercise, for those people living in Wester Hailes. An exhibition was arranged called 'Wester Hailes 1980', located in the Drumbryden Primary School from 29th May to 10th June 1972. The emphasis of the exhibition was to explain future developments and the location of the anticipated community facilities. At the meeting of W.H.A.T. on 29th May 1972, preceding the exhibition, recently-elected Provost Kane stated:

"I hope that the Corporation committee concerned will look at the possibility of making temporary provision for such things as shops and cafes, meeting places and sports facilities.

It is in this field that I believe the Tenants' Association can play an important role. I would invite them now to begin a dialogue with the Corporation about what can be done immediately to improve conditions here and about what precise form the long term provision should take.

I hope that by means of such discussions we can rid of the "we and them" attitude that up to now has been all too common a feature of relationships between tenants and Corporation"

The Director of Education responded to the statement and instructed, at the meeting of the Education Committee of 4th September 1972 a report on the provision of a temporary community facility on a site held on the Social Work Department account, while anticipating the permanent community facilities incorporated into the proposed secondary school. Discussions were necessary between the Education Department with the Social Work Department over use of the land held on their account, and the Scottish Education Department over the release of funds. Not until August 1975 was a temporary community centre provided. The facility was modest: a prefabricated timber building

consisting of two rooms and two toilets. The short-term nature of the community centre was emphasised by the title of the T.U. (Temporary Unit) Hut. The Holy Trinity Church had opened in 1972 and contained a church hall available for use by community groups and church groups. This church hall, the T.U. Hut and the hall in the Drumbryden Primary School became the only meeting places for local voluntary organizations in Wester Hailes in 1973.

Meanwhile the brief of a new secondary school and community complex, conceived as a Community School, was agreed by the Education Committee. The formulation of the brief for the school dated from 1968, compiled by the Projects Development Section of the Education Department. By June 1969, the first draft had been produced, based on briefs of comparable schools and adjusted through discussions with the Scottish Education Department over minimum areas for the school activities and the cost limits. The formal teaching accommodation was based on the comprehensive school pattern, and allowed for a minimum of 1,200 pupils, with a peak at 1,800. The community complex was not mandatory and was required to be financed from the Informal Further Education Budget controlled by the local education authority. The Youth and Community Service produced the initial brief for the community complex, which consisted of two lounges, two general purpose rooms and a hall for 200. Licensed social facilities and a creche were also considered at the time. In parallel, the Department of Baths and Washhouses had continued to advocate for four district swimming pools to complement the central Royal Commonwealth Pool which had been approved in principle by the Town Council on 10th June 1965. The district pools were to be leisure pools with a free-form water surface as opposed to the rectangular competition pool, and less formal than the traditional pool. The district pool proposed for the south west sector was to be located at Sighthill, the adjacent district to Wester Hailes. The opportunity was taken by the Education Committee and the Baths and Washhouses Committee to combine the new school



complex and proposed pool within the same building, which was to be located on the site adjacent to the central shopping area in Wester Hailes. Local participation in the management of the school and its community facilities was to be encouraged: adult education classes and other leisure time activities for the whole family were to be provided during the day as well as the evening. The school, the swimming pool and the community facilities became known as the Wester Hailes Education Centre.

On 11th October 1973, an official from the Youth and Community Service, John Cochrane, explained the brief and policy to the members of the various tenant's associations within the catchment area of the new school complex (which went beyond Wester Hailes). Cochrane explained the importance of participation by the community in schools management and activities: while the tenants' representatives expressed their apprehension. The architect, John Sturrock of Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners, who was also present at the meeting, attempted to re-assure the representatives, stating that in Community Schools in England participation by the community had been achieved. Although the design of the Wester Hailes Education Centre had been finalized and approved, Cochrane indicated that some flexibility in the layout of the community facilities was still possible and "local requirements could be incorporated": the licensed social facilities and the creche were such alterations. The physical design placed the proposed swimming pool and other community facilities centrally within the plan. The formal teaching spaces directly connected. The tactic initiated by the appointed architects was to ensure that possible cost savings by the Scottish Education Department could not be achieved at a later date, by the ease of eliminating the community provision. In so doing the swimming pool became inadvertently the symbolic centre of the built form and was seen essentially as a facility directly associated with the school.

A corporate effort by the local authority to respond to the adverse social conditions and the lack of community facilities was seen in the Social and Community Development Programme (S.C.D.P.). This programme commenced in 1973. The S.C.D.P. was aimed at areas of multiple deprivation in Edinburgh, and emerged from an initiative by one of the new Councillors, Trevor Davies. He had become a member of the Town Council in the local elections of May 1972. Councillor Davies, who was the Assistant Director of the Scottish Council of Social Services, was a young Labour member of the Town Council from 1972-1975, followed by a period as a Regional Councillor.

In 1973, Councillor Davies tabled the motion in the Town Council:

"To consider defining areas of multiple deprivation within the City and to create and implement policies on an inter-departmental basis with a view to eliminating such deprivation. Further, in relation to this aim, to consider -

- a. The establishment of a central information unit to collect and present all the Corporation's information on an inter-departmental basis.
- b. The establishment of "total service teams" comprising the field workers with the major personnel service departments based in the multiple deprivation areas and representatives of each major department, each team to have a permanent chairman.
- c. The appointment of a permanent full-time senior officer to co-ordinate and direct work of these teams.
- d. The establishment of an advisory committee of members, officials, voluntary organizations and citizens to advise the co-ordinating officer and the Corporation.
- e. Means whereby such policies might be independently assessed as they proceeded.
- f. The establishment of a sub-committee of members to be responsible for major policy decisions.
- g. The immediate financial consequences of the implementation of this policy"

The motion was referred to the General Purposes Sub-Committee for consideration. Each head of the various departments was asked to prepare a report on the eradication of deprivation.

The political aims of Councillor Davies were clear and ambitious: first, the re-allocation of resources within the local authority with a positive discrimination in favour of the deprived; second, the re-organization of the large and centralized bureaucracy, into a more responsive, participatory, and area-based, framework. Deprivation had been virtually untouched by local government departments, which had been formed to provide services in a single area of need. Little consideration of the inter-relationship between departments towards specific social problems had occurred in the City. Councillor Davies claimed that local authority services had often served to undermine existing social differences between facilities that enjoyed wealth or suffered poverty. Poverty was not just a single deprivation but a totality demonstrating a pattern of multiple deprivation (Davies 1973 pp 1-3). The procedural formality of the existing bureaucracy had been exemplified for Councillor Davies when exploring the possibility of a pedestrian under-pass from Sighthill (which was within his Ward) to Wester Hailes. Having discussed the issue directly with the consultant architect/planner, he, as a Councillor, had been reprimanded by the Director of the relevant local authority department that the correct procedure had not been followed. At the same time he was observing the rapid deterioration of the physical and social environment of an area within his own Ward, Broomhouse, and wished such deterioration to be avoided elsewhere.

\* The majority of the officials were not able to accommodate the full implications of the motion. The Social Work Department and the Planning Department were the only two which responded enthusiastically. The Library and Museum Department stated that they proposed to locate a library in each area in Edinburgh, including Wester Hailes; the Parks Department and Baths and Washhouses Department were in the process of preparing a city-wide plan for dry and wet sports facilities (the Indoor Sports Centres): the Education Department reported its role in the provision of schools and

the proposal for the Wester Hailes Education Centre; the Youth and Community Service were proposing to provide community centres in all areas of the City. The City Architect, Brian Annable, proposed to re-organize his Department on an area basis in line with the S.C.D.P. The Social Work Department reported that members of their department were already working on an area basis, and they supported the initiative of Councillor Davies. The most detailed and constructive report, at the time, was submitted by the Planning Department, defining multiple deprivation, as they saw the social characteristics of Edinburgh, and suggested areas so regarded. These two departments, Social Work and Planning, subsequently took leading roles with the S.C.D.P.

The Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 had imposed the duty on local authorities to deal with social problems on a co-ordinated basis for those communities with special needs, with children and the elderly critical groups. Statutory social services had been previously part of the role of local government (dating from the Scottish Poor Law of 1845), but the 1968 Act had raised the status of the Social Work Department within the local authority structure. The associated circular prepared in 1969 by the Scottish Office (Circular SW11/69) had emphasised co-operation and consultation by the Social Work Departments with other departments, such as Planning, Education and Housing, to achieve, among other issues, the erection of the right community buildings at the right time. Furthermore, town planning, as a profession, was no longer the dominant province of the architect-planner. An increasing number of qualified planners, with a first degree in a social science, were employed in the local planning authority. Social planning had become an important issue among planners and planning commentators in the 1960s. The discussions were consolidated by Cherry's Town Planning in its Social Context (1970). In addition, the Town and Country (Scotland) Act of 1969 required local authorities to prepare structure



and local plans, but also to include a statutory degree of public participation (making planning the only department in local government required to consult the public before resolution). Also in 1969, the Committee on Public Participation in Planning went further than the legislation, as published in the Skeffington Report (1969), recommending the formation of a community forum, the appointment of community development officers and other public participatory devices in the presentation of choices. The early 1970s may be regarded therefore as a period susceptible to policies covering a co-ordination of social welfare and physical planning, in which officials of Social Work and Planning could co-operate. Also public participation had received some official recognition, in principle. The methods by which local needs could be identified, and the degree of participation were prevailing topics. The motion to create the S.C.D.P. by Councillor Davies provided the Social Work and Planning Departments the opportunity to expand their roles.

Central Leith, Pilton, Gorgie/Dalry and Wester Hailes were designated areas of multiple deprivation and became the locations of the S.C.D.P. The areas were chosen by the Director of Planning, the Director of Social Work, Councillor Davies and the Town Clerk (12.6.1973). The basis of the information to determine areas of need was the Edinburgh Census of 1971. As Wester Hailes was only nominally populated in 1971, the information for this area was derived mainly from the Social Work Department, contained in their internal department report, "A Review of the Social Situation in Wester Hailes - Special Projects Team" (Social Work Department Edinburgh Corporation 1973). The report noted that juvenile delinquency was markedly on the increase, and three quarters of the new inhabitants were at poverty level. The Housing Department had moved the younger families, many on the waiting lists, from the older parts of the City, and the economic and social conditions of these families moved with them. The higher cost of running all-



electric houses exacerbated the cost of living:

"The major overall problem amongst individual cases (referred to the Social Work Department) was financial. Few of these cases were "inadequate", and few showed any evidence of "mismanagement". In the vast majority there was simply insufficient money coming in to meet the necessary weekly expenditure on energy" (Social Work Department Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 5).

Reference was made in the report also to the low car ownership, level of unemployment being well above average, and the lack of co-ordination in the provision of community facilities with the housing developments (Social Work Department Edinburgh Corporation 1973 p 13).

A subsequent report produced in 1974 by the Social Work Department about Wester Hailes was 'leaked' to the press, and the conclusions were paraphrased in the Evening News, (6.6.1974), accurately, if rather dramatically, stating conditions at Wester Hailes as:

"A poverty stricken area of social deprivation where people are unable to pay their rents.....where its people are terrified to turn on their heating..... where marriages break up, delinquency, and a total lack of amenities are major problems of Wester Hailes - one of Scotland's most recent major housing developments".

The Clovenstone neighbourhood in Wester Hailes was identified as a particular problem area and became the focus for the Social Work Department (Social Work Department, Edinburgh Corporation, 1973 p 14). The report recommended that community facilities should be provided as 'sub-foci' for each of the neighbourhoods (Social Work Department, Edinburgh Corporation, 1973 p 10).

The 'leak' and the publication in the Evening News produced two immediate reactions:

- a. local residents were prompted into decisive action as a result of the newspaper article. W.H.A.T., as an organization representing the whole of Wester Hailes, was dissolved and the local neighbourhood associations were strengthened to encourage the residents themselves

to improve their own social conditions. The young male representatives who had run W.H.A.T. (each chairman since the formation of W.H.A.T. had been in their mid-20s) were replaced by an older group of housewives allied to the neighbourhood associations as the active representatives of the community.

The re-organization of local representation brought into prominence Hilda Stevenson. She had been the first chairman of the Tenants' Association in Leith before her family's move to Wester Hailes. Mrs. Stevenson was articulate, and had been politically active in community affairs for at least twenty years. She knew the local authority procedures and limitations, and was known to the majority of the Councillors and officials. Local reaction to the social conditions in Wester Hailes also brought into prominence the F.I.S.H. Good Neighbourhood Scheme. This group in Wester Hailes was organized by Mrs. Stevenson, and her daughter and provided voluntary social work. The F.I.S.H. Good Neighbourhood Scheme was based on a Christian, but non-church, concept of neighbourliness, although the neighbourhood workers saw the scheme as primarily a local support service for members of their own community. The work of F.I.S.H. was recognised by the Social Work Committee, in as much as a modest annual grant was given to the organization.

- b. after over one year of deliberations over the machinery of the S.C.D.P. including the formation of a Central Research Unit, a Director appointment and the selection of members of the advisory committees, the local authority commenced the S.C.D.P. immediately in Wester Hailes following the newspaper article. It was also felt that the programme could learn more quickly from a new, rather than an old, community: Pilton for example was regarded as an area of particular social need but the Pilton Community Association had become cynical after the various unsuccessful attempts by the

local authority. The new community at Wester Hailes offered an opportunity for the local authority to explore a new model of local government services which then could be applied in the older deprived areas.

A pilot meeting was held in Wester Hailes on 28th November 1974 in the T.U. Hut between representatives of the local residents groups, officials and elected representatives to explain the S.C.D.P. The meeting gave the opportunity to the residents to list their complaints: lack of a sense of community, lack of leisure facilities, dampness in the housing, the need for specialist shops, criticism of cost and quality of public transport into the city centre and so on. Mrs. Doris Garry wrote a letter, dated 7th January, 1975, following the pilot meeting on behalf of the local representatives to the local authority confirming the points made. She concluded with the question of what were the "actual powers, position and remit of the group which meets in Wester Hailes in relation to the programme as a whole?" The letter was acknowledged but the concluding question was not answered.

Subsequent meetings were organized at a regular monthly frequency through 1975 in Wester Hailes, with the meetings chaired by either the local District or Regional Councillor. Representatives of the neighbourhood associations and local authority departments attended the meetings. Charles Drysdale of the Central Research Unit and Robert Martin, the Director of the S.C.D.P., attended all the meetings. Minutes were taken by local workers of the Edinburgh Council of Social Service. The main aim of the meetings, as seen by the Central Research Unit, was part of an information-gathering exercise which would result in a report recommending short and long term redressive action. This report was to reflect local and officials' views, and the production of the report became the main objective of those directly involved in the S.C.D.P. in Wester Hailes.

Councillor Davies had emphasised the need to avoid small details, such as broken fences, and to concentrate on the structure of decision-making. The Councillors and existing departmental committees were already in existence to deal with the smaller items. The agendas though tended to contain many such items.

By May 1975 and after only three meetings in Wester Hailes, the local representatives considered withdrawing from S.C.D.P. During the meeting dated 1st May, the proceedings were adjourned while the local representatives prepared a statement:

"Looking at the progress of the S.C.D.P. as a whole in Wester Hailes the Tenants' Groups did not feel that any real headway was being made. The kind of rapport and good working relationships foreseen in the original of the S.C.D.P. had not developed and whilst the Tenants' Groups did not wish to withdraw absolutely from the Programme, little point was seen in further adding items to the agenda until the S.C.D.P. proved itself by producing results on questions raised previously. The Tenants' Groups felt that their expectations had been raised unnecessarily by the S.C.D.P." (Minutes of S.C.D.P. Meeting, 1.5.1975).

The subsequent discussion revealed the vulnerability of the Programme and early local scepticism. Stan Taylor, an association representative, expressed concern of the long term span of the S.C.D.P. He cited the example of Pilton to demonstrate the speed of deterioration of an area, physically and socially, while the local authority was planning to solve the social problems. For those living in public housing estates, such deterioration was the constant concern. The Rev. Anthony Hughes of the Episcopal Church stated that the meetings of S.C.D.P. had produced no results, in spite of the local residents being clear about their needs. They expected some results. (Rev. Hughes was of major assistance at the meetings often acting as a translator between the officials and local representatives). Mick Tait of the Edinburgh Council of Social Services felt that

a change of attitude was required by the officials: Officials were sympathetic as individuals but within the confines of the S.C.D.P. they only reiterated general policy. Councillor Davies, who was present, explained his view that the goals of the S.C.D.P. were long term and that immediate results could not be realistically expected. The representatives eventually decided to continue with the S.C.D.P., but also to follow their own parallel initiatives.

A specific initiative was to achieve a Wester Hailes Social Club with facilities including a hall, a bar, a games room for dominoes, darts and snooker, meeting rooms, a room for a lunch club for senior citizens, facilities for film shows and dances, facilities for teenagers, and so on. In effect, the concept of a Social Club similar to the Newcraighall Miners' Social Club, seen as a model facility by the local residents. The idea of a social club also coincided with the type of social provision that had been available in the areas vacated in the move to Wester Hailes. Councillor David Brown, who had been involved in the expansion of the Newcraighall facilities, gave advice on the extent of facilities and methods of raising money (at a meeting dated 26.6.1975). At a subsequent meeting, the conversion of the existing Cleansing Department building (an existing building within Wester Hailes) for the Wester Hailes Social Club was considered the most suitable option for the location of the Club. The representatives agreed to attempt to raise funds and a bank account was opened for this purpose.

In addition, the tactic to apply for planning permission for a project felt to be necessary provision was adopted by the local residents' associations. Application for planning permission meant that the whole local authority mechanism required to process the application through a statutory procedure, including a time limit for a decision. Refusal of an application required listing of the reasons for turning down the proposed development, which, if



necessary, could be challenged. This appeared to be a more tangible approach, as seen by the local representatives, than the efforts of the S.C.D.P. to gain a positive response from the local authority.

A detailed scheme was produced for the Wester Hailes Social Club, re-using the Cleansing Department building, and planning permission was sought and approved in 1976. Re-use was dependent on the Cleansing Department moving from the building which in turn, meant construction of a new facility elsewhere. Public money was not available for the exercise. Other sites were then considered for the Wester Hailes Social Club and, for each, planning permission was given. The respective Department, Housing, Education and Social Work, though would not consider the lease of the land held on their account. These attempts to find a site for a facility, with which the community could identify, emphasised that:

"the District and Region own every brick and every blade of grass which go to make up Wester Hailes and between them they are responsible for a massive investment both in human and material terms"  
(Wester Hailes Sentinel, September 1978).

Such provision would have increased the confidence of the community at a time of alienation and verbal hostility towards the local authority.

The first, and only, effort at fund-raising was a failure, by being too ambitious. A Grand Charity Ball was organized at the Assembly Rooms in George Street at the cost of £2 a ticket for the 8th October 1976. Only a handful of tickets were sold, so the Ball was cancelled. Expenses were covered by two of the organisers (who lived outwith Wester Hailes). The experience was profound, both showing the difficulties of fund raising (in a community which had a large number at the poverty level and many unemployed) and the dependence on the local authority and their resources (at a time of constrained expenditure in the public sector).

The meetings of the S.C.D.P. continued until October 1976. At that time an Area Co-ordinator was appointed and the report by the Central Research Unit on Wester Hailes was published. The content of the meetings became increasingly repetitive with the local representatives reiterating the needs of the area and deteriorative social conditions. The officials continued to explain local authority procedure, current financial constraints, the need to wait for the report, the importance of the Area Co-ordinator when appointed and that the secondary school was to provide extensive social and recreation provision, when complete. The secondary school had been delayed and each anticipated date of opening came and went to the further frustration of the local representatives. Also during this period, the various local authority departments were adjusting to the re-organization of local government, which had taken place in 1975, at which time the Planning Department and the Social Work Department, the two leading departments in the S.C.D.P. had become respectively District and Regional functions.

Through 1976, attempts were made to appoint an Area Co-ordinator for Wester Hailes. The position was advertized nationally but, after an initial lack of response, a Co-ordinator was eventually appointed. After one week he resigned (for personal reasons) and the process was required to start again. The Region, which was responsible for the appointment, included local representatives on the board for the second set of interviews. Lawrence Demarco was appointed in October 1967: he had previously worked in social work groups with youth and was described by the local representatives on the board as the only candidate "who spoke our language".

After two years, the report on Wester Hailes was produced. Before its formal presentation, Taylor, who had seen the

draft report, wrote to the District of Administration in the local authority, on 1st November 1977, stating:

"Our committee, representing the tenants' groups in Wester Hailes welcomed the allocation of time and resources to the compiling of this examination of the needs of our area. There can be no doubt that the information alone will be of valuable assistance towards the more general understanding of the special problems which our community faces and will face as the population matures. It is however with considerable frustration that I have to inform you that our committee have not been allowed to read the report before you, let alone participate in its formulation which, in our understanding, we were assured would be the case.

Whilst the officials unquestionably have privileged ACCESS to sources of information of a statistical nature inaccessible to local residents, nevertheless the converse is also true and it is our view that the people whom the report is actually about have at least as equally an important and valid insight into the complex factors of the environment in which after all they live daily.

Without wishing to labour the point irrationally or alienate the goodwill of yourselves or the officials involved, our committee feel strongly that the handling of this project has been counter-productive in establishing the relationship of mutual trust and sharing which the S.C.D.P. seeks to foster.

Notwithstanding these comments, I have been asked to assure your committee that we, on our part, remain firmly committed to the production of a Wester Hailes Report which as well as official statistics, incorporates the representative analysis of local tenants.

To this end, we are prepared to do a considerable amount of work probably through the setting up of working parties around various topics into which we can inject the valuable expertise of relevant officials"

The perception of the function of the report, called Wester Hailes - A perspective of Community Needs, by the Central Research Unit, appeared to vary. Councillor Davies saw the report as essentially providing an information base, against which the local residents could respond. It was to provoke action in a political process. The local authority required to move from a prescriptive role to a position responsive to the requirements of the residents. The report was part of this

long-term objective. The Central Research Unit viewed the report as only a record of the consultation and collaboration between residents and officials, and also to overcome a deadlock which had occurred at the monthly meetings of the S.C.D.P. The Central Research Unit however was task-orientated, producing a report on Wester Hailes, followed by one on Pilton, Gorgie/Dalry and so on, while the presentation related to the requirements of a formal report expected by the Planning Committee, and the Social Work Committee, than for the local residents to digest. To the local residents, who had high expectations of action in response to their expressed needs repeatedly stated over the two year period, the report had taken on a significance comparable to a contract with the local authority. The report was a record of the evidence, derived from the community, which was to receive immediate action and implementation.

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In view of the content and form of presentation, the representatives decided to view the report by the Central Research Unit as an interim attempt and to produce their own.

The local residents' representatives organized four working parties under the subject headings of Housing, Education, Community Facilities, and the final group covering the Elderly, Health Services and Transport. Convenors were elected and the working parties met between 10th January and 19th February 1977. The working parties met for one day, each week, during this period of six weeks. The working parties involved the tenant representatives, other interested local people and outside experts when specialist knowledge considered applicable. Each working party had a secretary to collate all information and present discussions at each session in report form. Facts and figures were researched and summaries prepared. By the end of February, each working party had decided on content. Draft reports were prepared, amended and amalgamated into a single report, which was published on 17th March 1977, titled Wester Hailes Speaks for Itself.

An emphasis was made that the report was the product of the working parties, consisting of local residents: "We may not know the jargon but we know better than anyone the reality" (Wester Hailes Sentinel, December 1976). The credibility of the report, as seen by the residents' representatives, was dependent on the content validly representing the views of the local people. Before the working party sessions, the local representatives had invited local comments, through the Wester Hailes Sentinel. On the final preparation of the report, a two paper summary was published in the same paper of April 1977, so that the local residents could further comment before the report was presented to the local authority and other interested parties. The report had been produced as a collaborative local effort under the chairmanship of Mrs. Stevenson. The quality of the report was assisted by the newly appointed Area Co-ordinator who was still experiencing his honeymoon period with the local representatives, and by the involvement of the Regional Councillor, Stephen Maxwell, of the minority S.N.P. in the Regional Council. Councillor Maxwell had his future political career in Wester Hailes in mind; his seat at Wester Hailes was precarious.

Their report, Wester Hailes Speaks for Itself was formally presented by its authors to the Joint Committee of the Social and Community Development Programme on 22nd April 1977. This meeting was regarded as 'historic' by the authors, being the first official meeting that included residents and was actually held in Wester Hailes (Wester Hailes Sentinel, November, 1977).

At the May elections in 1978, Councillor Davies, the initiator of the S.C.D.P. did not stand again for re-election, claiming that being a Councillor was too time consuming. Councillor Maxwell's efforts over the residents' own report was not rewarded. He was defeated by the Labour candidate, John



Mulvey, who, during the electioneering period, criticized the whole of the S.C.D.P., including the residents' representatives and their involvement. Councillor Mulvey had been employed as a community worker in various parts of the City working with local action groups. At the time of the elections, he was working part-time with a voluntary group in the Gorbals and Govan Hill in Glasgow. He opposed the S.C.D.P. in principle, as such structures co-opted community activists into a relationship with Councillors and officials which retained the local authority dominance. The S.C.D.P. continued, though, after the May 1978 elections but lasted only to the end of that year. The funding arrangements also concluded in December 1978.

The S.C.D.P. had received financial support by the European Economic Community/Scottish Office and the Edinburgh District Council. The cost annually of the S.C.D.P. had been £23,000 for new staff and administration costs. In November 1975, the E.E.C. had accepted the S.C.D.P. as one of its 23 Pilot Programmes in Europe to Combat Poverty. The E.E.C., in conjunction with the Scottish Office, contributed 75% of the total cost, with the District Council required to pay the remaining 25% (the District Council had retained the financial responsibility for S.C.D.P. after the re-organization of local government in May 1975). Financial assistance from the E.E.C. was committed, depending on the reciprocal contribution by the District Council, until December 1978, and annually the District Council had been obliged to review their financial contribution to the Programme. The District's contribution was only £5,000. The contribution by the E.E.C. had appeared to legitimise the S.C.D.P. for its adversaries.

With the conclusion of the E.E.C./Scottish Office grant in December 1978, the District Council, faced with the full financial commitment, decided not to continue their support for S.C.D.P. The Conservative-ruled District Council in 1978 expressed concern over the concept of positive dis-

crimination in favour of the four selected areas. Housing in Edinburgh, for example, had been considered for priority treatment in alphabetical order by Ward name by the Housing Department and was regarded by the majority of the District Councillors as a more equitable arrangement. The Councillors who were not representatives of the four areas had found difficulties convincing their own electorate of the distribution of resources, when available, in favour of the other areas.

The S.C.D.P. had been sustained within both the District and Regional Councils, and also among the residents' groups, by Councillor Davies. He however had not nurtured an 'heir apparent', to continue with the same persuasive vigour. His concentration on the S.C.D.P. during six years, as first a Corporation Councillor and then after re-organization, a Regional Councillor, had isolated him from his Labour group as well as from the opposition parties. The younger members though of each of the local parties had been more sympathetic than the more established politicians, and representatives of Labour, Liberal and Conservative parties could be found who supported area- and community-based services. The divisions between those of different political persuasions lay more in the level of public intervention, the level of ownership by the community and the extent of commercial activity than with the concept of a local authority service responsive to community requirements.

The Programme was severely inhibited by four factors.

The first was the restrictions over the use of land within the Wester Hailes area, with the possessiveness of each department in the local authority over land on their account. A land-use study by the Planning Department emphasised that the "crux of the problem is that within Wester Hailes almost all (land) is owned by the local authority and uses have

been strictly allocated" (Report by the Director of Planning to the Planning Policy Sub-Committee, 23.3.78 p 1). The only land for leisure facilities was on the periphery. While the Planning Department was able to produce land-use plans, and their Planning Committee able to give planning permission for uses within Wester Hailes on land belonging to another local authority department, planning did not have any resources and could act only in a promotional context.

The second was the deal that had been made with Rank City Wall Ltd., only latterly revealed to the Programme, affecting both the extent of provision in the Wester Hailes Centre (owned by Rank City Wall Ltd.) and the type of provision elsewhere in the area. The Wester Hailes Centre, with its shopping facilities, hotel, public house and office block, had been built on a site that had included the location of the library and community centre in the outline plan produced by the architect/planning consultants, thereby using land originally proposed for leisure facilities. Furthermore, the company had insisted that there should be no shops which could be seen to compete with the new Wester Hailes Centre, so shopping developments along the 'greenway' pedestrian route had been eliminated. Similarly, the company also insisted that no further public house should be opened in Wester Hailes. In so doing the total concentration on shopping facilities and other commercial outlets in the central location meant that the neighbourhood focus was less easy to develop as originally conceived in the plan produced by the architect/planning consultants.

The third was the lack of finance available for capital expenditure by the local authority at a time of economic recession and pressure by central government to cut back public expenditure. The ability to re-organize the allocation of resources within the finance available to the local authority in spite of the cut backs in favour of the deprived areas had not succeeded. The local authority organization remained compartmentalized, with the cut backs

in public expenditure making each department more defensive. The re-organization of local government in 1975 had not assisted the reduction of compartmentalization. The separation of Housing and Social Work Departments, Education as owner of community facilities in schools and the District Recreation Department as owner of all the City's indoor and outdoor leisure facilities, were examples of division rather than co-ordination. Six departments claimed an interest in the planning of leisure facilities in Wester Hailes, (Education, Planning, Social Work, City Architect, District Recreation and Regional Recreation) and at no time were officials from each of these departments seen to be co-operating over a topic of mutual interest, let alone indulging in corporate planning. Nevertheless, as claimed by Martin, the Assistant Director of Planning with responsibility for the S.C.D.P., the Programme had demonstrated that Regional and District services were inter-dependent, while offering less tangible achievements which were more a consequence of the inherited pattern of local government than of perceived benefit by the local residents in Wester Hailes.

The fourth was that the community defined as Wester Hailes contained 18,000 people, with many more concerned with their own poverty and social condition than with participation in a process not leading to their own financial improvement. While the six neighbourhoods were physically and socially defined within Wester Hailes, and the neighbourhood representatives were part of the S.C.D.P., each neighbourhood did not feel closely identified with the Programme, with each having different requirements. Not until after January 1977, during the preparation of the residents' own report, were the six neighbourhood groups contacted directly over their views on local provision. The scale of Wester Hailes, with 18,000 people had been shown since 1974 (with the erosion of the influence of W.H.A.T.) to discourage involvement, while the division into neighbourhoods assisted participation by local residents. The adjacent communities had shown, during the period of S.C.D.P, that

community facilities could be provided by their own initiative: Calders and Broomhouse, both with populations under 3,000, had initiated their own community centres, providing money from fund raising and various government grants.

Councillor Mulvey had questioned the whole role of the S.C.D.P. in a letter to the Wester Hailes Sentinel, October 1978:

"To suggest that the future of Wester Hailes hangs in the balance because of the possible winding up of the Social and Community Development Programme, I believe is a gross inaccuracy. It is my view that the S.C.D.P. has not brought additional resources to the area which could not have come anyway. Equally the programme has not produced the kinds of relationships with the authorities which could have been achieved by independently based tenants' organizations.

On the contrary, the future of Wester Hailes will depend on 2 things: one, the quality of political representation on the Regional and District Councils and, two, the existence of independent, vibrant, and when necessary, aggressive tenants' organizations who can articulate and act on the views of the residents in their area".

For the residents, the evidence of action in Wester Hailes over the previous five years supported these views: tangible results, such as the adventure playground and the agreement to re-use the Cleansing Department building as a Social Club, had been organized independently of the S.C.D.P., although brought into the discussions at one of their meetings. The topic-orientated pressure groups outwith the S.C.D.P. had achieved some success at Wester Hailes, such as the Dampness Group, Hailes Quarry Group, the By-Pass Action Group and, in particular, Allotments Action Group (these issues had become listed in the S.C.D.P. recommendations but had been initiated and followed vigorously by people in Wester Hailes independent of the S.C.D.P.). The system of allocating small grants to voluntary organizations, administered by the Area Co-ordinator had been in existence



for some time before the S.C.D.P. and funds had not been increased because of the S.C.D.P.; the Area Co-ordinator could be seen as the same as the community workers established through the Social Work Department or Community Education found elsewhere in the City; the majority of the residents saw access to their Councillors over personal or pressure-group issues through their surgeries or by letter rather than through the S.C.D.P. and results had been seen to be achieved by the direct efforts of the Councillors. The S.C.D.P. had, with the official reports and counter-reports, both raised expectations (at a time of no growth in public expenditure), and dispersed efforts by the local representatives over many issues, however valid each issue might have been. The S.C.D.P., by channelling conflict not only between the local authority and the residents but also between groups in the community, had also placed, or retained, the local authority in a dominant position.

While the S.C.D.P. and the residents' representative had been holding their series of meetings, the local education authority had provided the Clovenstone Community Centre and completed the Wester Hailes Education Centre.

The Community Centre adjacent to the Primary School in the Clovenstone neighbourhood of Wester Hailes had opened in 1975. The Centre not only had become a well-used facility open daily, all day, but had instantly removed any social stigma from Clovenstone as a result of the Social Work report and press 'leak' in 1974. Clovenstone became the only neighbourhood to have a purpose-built community centre with a warden and full-time Youth and Community Workers. Many and varied voluntary organizations had been formed in Clovenstone, and the Centre was used during each period of the day, every day.

By the end of the S.C.D.P. in December 1978, the Wester Hailes

Education Centre was open. The Centre provided a venue, and a management organization, for leisure activities by community groups. Two youth groups had been formed during the first week of opening and the Centre took immediately the central role for youth welfare with the establishment of a Youth Forum. The new swimming pool in the Centre became popular, attracting visitors not only from Wester Hailes but from the surrounding areas. A management structure had been formed, known as the Wester Hailes Education Centre Council, consisting of thirty members including teachers, Councillors, church representatives and representatives of the Scottish Education Department, but mainly of local residents. The Centre was able initially to consult with, and benefit from, the local residents' groups formalized by the S.C.D.P. in their attempts to involve the community in the management, but consultation took place through a number of channels other than the S.C.D.P. The Director, Ralph Wilson, and the community development staff in the Centre took every opportunity to involve local residents in the activities of the school and community complex. The Centre became the location of the Wester Hailes Festival which had been started as a one-day summer event in 1974 by W.H.A.T.. With the opening of the Centre, the Festival period was extended to a week.

#### Commentary

The seeds of the scheme at Wester Hailes were sown more than a decade before the first of the residents moved into the housing, preceding also the debate on the extent of community participation in physical planning and the provision of public services. The critical decisions of location, density, tenure and layout were all taken by either Councillors on the Housing Committee, officials or the architect/planning consultants. The majority of the Councillors and the officials involved in these decisions were no longer in influential positions in the local authority by the mid-1970s. The policy decisions about the educational premises,

including the secondary school and its community complex, were also considered prior to the housing of the first residents in Wester Hailes.

The expectations for Wester Hailes had been high. The scheme had been regarded as a major opportunity by the architect/planning consultants to incorporate ideas and aspirations developed over the previous decade. A new confidence had emerged concerning the design of new buildings. The construction industry had adjusted to accommodate the increased demand for building, with new materials and building methods, and a proliferation of building components. New Towns were the accepted policy to solve the problems of housing overspill, and had given an opportunity to plan new physical layouts. The motor car/pedestrian segregation, the integration of Community facilities into housing areas, and the neighbourhood residential unit had been the main physical features. Wester Hailes had been envisaged at a scale warranting the application of the planning ideals gleaned from the majority of the New Towns, but, in the case of Wester Hailes, for a new community located on the periphery of the built up area of an existing city. The scheme had further demonstrated the increased role of government in building strategy, not only over the target number of houses, but also with standards and regulations, and cost indices, all devised by the appropriate government departments. In terms of target numbers, Provost Dunbar, at the March meeting of the Town Council in 1961 (also at the time of the joint venture with Oppenheim over the Castle Terrace site, and the continued search for a suitable site for the central swimming pool) reported that the central government (with Harold MacMillan as Prime Minister) required 5,000 houses to be built annually in Edinburgh to keep pace with demand. He further reported that the lack of workmen in the local building industry had "forced the Housing Committee to consider prefabricated techniques" in the housing design.

The proposal to house 18,000 people in a publicly-owned estate on the periphery of the City was the prime responsibility of the Housing Committee of the Edinburgh Corporation. The Committee had initiated the scheme, chosen the site, appointed the consultants, agreed to the various building contractors and deemed Wester Hailes as exclusively in public ownership. The Housing Committee, in spite of the layout recommendations of the architects/planning consultants was only concerned with housing, responding to local and central government pressures to re-house and increase the new housing stock. For the Housing Committee, there was not the equivalent pressure to provide social and community facilities.

Tracts of land were allocated by the Housing Committee to the Education Committee (for the primary schools and the Wester Hailes Education Centre), to the Social Work Department (for an old persons' home) and for retailing, with the Wester Hailes Centre organized by the Estate Surveyor. At the time of the approval by the Secretary of State for Scotland to amend the Edinburgh Development Plan (Amendment No. 38) to include the Wester Hailes development in 1965, the Housing Committee and Department could display a high level of experience in the construction, organization and management of public housing estates: the number of public houses had risen from 14,816 in 1945 to 40,906 in 1965. The approach by the Housing Committee at Wester Hailes over housing provision and allocation of tracts of land was the continuation of their traditional role and experience.

Local authority administration generally was faced with two conflicting factors (Abrahamsson 1977 p 21): first was the pressure to be efficient, i.e. expeditious in the implementation of policy determined by the local politicians within the bounds of legislation, and officials providing an

expertise within their departmental interests through accepted procedures in which public participation was seen as time-consuming and indeterminate; second was the problem of representation, and to assimilate all community interests in addition to those of local politicians, into the public decision-making process, so that the consumers' needs could be formally expressed. The S.C.D.P. was an attempt to combine efficiency with increased representation to produce a more effective public service, in the political context of the local authority retaining ownership of land and facilities, and control of the formal decision-making procedure.

The aim of the S.C.D.P. had been political rather than administrative, to reverse the traditional relationship between local residents and local authority, and to provide a corporate municipal effort to redress the omissions, since "the local authority had created the problems so the local authority should solve them", (discussion with Councillor Davies, 5.6.1978). The officials were to supply, expertise, techniques and knowledge; the local residents were to express their needs and reactions to proposals; the Councillors were to ensure that resources were redistributed in favour of deprived areas, while giving the Programme political support. With the meetings of the S.C.D.P. held in Wester Hailes, an attempt was made to give the impression, at least, of the dispersal of local government closer to those who were recipients of its services. The heads of all departments, other than housing, had attended one or other of the local meetings. The officials from the Region were more apprehensive about attending than the District officials as they felt that if they attended one local meeting in the Region then they might be required to be seen at others across a geographic area covering four Districts. The S.C.D.P. was envisaged by its proponents in the short term as an improved process of urban management, with the long term aim of adjusting the relationship between the administration and their consumers.



The actual achievements were less tangible and more a consequence of the inherited pattern of local government than of perceived benefit by local residents. They included demonstrating the inter-dependence of the Regional and District Services, that the local authority had adjusted its report-writing for ease of comprehension by local residents, that the local community had become aware of the time-scale to procure facilities and the procedure of local government, that political differences had been submerged to achieve a specific aim (the Programme had been supported on a cross-party basis), and that during the period of the S.C.D.P. the relationships between the Region and District had not disintegrated (as had been the case generally). The S.C.D.P. though had no direct powers. The two sets of Council Committees retained control of decisions and funds relating to specific departments. The Joint Committee of the S.C.D.P. of representatives from the Region and District was able to only provide a formalized procedure of communication between local residents and the affected departments.

The initial intentions of the Programme were agreed by the Labour controlled Town Council of 1972 to 1975 of the Edinburgh Corporation and accepted by the heads of departments. Only a few departments though showed enthusiasm. The only common justification which combined the interests of the Councillors, officials and also residents was to avoid the rapid deterioration of housing and environmental conditions in Wester Hailes as were seen in the other areas of public housing in Edinburgh (and in other cities in Britain). The aims of the S.C.D.P. at the time of its introduction conformed with assumptions about the role of local government as a whole, and the Programme was seen more as an acceptable extension than a fundamental re-organization, of the existing pattern of local government. The actual implications of the proposed working structure and the level of involvement of each department was not totally comprehended until the S.C.D.P. was in operation.

Realization of the implications of the Programme saw each department become (more) protective of their own area of responsibility. The protective attitude coincided with the discussions over the divisions of responsibility at the time of local government re-organization, and financial restrictions generally. This situation did not foster co-operation among departments or adjustment of their traditional roles. It was the younger officials who tended to take the lead in the development of the Programme, especially in the Planning and Social Work Departments, and saw an opportunity to work in a new development of local authority administration.

Politically, two contrasting adverse reactions emerged through the progress of the S.C.D.P. from 1975 to 1978.

The first was that the Programme was too radical. The financial and political implications of positive discrimination towards the areas of multiple deprivation in the S.C.D.P. proved unacceptable to the ruling Conservative group in the District Council from 1975. While the local Conservative District Councillor in Wester Hailes was sympathetic to the S.C.D.P., and the Programme had shown at least that the Councillors representational role had not been eroded by the participatory procedure, the District Councillors became concerned about seeing their own bargaining position usurped by the policy of positive discrimination. They preferred the neutral base for financial allocation of the simple listing in alphabetical order of Ward names, but with the opportunity of adjusting the order by individual bargaining. For the District Councillors though, funds directed towards Wester Hailes and the other areas within the S.C.D.P. related only to the demands on the Housing Committee, and housing maintenance in particular.

The second reaction was that the Programme had not been sufficiently radical and that the working mechanism defended and reinforced the traditional role of the centralized local authority. The local representatives

lacked power and were denied any effective position. The S.C.D.P. had submerged conflicts between the local authority and the local residents' representatives so that a consensus could be achieved. The evidence of a consensus was the demonstration of agreed recommendations by both officials and residents in report form, and the formal communication with the relevant departmental committees through the Joint Committee of the S.C.D.P. No redressive action though had been taken in Wester Hailes as a direct result of the S.C.D.P.

Over-riding these two political reactions to the S.C.D.P. itself were more powerful lobbies concerned with issues affecting the whole of the areas covered by the District and Regional Councils, promoted by the respective controlling party at each level. At the District level, the controlling Conservative group were concerned with the sale or development of the various, mainly central, vacant sites, which included the Castle Terrace site and the final months of the opera house epilogue. At the Regional level, the central political issue concerning the Labour controlled Council was the spread of comprehensive secondary education with the abolition of the state-aided fee paying schools in Edinburgh in line with the prevailing central government policy. In addition to suffering from financial impotence which inhibited implementation of the recommendation resulting from the final reporting, the S.C.D.P. and community participation were seen politically as particularly low priority against the central issues exemplified by the vacant site development and education policies.

The local residents' representatives expected tangible action as a result of the deliberations of the S.C.D.P., particularly over the aspects seen as their own initiatives, such as the Wester Hailes Social Club. The well-considered rhetoric constantly reiterated by Trevor Davies, the

positive intentions of the Programme, the detailed working structure and the good will towards the community by certain officials did not ensure action. The lack of power of the S.C.D.P. and the inability to effectively influence relevant departments to provide facilities, meant that responsibility remained with the separate local government departments to provide facilities in accordance with their own sectional policy. The Housing Department was the largest landowner at Wester Hailes, the key department, but most reluctant to co-operate or contribute.

The locals were not fully aware of the role in which they had been cast by the working mechanism of the S.C.D.P.: the fundamental aims of the Programme and the associated working mechanism had been formulated in considerable detail but without consultation with the local residents. The locals used the monthly meetings to express their grievances repeatedly and did not consider the broader policy issues fruitful. The grievances centred first on the lack of social and community facilities especially for the young and elderly.

The issue of the extent of dampness in the housing became the major topic, which, at times, overshadowed all other concerns. The dampness issue became symbolic of the ineptness of the local authority in general, as viewed by the local residents, and confirmed a particular scepticism towards the Housing Department. All residents were beholden to the Housing Department, as landlords of all the housing, to which rent, by most, was regularly paid, and maintenance items intermittently reported. For those with rent arrears, there was the fear of retribution and eviction, which inhibited some from complaining about their own dampness. For all, there was concern to avoid the rapid physical, and associated social, deterioration of the housing seen in other areas of the City, in which dampness was regarded as the first in a sequence of building faults leading towards the vacation of the housing. The addition

of vandalism ensured full deterioration.

Scepticism was also shown by the local residents' representatives towards the role of the Area Co-ordinator. It was never fully accepted that a person from beyond their area was needed to assist the residents define their needs (stated repeatedly by the representatives at the monthly meetings) and communicated to the local authority in an appropriate manner (since the officials at the monthly meetings appeared to comprehend the grievances and the local Minister or Councillor had been in the position of translator if necessary). When appointed the Area Co-ordinator became a further recipient of local grievances. After a brief honeymoon period the tension between the locals and the S.C.D.P. was extended to the Area Co-ordinator. Social workers and members of the Youth and Community Service, representatives of the local authority who came in direct contact with local residents, were also not fully accepted by the community due to apprehension about anyone from the local authority at any kind of official level. Whereas the F.I.S.H. Good Neighbourhood Scheme, providing an informal 24 hour service by local residents operating from their homes initially and then from a temporary hut, was seen as a more effective social mediator and family support than the official social workers with their purpose-built centre, office hours and form filling.

The local representatives also experienced the dilemma of, on one hand, ignoring the Programme which they saw as ineffectual, expressed with their walk-outs, letters to the local authority and final rejection of the S.C.D.P. report, and on the other hand, the continuation of involvement with the Programme as the monthly meetings were at least some form of communication in a situation where the locals were wholly dependent on the local authority to provide, finance and manage social and community facilities. The relationship between the local representatives and the officials at the monthly meetings were never particularly harmonious,



although often amicable at an individual level. Not until the local representatives, assisted by the Councillors and the Area Co-ordinator, commenced their own report in 1977, as a reaction to the report and approach by the officials, did the representatives look more closely at the specific requirements of the neighbourhood they represented. Only at that stage did they become an effective unit, co-operating over their own report and directly challenging the local authority departments to produce action or reasons why no action could be immediately effected. This adjusted relationship between the local representatives and the officials was tenuous and short lived. The lack of any effective action following the submission of the community's report, in spite of discussions with heads of departments over the relevant issues, and the eventual dilution of the report's demands and placation of the representatives only served to reinforce the local scepticism of local government

The disillusionment and final rejection by the local representatives of the Programme coincided with the final months of the financial commitment by the E.E.C. and District Council. The lack of action found expression in the rejection at the local election of the Regional Councillor for someone overtly against the S.C.D.P. The local representatives also became isolated from their neighbourhood. They lost credibility having failed to produce action through the S.C.D.P. From the end of 1978, a new group of representatives started to take over in each of the neighbourhood areas.

The Wester Hailes Social Club became not just a symbol of their own initiatives but a symbol too of community power and action to persuade the local authority, as land owner, to allow a social club and the opportunity to raise money without their help.

Sources of money, such as the Urban Aid Fund were associated with central government by-passing the local authority (although applications had to be processed by the local authority). The Fund had been set up to encourage local initiative in providing social and recreational facilities in areas of multiple deprivation, and an application was lodged for the sum of £175,000 for a new Wester Hailes Social Club by the residents in 1977. The application was refused, the reason for refusal by the Urban Aid Fund being that its acceptance would have caused an imbalance of distribution of their funds allocated to Edinburgh in favour of Wester Hailes, and the size of their grant to one project was normally in the order of £30,000.

In Wester Hailes, a new estate, there were no low-rent premises convenient for conversion to provide facilities initiated by community groups, as in the older areas of the City. In Gorgie/Dalry, another area covered by the S.C.D.P., a shop had been converted into a Community Workshop and an old laundry converted into a community centre at modest costs, attracting funds from the Urban Aid Fund. No similar building existed in Wester Hailes. The Cleansing Department building had been classified as a building suitable for conversion and re-use as the Wester Hailes Social Club, but, apart from the continued use by the Cleansing Department, this building was at a scale beyond the scope of funding bodies and local fund-raising activities. A further handicap experienced by the residents was the size of the overall population at 18,000. While efforts had been made to emphasise the neighbourhoods, the actual community action took place on behalf of the entire population. The adjacent area of Broomhouse, with a population of about 3,000, had been able, between August 1976 and June 1979, to arrange the lease and conversion of a vacated row of shops as a community centre, with money for labour through the Manpower Services Commission and money for materials locally raised.

The Wester Hailes Social Club would have provided a legitimate location for adults to 'have a good time', which would have included informal social activities, drinking, cabaret and playing bingo, as well as indoor sports and bowling. The social constraints on behaviour would have been imposed by the residents themselves, as members of the social club, as opposed to the controls imposed by the local education authority as experienced in the schools, the Clovenstone Community Centre and the Wester Hailes Education Centre. The adjacent community of the Calders had acquired their own social club during the period of the S.C.D.P., where funds had been raised by the local residents assisted by the Edinburgh Council of Social Services. It was noted also by the local representatives that there were 16 social clubs in Musselburgh, a town of comparable size to Wester Hailes, and that social clubs had been a common feature of the working-class life-style which the majority of residents in Wester Hailes had enjoyed before they were required to move.

The young compared aspects of the Youth Service, e.g. discotheques offered by the Clovenstone Community Centre and the Wester Hailes Education Centre, lacking the attraction experienced in the large commercial discotheques in the City centre. Many teenagers travelled into the centre of an evening, hence the request by the local representatives in their own report to encourage commercial development of leisure facilities in Wester Hailes. There lacked, however, a mechanism to implement this policy, with tracts of land owned by specific and possessive local authority departments.

The Education Department became the sole supplier within local government of social and recreation facilities in Wester Hailes, following their traditional role unconnected with the S.C.D.P.. The Education Department had supplied the temporary Community Centre (the T.U. Hut), the

Clovenstone Community Centre and the community complex in the Wester Hailes Education Centre together with the facilities for hire by voluntary organizations in the three primary schools. The Youth and Community Service had been working in the area with full- and part-time workers since 1972 offering advice to local community groups, financially supporting youth activities with grant aid and providing summer play schemes, in addition to running the Clovenstone Community Centre as a base for a community development programme and a location for local voluntary organizations. The Clovenstone Community Centre at its opening in 1975 brought two trained Youth and Community leaders located full-time with the Centre but only serving the neighbourhood of Clovenstone. The Centre became well-used, and altered the poor reputation initially associated with Clovenstone to the most desirable of the six neighbourhoods in Wester Hailes. Community development in Wester Hailes was further strengthened by the Education Department in 1978, with the introduction of full time employees in the Wester Hailes Education Centre responsible for links with the community to develop social and adult educational activities. The Wester Hailes Education Centre, as a community school, became, along with their community development programmes, a model of community involvement by the Education Committee, advocated elsewhere in the Region. Participation was seen as a feature of the policy of the Education Department, but not in the initial decisions of location and extent of accommodation. Local representation on the management committees of the Clovenstone and Wester Hailes Education Centres was the extent of participation. The Education Department considered that they provided an all-embracing set of social and recreation opportunities for all age groups in Wester Hailes, with the services inhibited by the delay of the secondary school. This all-embracing contribution by the Education Department, not fully appreciated by all in the community, reduced the role of the Recreation and Leisure Department in the District Council to providing the large outdoor, but unfinished, Hailes Quarry Recreation Ground,

located on the periphery of the estate.

Apart from the attempt by the architect/planning consultants to incorporate leisure facilities into the original layout, Wester Hailes experienced seven distinct approaches to the provision of indoor leisure facilities. These have been summarized:

- a. The community determined their own requirements, formally communicated to the officials and through the committee structure of the local authority. The officials were in a responsive position, while offering technical and specialist advice, and the local authority remained provider and owner of the facilities. The elected representatives were the final arbiter and supported the political process whereby the community initiated provision: the composition of the committee structure remained. The administration was organized on an area-basis rather than the traditional divisions, with the aim to allocate public funds effectively and proportionally in the deprived areas of the City. The process required co-operation and shared resources between local authority departments to solve community-related problems, and the reversal of the traditional relationship between officials and the recipients of their services.

The S.C.D.P. initially followed this approach.

This approach derived its authority from the direct involvement of, and the support by, the recipients of the public services, as consumer participation (Reins 1969 p 233, Gans 1969 pp 33-46). The accusation of paternalism by an elitist group (planners, officials or Councillors) or the definition of needs calculated from empirical research were avoided. This process required an understanding between administration and consumer, respect of the consumer as responsible citizens by the administration, and a political



mobilization of community interests. In the case of Wester Hailes, the S.C.D.P. only nominally improved the understanding between the officials and the residents' representatives while local scepticism remained, the officials saw themselves becoming Mr. Bumble and the community as Oliver Twist, and the level of representation by the local spokespersons on the S.C.D.P. was seen at times to be tenuous.

- b. The requirements of the community determined by the officials in a specific department, relying on experience and expertise within the local authority. The interest in particular activities and use of facilities provided by a local government department could be encouraged by promotion and animation. The proposals and budget allocation were endorsed by the elected representatives, relying on the competence of a department displayed over time. The aim was to allocate public funds and to deliver a public service efficiently, within the terms bestowed by legislation. This approach saw an individual department competing with other departments over allocation of public funds during the annual budgetary procedure (as described in Chapter 8). In so doing, co-operation between departments was not easily forthcoming. Noticeably only those departments not providing a direct service, without implementation power and not linked to a central government department, such as the local planning authority, were not so affected by the budgetary procedure, and were able also to advocate policies of shared resources.

The Education Department's role in the provision of leisure facilities at Wester Hailes was an example of this approach. Similarly the operation of the Housing Department over the initiation of the scheme and subsequent attitudes towards the S.C.D.P. reflected this approach. The possessiveness over land and literally the placing of barriers around tracts of

land allocated to different departments, e.g. Education and Social Work placed high fences around their areas, further exemplifying the defensive nature of the traditional divisions within local government. The legitimacy of this approach lay with management expertise and display of competence (Dahl 1970): in order to display and exercise competence, departments required a high level of control over their policy area, including ownership and management of facilities. The officials were not passive implementers of Councillor's decisions, but pursued concepts and values prevailing in their professional group, e.g. the community school concept embodied in the Wester Hailes Education Centre and the social education of the whole community by the local education authority.

- c. The traditional model of representative democracy with policy initiated by elected representatives and local issues channelled through the elected representatives: the officials were advisers and implementers of decisions made by the elected representatives (Self 1977 p 281). The elected representatives were in the primary role of bargaining in the formal setting of the local authority committee structure. In the case of Wester Hailes, as elsewhere, there were two elected representatives: the District and Regional Councillors. (Also issues were directed towards the local Member of Parliament who responded by taking them directly to the relevant local authority department). The communication between the community and the Councillors was mainly through the weekly surgeries held in the primary schools in Wester Hailes.

The attitude of the Conservative group towards funds for housing followed this approach, placing the Councillor in the central role of policy maker, community advocate and bargainer in relation to other claimants on public funds. The use of parts of the extensive, but under-used, car parks in Wester Hailes for children's play

areas was an example of funds allocated by the efforts of the District Councillor responding to local demands. Their legitimacy lay with the election voting procedure whereby the local community were seen to be choosing a representative, and therefore authorising a spokesperson for their interests within local government.

- d. The community determined their own needs, but expressed as a campaign for change by locally-formed pressure groups within a "public market of politics to establish a mutually agreed set of aims and priorities" (Cox and Morgan 1974 p 33). The local elected representative was not in a primary role. The officials were in a secondary position, providing advice and implementing agreed policies. This view, classified as pluralist democracy, was based on "the right of groups to organize so as to press their interests or viewpoints" (Self 1977 p 281)

In so doing the community developed bargaining skills, publicity methods, advocacy techniques and political activism to compete with other interest groups over the allocation of resources. The application for planning permission for various projects by the residents' representatives to stimulate the local authority was an example of a tactic employed at Wester Hailes.

This approach was advocated by Councillor Mulvey, (a 'professional' community activist) who happened also to have become an elected representative. The 'Dampness' campaign was an example at Wester Hailes and in terms of leisure provision, the proposers of the Wester Hailes Social Club by-passed both the Councillors and the S.C.D.P. to advocate community provision within their area, with the Planning, Housing and Leisure and Recreation Committees.

The (Edinburgh) Evening News, the daily evening paper, reported District and Regional Council matters and was

also an outlet for community interests and groups. The Evening News employed a journalist, George Strathey, with full-time responsibility to report on community matters, promote local interests and "expose the inadequacies of the local authority" (discussion with Strathey 2.3.1979). He was the recipient of the 'leak' in 1974 and published information on the 'dampness' campaign and the efforts to achieve community provision, in addition to the progress of the S.C.D.P. and the reactions of the resident's representatives.

- e. Leisure facilities developed by the local community directly, not relying on the local authority, but with assistance by an agent external to the area. Requirements determined, and the facilities and resources controlled, by the community.

Examples included the Calders Community Centre initiated by the local community association and assisted by the independent Edinburgh Council of Social Services, and, in Wester Hailes, the Community Resource Centre. Following the termination of the S.C.D.P., the Area Co-ordinator at Wester Hailes continued to be active in the community (since he had been given a permanent contract by the Regional Council) and assisted, from 1978, local initiatives. The Community Resource Centre was one example: a temporary transportable building, donated to the community, that provided a cafeteria, a meeting room, a lawyers' office, a discotheque and information centre, of which "120 local residents contributed some building work" (discussion with Area Co-ordinator, 5.5.1979)

- f. Facilities self-determined by the local community, independent of any external agency including the local authority. In Wester Hailes, officials and Councillors were required to provide their 'moral'

support and to allocate land for the development of facilities. Requirements determined, and the resources controlled, by the community. This approach relied on the organizational and fund-raising skills within the community, the available time by individuals to develop the facilities and a level of local co-operation, in addition to, in the case of Wester Hailes, a confidence not to rely on the local authority. Accountability lay with the residents, or those associated with a specific facility.

The Wester Hailes Social Club was an example of this approach.

- g. Facilities provided by political opportunism. The location of the swimming pool at Wester Hailes was the result of the shift at the last moment, initiated by a Councillor who was on both the Baths and Washhouses and the Education Committees, when a facility agreed by a previous Town Council was redirected towards an area of special need and pressing claims for leisure provision from a location not so defined.

In addition to these approaches there were, from 1978, two further attempts to provide indoor leisure facilities. First was the outline Local Plan produced but not published by the District Planning Department as part of their statutory obligation. The Local Plan showed sites allocated for leisure facilities within Wester Hailes, and the reinforcement of the neighbourhood concept, the basis of the original planning layout, reinforced by the location of these facilities. A positive aspect, as seen by the Planning Department, of the S.C.D.P. had been the collection of information to form the basis of the definition of the Local Plan. The negative aspect of the Local Plan was the lack of implementary powers by the local planning authority. Second was the commercial sectors' approach to erect facilities.



Planning permission was applied for, and obtained, for a public house and an ice rink, but on sites peripheral to the Wester Hailes area. The peripheral sites avoided the restrictions on commercial development within Wester Hailes itself through the deal with Rank City Wall Ltd. The interest by the commercial sector, and the support shown by residents' representatives during the procedure to obtain planning permission, showed the contribution that could have been made by private capital in an area totally public.

Clearly the Education Committee (approach b.) was the most effective supplier of indoor leisure facilities, while the other approaches either failed or produced only a modest contribution. The other approaches and methods of provision though were severely disadvantaged, rather than evaluating the extent of the supply by the local education authority as the successful of equal competitors. The other approaches were blocked or inhibited by the historical development and the values of decision-makers at the time of the initiation of the scheme, the exclusiveness of the public sector, the possessiveness of the various local authority departments, the lack of low-cost property easily converted and the scale of the development. But the main factor that blocked the other approaches was the parcelling of the land into tracts for the three departments, Housing, Social Work and Education, and for retailing. Of these four groups, only Education was in a position to provide indoor leisure facilities on its land and associated with school building. The local education authority were given a virtual monopoly.

Over-riding these various approaches and the exclusiveness of public ownership was the cultural schism between those institutions and activities perceived by the residents in terms of leisure provision and the style of provision by the local education authority.

The majority of the residents at Wester Hailes had been moved from areas in which provision was predominately by the voluntary and commercial sectors. The main traditions for the adults were the workingmen's clubs and the public house, while areas were located with ease of access to the City centre and its cinemas, discotheques, dance halls, bingo halls and other facilities provided by the commercial sector. While the Education Committee and the organizers of the leisure provision at Wester Hailes were selective and paternal: the Church representatives on the Council of the Wester Hailes Education Centre, for example, had vetoed the licensed facilities (which had been seen by the residents' representatives as essential provision at the time of the consultation over the brief by the local education authority). The schism lay between the emphasis on social recreation and legitimate level of enjoyment by the residents, against the values of activeness and purposefulness associated with the local education authority. In a similar manner, the tradition of mutual welfare support (based on the workingmen's clubs) seen in the F.I.S.H. Good Neighbourhood Scheme was a more responsive organization than the formalized social assistance provided by the Social Work Department.

The S.C.D.P. had brought attention on an area of new housing in Edinburgh which had been deemed multiply deprived, requiring immediate redressive action and resources directed, rather than equally distributed, by the local authority. A danger with the political concentration on community-related facilities and services and local grievances, including leisure provision, was the localizing of problems which had their basis in the economic structure of society as a whole, and the distributive mechanism that allocated funds to individuals rather than to a community (Smith 1977 p 343). The majority of the residents in Wester

Hailes hovered about the poverty level without the opportunity of improving their economic position. The S.C.D.P. and other approaches did not address themselves to this position. The provision of leisure facilities was a shadow of the greater economic issues.

## CHAPTER TEN

### CONCLUSIONS

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the various cultural strands produced a plurality of leisure supply in Edinburgh, with contributions from the voluntary, commercial and public sectors. Cultural traditions such as Scottishness, education and the expressions of social distinctions, in addition to the institutions in Edinburgh as a capital City, enriched these strands. While religion constrained both attitudes and institutions.

Three specific decades, the 1880s, 1930s and 1960s saw the particular expansion of certain strands, in response to social and economic change: the 1880s laid the foundations of the current pattern of supply with the main contributions by the voluntary and commercial sectors, and also the establishment of public institutions; the 1930s saw the consolidation of the new commercial contributions of the dance hall, roadhouses, and, in particular, the cinema; the 1960s experienced a cultural elaboration, an increase in recreation participation, the expansion of the number of workingmen's clubs, and the decline of the commercial sector as the prime casualty of the increase of television viewing. The consumption of alcohol consistently remained the back bone of leisure activity and basis of the majority of leisure facilities, with the public house, hotel lounge bar, music hall and private clubs. The public house evolved from the refuge at times of economic and social stress and the location of the dedicated drinker to the main venue of social recreation, while licensed premises remained a principal focus of moral criticism by the church and social control through legislation.

For the individual in Edinburgh, as the result of past provision and contemporary activity by the voluntary, commercial and public sectors, the selection of indoor leisure facilities beyond the home appeared to be broad and diverse. For those with interest in drama, there was the

opportunity to perform at the Theatre Workshop or with the Davidson's Mains Drama Club, visit the Civic Theatre, join the Traverse Theatre Club or enjoy the performances of visiting touring companies at the Kings Theatre. The sportsman could play badminton in the local church hall, play tennis at the sports club, use the sports hall of the local school or play squash with a friend at the Meadowbank Sports Centre. Those interested in films could join the Edinburgh Cine Club, visit the Edinburgh Film Theatre or go to the Odeon cinema. Friends could be met at the public house, social club, discotheque, local community centre, bingo social club or at a greyhound race meeting at Powderhall. Organizational skills could be developed in a voluntary organization; community welfare through the church; success at sport at the local athletic club. While a special occasion could be celebrated at the Civic Theatre, in a restaurant or at a hired function room in an hotel. For Nimmo, the variety of provision was seen in the choice of restaurant:

"Saturday night out is fish and chips at the Deep Sea and up to the Plaza for the jiggin'. It is bhuna at Jamils, goulash at George's, oysters at the Cafe Royal, fresh trout at the George, chateaubriand at the Caledonian, Edinburgh Fog at L'Aperitif, chow mein, smorrbroed, cannelloni, pilaff or a native, honest MacGregor's Special at the Epicure, with a dram for the haggis and a piper to go with it" (Nimmo 1975 p 51).

Nevertheless, this plurality of leisure provision was not enjoyed by all, with economic, social and geographic constraints on opportunity. The historic development placed the concentration of facilities in the central area, while the peripheral public housing areas lacked the benefit of diversity of provision that apparently could only be produced by time, with choice restricted to the local church hall and provision by the local education authority.

Four geographic areas within the City were identified:

- a. the high amenity central area with the New Town and Old Town developed on a splendid site, history laden, much described by generations of scholars, eulogised



by numerous annual visitors and architecturally acknowledged by conservationists. The concentration of public institutions, commercial facilities and provision by the voluntary sector had been assisted by the planning policies to reinforce the role of the central area through transport policies and expansion of public institutions. The high density of, and competing functions for sites in, the central area were to the disadvantage of those seeking a location for new leisure facilities.

- b. the zone peripheral to the core of the central area of high density tenement development providing low-cost accommodation benefitting from close proximity to the amenities in the centre but vulnerable to the expansion of the public institutions and the location of leisure facilities by the public and commercial sectors. (This peripheral zone contained the majority of the comprehensive re-development areas in the 1960s).
- c. the band of middle-class housing about the central area, with its sports clubs, enjoying the amenity of large tracts of cultivated land provided by the sports clubs and the local authority, and defining the various housing areas. The upholding of the objection to the use of the Roseburn site for the Royal Commonwealth Pool was an example of the successful defence of the amenity within this middle-class band.
- d. the public housing estates peripheral to the City displaying the flowering of the Welfare State and public intervention towards building policy. The estates demonstrated a collage of planning and building ideals prevailing at the time of construction, departmental responsibilities with the local authority and lack of variety in leisure provision compared with the other areas of the City. The peripheral estates were not able to benefit from the high-amenity of the

central area through distance and travel cost.

Wester Hailes was an area regulated by the public sector with only one strand of provision by the local education authority, in which the residents were considered as a 'one dimensional man' (Marcuse 1964) conflicting with the expectations of the community.

Against the historical progression of leisure patterns in the City, the case studies explored the alternative policies for the allocation of resources towards leisure provision by the public sector in the last two decades. The policies were not evaluated in terms of the success, or otherwise, of goal achievement. The analysis sought to identify the issues that justified the distributive principles contained within each policy rather than an evaluation of performance. Although the knowledge of a policy in practice affected judgements and the justifications. By virtue of conflict between approaches in a particular context to provide a leisure facility or set of leisure facilities, so the justifications for policies tended to be made explicit or implied, while the roles and values of the proponents of the various approaches were able to be recognised. Various approaches were brought together within a specific setting in the case studies, together with the method of decision-making and the actual pattern of implementation.

A simple distinction has been to classify approaches in the public sector between those which were concerned with raising standards among the few (the pursuit of excellence) and those concerned with the spread of resources among the many (cultural democracy) (Croal 1975 p 33). Michael Schmidt (1977 p 11), among other similar commentators of public policy relating to leisure provision (De Grazia 1962, Elsom 1971, Lane 1978, Williams 1965), has emphasised this distinction between the pursuit of excellence and cultural democracy, while supporting one or the other approach. The case studies have shown that this simple distinction has not covered all the approaches. The studies have displayed a variety of justifications.

An overview suggested four broad categories, as sources of policy justification and political argument. These have been called:

- a. political conservatism
- b. restrained intervention
- c. comprehensive idealism
- d. radical alternatives

#### Political Conservatism

This category of political conservatism relied on the commercial sector and the voluntary sector to provide the indoor leisure facilities. Thereby political conservatism endorsed, and supported the continuation of, the pattern of supply developed in Edinburgh since the mid-nineteenth century, as described in Part One. The primary function of the public sector as a supplier was the continued housing of the national collections: a function located in Edinburgh as the capital City but carried out by central government agencies. The emphasis was on non-intervention by the local authority, the avoidance or minimization of public expenditure and the reliance on private initiatives through the market mechanism, and the societies, clubs and associations by the voluntary sector. The commercial and voluntary sectors reflected, rather than attempted to change, community preferences and the spending power of individual consumers according to his tastes and interests. The approach upheld consumer sovereignty.

Public policies over indoor leisure facilities were remedial and aimed only at dependent groups in society such as the young and the old, with grants allocated to establish voluntary organizations, and the avoidance of direct provision. Political conservatism supported personal freedoms to develop individual initiatives, while imposing social controls on behaviour in leisure facilities, such as the censorship of films and plays, the licensing of commercial facilities and regulations covering race meetings.

This approach in Edinburgh benefitted from two factors: first was the social composition of the City and the large middle-class group from which the ruling political party had been mainly drawn; second was the extensive level of inherited provision from the Victorian period and a set of formalized activities and cultural institutions, including the values of education and cleanliness embodied in the public library service and swimming pools respectively.

Until the late 1960s, political conservatism was the dominant mode within the Town Council.

### Restrained Intervention

Restrained intervention referred to a series of incremental changes by the public sector, with the policies initiated by political, cultural and economic factors external to the local authority. This approach was characterized by a lack of comprehensiveness and the minimization of public expenditure. It was dependent on the interests of a few personalities in the Town Council and a small group of individuals influencing decisions. Political support was given to prestige projects, the sustainment of the inherited services of the public sector and the promotion of Edinburgh as a cultural, social and educational centre.

Prestige events reinforced Edinburgh as a capital City, capitalized on the physical and cultural character of the central area, and responded to the association of Edinburgh with arts appreciation and interest in amateur sports. Prestige events aided the pursuit of local identity and Scottishness, and brought favourable publicity of the City. The two events covered by the case studies, the annual Festival and the Commonwealth Games were initiated by private interests and required the support of the Provost and the ruling party for their implementation. Prestige as a value was enjoyed by all in the City, while the business community benefitted from visitor expenditure, and those citizens in Edinburgh interested in the arts and spectating

amateur sports gained from the opportunity to view performances at the highest standard.

Restrained intervention covered the subsidization of the performing arts and art galleries . Subsidization was initiated by external factors (the professional theatre lobby and the bequests of collections) and were associated with the display of excellence. Justifications included that the many gained from the prestige accrued from the display of excellence, although only directly enjoyed by a few members of the population. The community as a whole was enhanced by the display of excellence, which also encouraged participation. Excellence in the arts referred to those masterpieces from the past periods and included great symphonies, operas, plays, paintings and so on. They reflected the condition of society and the role of the artist at the time of their creation, as much as the approbation of generations in their praise of excellence. The standards were the result of critical appraisal by autonomous and professional groups, with the works created by professionals involved in artistic endeavour. In so doing subsidization was supporting, as seen by its adversaries, an artistic and social elitist position.

Cultural continuity was a further justification for financial support of these traditional art forms. This justification was also applied to the support of museum collections. Art galleries and museums, as examples, had acquired objects of antiquity, historical significance and archaeological interest and artistic artifacts, which were systematically coded, catalogued and conserved (with the codification according to the perception of the professional groups within the museum and gallery services). Continuation of the collections was justified in terms of their uniqueness (once destroyed, always destroyed), the appreciation of cultural artifacts in historical sequence, and the setting of standards against which the quality of new artifacts was judged. In a similar manner, the tradition of the



performing arts required continuity of display and new works to continue the tradition: their display and conservation required performances in appropriate facilities. By virtue of cultural continuity, rather than identifiable public need, patronage was required to sustain art and museum collections and the performing arts. The uncertainty of the commercial and voluntary patronage increased the onus on the public sector: "A social responsibility to assure continuity and access in future years to the products of the past and prevailing artistic endeavour" (Netzer 1978 p 23).

The source of these justifications was the professional groups in the museums and gallery service and the performing arts and the Arts Councils.

As an alternative to the traditional art forms with their elitist associations, but not as an alternative to the pursuit of excellence, was the choice of activities which were an expression of the 'people' (folk music, jazz and 'pop' music) and were worthy of critical acclaim, adulation, and continuity. A further alternative aimed at the pursuit of excellence was the support of national and international sports events, with the Commonwealth Games as the main example. Excellence in sport was more easily measured than with the arts, since the best in any sport was the result of numeric measurement such as scores, times, weights and distances. Furthermore, excellence in sport had taken on a national and international significance and had increasingly become a display globally of political ideologies: as expressed by Fidel Castro, "Our athletes are the children of our Revolution, and at the same time, its standard-bearers".

A further category within restrained intervention was a set of pragmatic decisions required to be taken by the Town Council. The main function of the local authority departments with responsibility for leisure provision was the maintenance and sustainment of their inherited facilities

and organizations and required ad hoc decisions on salaries, repairs, replacements, and so on. The local authority was also faced with a succession of unforeseen crises such as the sale or demolition of a theatre by the commercial sector, financial problems of orchestras, allocations of payment to amateur sportsmen in local authority facilities, vandalism in public libraries, financial cut-backs imposed by central government, if a further bingo social club should receive a licence, and so on. Decisions were taken to support the status quo and/or minimize public expenditure. Increased cost of overheads in public facilities encouraged increased use by, for example, further lets to commercial organizations of the Usher Hall.

In the light of criticism centred on elitist associations, and to further justify public subsidy by increasing visitor numbers, the art galleries and museums reacted by increasing the popularity of their institutions through promotional techniques and more attractive display methods. Both local and central government employed public relations officers and adopted promotional techniques of advertising to encourage use. Educational programmes in schools based on the collections were encouraged. A further example was the proliferation of the coffee bar as an addition to the traditional institutions and primary attraction for those unaccustomed to enter such institutions. (The Scottish Arts Council included a coffee bar in their Charlotte Square gallery but admitted on its closure in 1979 that virtually all visitors to the coffee bar did not visit the exhibitions).

Against the increased overheads and falling audience figures, in 1979, the policy of the civic theatre company was changed to provide 'popular' theatre to attract large audiences and to reduce the level of subsidy. The institution was retained but the initial intention of a setting for performances of excellence was changed. The civic theatre company had also employed a public relations officer and promotional techniques. The popularization of 'high'

culture had been replaced by a popular theatre, as defined by audience numbers.

### Comprehensive Idealism

Comprehensive idealism was founded on egalitarian principles and referred to approaches aimed at the full coverage of the City with a set of indoor leisure facilities, in order "to bring the means of a good life within easy reach of all" (Tawney 1952 p 81). Comprehensive idealism was concerned with distribution of facilities across the City to achieve ease of access by all, the provision of an efficient but prescriptive service and rational techniques to achieve clearly-stated objectives: a synoptic view of the re-distribution of community surplus through a centralized system of allocation by the public sector. The services were free, e.g. public branch libraries, or admission cost subsidized, e.g. indoor sports centres, so that the economically disadvantaged would not be discouraged. Similarly spatial distribution would not inhibit use.

The principles of spatial distribution were based on empirical research and influenced by the expertise and values of the professional groups responsible for the specific building types and service. No reference was made in the methodologies adopted to the alternative attractions of the voluntary and commercial sectors. The ideal meant exclusiveness of facilities owned by the public sector. Justifications included:

- a. the efficient allocation of resources by the application of urban management techniques.
- b. a guidance by the public sector towards purposeful leisure activities, such as reading, swimming and other selected sports.
- c. the social benefits that would be accrued, such as the reduction of vandalism, reduction in obesity by indulging in physical exercise, development of social education, keeping children off the streets, and so on.

The ideals though were modified, including the optimization of the location of a network of facilities. Modification covered three factors:

- a. the professionals within the respective services, as the urban managers, were not in control. The Councillors were the final decision makers and the decision-making procedure encouraged minor adjustment or expansion of previous incremental policies. Councillors' goals were short-term and immediate. Not all information was available to those devising the synoptic strategies: e.g. extent of public funds and site availability.
- b. experiential modifications were made in the light of the service in practice with the consolidation of the service directed only to areas of high use, promotion of service in areas of low use and adaptation of service in areas of low use.
- c. the commercial and voluntary sectors acted as a measure against which the quality, content and style of the idealized policies of the public sector have been evaluated, with the public sector competing with the commercial and voluntary sectors in a manner different to the other sectors of local government. The commercial and voluntary sectors still predominated in spite of the increased contribution by the public sector.

### Radical Alternatives

The radical alternatives covered the issues of relevance of services, individual involvement, participation and control over resources. These alternatives were directed towards areas of the City which contained the socially and economically disadvantaged.

The first example was the community-based theatre providing socially-relevant productions in areas not noted for their interest in the traditional elitist art forms. The second

was the reversal of the traditional relationship between the local authority and the consumers of their services so that the local authority was responsive to the needs of the recipients of the services. The brief for a building was the result of participation with the community defining its own needs: the local authority provided expertise and implemented the proposal. Participation was justified in terms of self-fulfilment, enhancement of the citizens and increased social responsibility, as summarized by Pateman (1970 c 2). The third was the development of the inner resources of an area (Ross 1955 c 1), whereby individuals participated in leisure activities. Participation was encouraged by animation:

".....in which individuals small groups or large communities are activated or animated to create for themselves and their neighbours improved social, physical, cultural or emotional settings"  
(Kingsbury 1976 p 12.1)

The fourth was the self determination of provision by a community, with assistance and grants from an external agency.

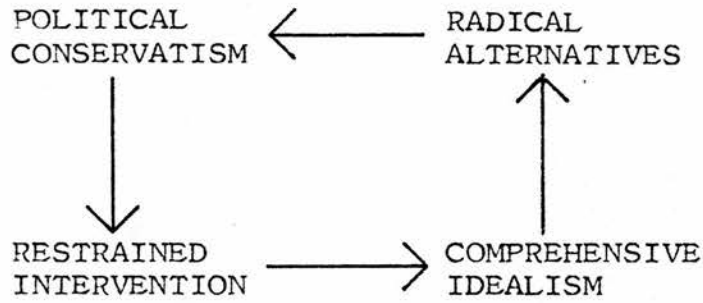
The radical alternatives were the opposite of social, cultural and administrative elitism and emphasised the development of innate artistic and social skills, increased involvement and participation and the amateur rather than the professional. Participation took precedence over quality of results; community development over continuity of artistic development. Radical alternatives were also a reaction against comprehensive idealism, by emphasising the dispersal of control and resources, the use of local initiatives and the non-prescriptive nature of the proposals.

These broad categories of political conservatism, restrained intervention, comprehensive idealism and radical alternatives were not necessarily mutually exclusive. The categories and the contributions made by the three supplier groups were

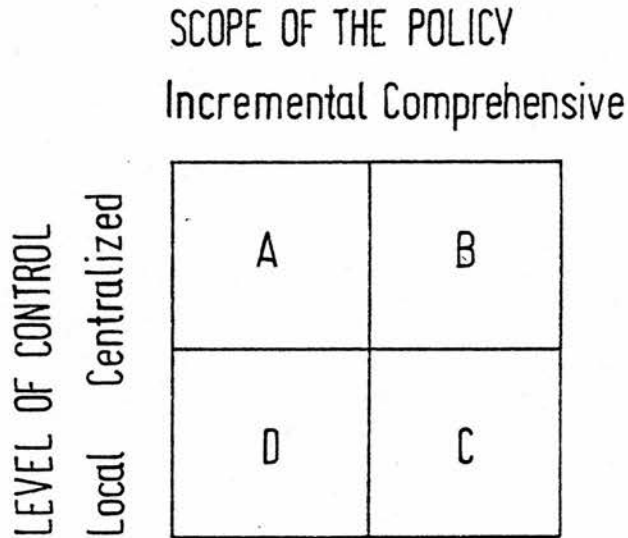


functionally interdependent: the commercial sector providing sports equipment to local authority sports halls, a meal at restaurant before a visit to the civic theatre, a book borrowed at a public library or a sport played at a sports club. While their development was also interdependent. Netzer (1978 p 23) has observed that serious music and popular music co-existed to their mutual benefit as they drew material from one another and both provided training and employment opportunities for professional musicians. Similarly developments in amateur and professional sport drew from each other, excellence in sport produced standards that could be emulated by younger sportsmen, each category set standards against which the others could be evaluated, and so on.

The four categories co-existed. Each category provided an appropriate direction for different aspects of the provision of indoor leisure facilities, producing a plurality of values, choices, and standards. However, certain approaches were geographically isolated in Edinburgh, reflecting in part the social segregation as a physical characteristic of the City, to the disbenefit of certain areas, e.g. comprehensive idealism at Wester Hailes. Each of the categories was also a reaction against another: the restrained intervention was a reaction to the failures relying solely on political conservatism; comprehensive idealism was a reaction against the incrementalism and pragmatism of restrained intervention; radical alternatives were reactions against the centralized control and lack of positive discrimination of comprehensive idealism; political conservatism has become a reaction against the radical alternatives supporting local initiative not relying on the public sector, such as the Wester Hailes Social Club, and commercial developments. The direction of the reactions were, as a diagrammatic summary:



Apart from political conservatism, the categories were concerned with the degree and method of public intervention to re-distribute community surplus. The basis of the distinction, and also the conflict, lay with two inter-related sets of opposites: local control/centralized control, comprehensive/incremental approach to policy and decision-making. Schematically, these distinctions were:



These distinctions and related categories were as the following summary:

DISTINCTIONS	CATEGORY	EXAMPLES
A. Incremental/ Centralized control	RESTRAINED INTERVENTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Prestige events</li> <li>•Theatre purchases</li> <li>•Civic Theatre Company</li> <li>•Meadowbank Sports Centre</li> <li>•Royal Commonwealth Pool</li> </ul>

DISTINCTIONS	CATEGORY	EXAMPLES
B. Comprehensive/ Centralized control	COMPREHENSIVE IDEALISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public Libraries</li> <li>• Indoor Sports Centres</li> <li>• Community Centres</li> <li>• Scottish Arts Council Theatre plan for Edinburgh</li> <li>• S.T.A.R.P.S.</li> </ul>
C. Comprehensive/ Local control	RADICAL ALTERNATIVES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social and Community Development Programme</li> </ul>
D. Incremental/ Local control		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community Resource Centre, Wester Hailes</li> </ul>

The political conservatism towards indoor leisure provision traditionally associated with Edinburgh was modified in the 1960s, first by external pressures, e.g. the theatre lobby and the Scottish Sports Council in connection with the brief for the Meadowbank Sports Centre. The period of the Labour rule in the early 1970s was seen as an interregnum by the Conservative party but became a period redressing the omissions of the traditional political stance in the City. The period from 1975 though saw political developments more power related than concerned with policy. The constitution of the two-tier structure of local government encouraged political conflict and a concentration on power relationships. During the decade of the 1970s of political change, the traditional role of the local education authority provided the continuity, the expertise and a leisure service, while the newly-formed recreation and leisure departments became neutralized by lack of public funds at a time of severe economic recession and recipients of the political skirmishes across the District Council and Regional Council barrier.

The 1960s had seen the increased participation in leisure activities beyond the home, the rise of the politicization of leisure provision and the professionalization of leisure facility management. Through the two decades of the 1960s and 1970s leisure provision had become both a means by which prestige could be acquired by the City and associated with the political aim to redress social inequality; the political argument moved from a traditional left/right debate to a discussion over the degrees of control and centralization of public policies, and the incremental/synoptic base for policies; official physical planning became subject to participation, counter-proposals, advocacy planning and community activism; the observation that urban public policies had not solved the conditions of the poor, unemployment and associated urban social problems had produced radical alternatives concerned with equality of results rather than opportunity; the number of approaches to the provision of leisure facilities had increased, and saw a plurality of values, choices and standards across the City. Political conservatism of Edinburgh and the concentration among a few civic leaders had been adjusted: District Councillor John Grey lamented that;

"The 1950s and 1960s in Edinburgh saw a few men of good will sitting informally around a dinner table making decisions about planning matters in the City. Now the situation seems much more complex".



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## APPENDIX ONE

### INVENTORY OF INDOOR LEISURE FACILITIES

An inventory of indoor leisure facilities in Edinburgh was compiled in 1977. An initial list of facilities was extracted from the Valuation Roll for 1977/1978 for Edinburgh. The Valuation Roll was publicly available in the Lothian Regional Office in Queen Street, Edinburgh. The preliminary list was checked, altered and expanded from other sources. Some facilities were found to be recorded in the Valuation Roll as an indoor leisure facility but were no longer used for leisure purposes. A church hall, for example, might have been sold for another use, while the building remained as a church hall in the Valuation Roll. A lounge bar in an hotel was a further example of an indoor leisure facility not clearly identified in the Valuation Roll: lounge bars and adult education classes were required to be listed as parallel exercises, as the Valuation Roll was only concerned with a broad identification of building types.

The number of indoor leisure facilities was 1681. The initial overview of facilities from the Valuation Roll and other sources provided information on building type, ownership and location. The list of facilities was divided into three broad groups: voluntary organizations with their own facilities, meeting places for hire by voluntary organizations, and public facilities. The methods of collecting data according to each of these groups were as follows:

#### Voluntary Organizations with their own facilities

The voluntary organizations with their own facilities in Edinburgh were contacted by post with a request to complete a questionnaire. The questions included date founded, aims and objectives, activities and comments on their policy. The questionnaire also covered information about pattern of use, membership characteristics, and affiliations: the results of this larger survey were not incorporated in this study. A request was also made for a copy of their constitution.

A voluntary organization within this category owned its own facility or had a long lease on a building. Such an organization was non-profit making, provided leisure activities for its membership and was properly constituted.

A reminder letter and further questionnaire was sent to those organizations from whom no reply was received. The secretaries of organizations which did not respond to the reminder were contacted directly and interviewed. A few organizations were reluctant to complete the questionnaire or their secretaries declined to be interviewed. The information was extracted on these few from other sources. A full coverage was achieved.

The Edinburgh Almanacs, Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories and the Valuation Rolls were examined first at ten year intervals from 1850 to identify voluntary organizations with their own facilities which had closed or amalgamated before 1977. On identification their exact opening and closing dates were found from the same sources. As there were relatively few organizations that closed or amalgamated, it appeared that, once an organization was formed, the membership would ensure its continuation. The main period for closure and amalgamation was modern Edinburgh.

The voluntary organization with their own facilities were grouped in the study by their principal form of leisure activity under the following headings. The initial subdivision was between those primarily offering social activities and those concerned with a special-interest.

<u>Social</u>	<u>Special Interests</u>
General, including the Miners' Welfare Clubs	Sport : golf
Services and ex-services	Sport : bowling
Place of work, trade and Professional	Sport : rugby
Football supporters	Sport : tennis
Political	Sport : other
Old Persons	Youth : uniformed
	Youth : non-uniformed
	Music, Drama, Films, etc
	Masonic Lodge
	Other Special-interest Organizations

An organization might have been multi-functional. A bowling club primarily for bowling, and classified under sport, might have had a social section and held dances and receptions during the winter months. Whereas a social club such as the Miners' Welfare Clubs had a large social element, but also had bowling, angling and golf sections within

the framework of the organization. Classification was made on the principal activity.

A set of voluntary organizations with their own facilities within each of these groups were selected, their facilities were observed and their secretaries interviewed about the history of their organizations and role as a provider of facilities. The selection was not produced systematically but based on the quality of the comments on the questionnaire by the secretary, the points raised and the willingness by a secretary to discuss their organization. The function of the interviews was to provide evidence to define the broad role of the voluntary sector.

In parallel to the survey of facilities owned by voluntary organizations, a catalogue of those voluntary organizations without their own facilities was carried out to give an indication of the contribution made by those with their facilities in the spectrum of all voluntary organizations in Edinburgh. A list of voluntary organizations without their own facilities was developed from various sources including public records and publications, Edinburgh Council of Social Service, parent organizations, libraries, notice boards and from information returned from meeting places. While all effort was made to establish a comprehensive list there appeared to be no method of checking if all had been made known, in addition to the difficulty that many clubs were short-lived. At the completion of the survey period, 2,054 voluntary organizations had been catalogued.

#### Meeting Places for hire by Voluntary Organizations

Meeting places for hire were found in schools, community centres, places of further education, function rooms in hotels and church halls.

The extent and type of accommodation, pattern of use and available periods of the week of meeting places in schools and community centres were obtained from the centralized records in the local education authority. The opening dates were similarly obtained. Each of the places of further education was contacted by telephone to establish extent and type of accommodation, pattern of use and available periods of the week of meeting places which could be hired by a voluntary organization. The opening dates of the meeting places in places of further education were also established by a telephone survey. The

hotels on the list obtained from the Valuation Roll were contacted to establish if they included a function room in their accommodation and details of their opening dates. The list of church halls were first established from the Valuation Roll. The respective centralized administration of each of the churches were contacted to provide the opening date of each of the available halls in 1977, and the opening and closing dates of those halls no longer available.

The person responsible for a meeting place was asked to complete a diary for a week during the winter months for each of the meeting rooms in their facility. The information included the periods of the week when the rooms were in use, the number of the users, the type of activity carried out and the name of the voluntary organization that had hired the room. The initial contact was by postal survey. A reminder letter and further diary was sent to those from whom no reply was received. The facility was contacted directly by telephone, of those remaining following the response to the reminder. A full coverage was achieved.

#### Public Facilities

Public facilities referred to those owned by:

- a. the commercial sector. These facilities included public houses, lounge bars in hotels, restaurants, dance halls, bingo halls, stadia, casinos, sauna clubs and so on.

The annual lists of public houses and lounge bars in hotels were obtained from the licensing department in the local authority. Restaurants were listed from the Valuation Roll, supplemented by information from advertizements in the local newspapers, and were contacted by telephone to establish their opening dates. The Valuation Rools from 1945 were examined to identify those restaurants which had opened and closed.

Other commercial facilities were obtained from the Valuation Roll, supplemented by information from advertizements in the local newspapers : the managements of each facility was contacted requesting information on opening date, change of use and ownership and management policy. The managements were classified according to their scale of operating (large, medium and small) and a selection of managers from each of these groups were interviewed to establish, or confirm, the role of the



commercial sector in the provision of indoor leisure facilities. Records in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Central Library, supplemented by the local evening papers and building control records in the local authority, provided information on the opening and closing of facilities no longer available in 1977. A particular study of the rise and fall of the cinema in Edinburgh has been tabulated in Appendix 3.

A full coverage of commercial facilities was achieved.

- b. the public sector. The facilities included theatres, concert halls, swimming pools, indoor sports centres, libraries, halls and so on. The local authority records confirmed the list obtained from the Valuation Roll and provided information on opening dates, history of the facilities. The general pattern was that once a facility was opened by the public sector, the facility remained open. During the study period only one facility closed. A full coverage was achieved.

The reference to specific building types was adopted as the basis for the pattern of supply, rather than a description of activity outlets, ie: reference to a swimming pool rather than an outlet for the activity of swimming. This decision was made for two reasons: building type and activity outlet were virtually the same for the majority of facilities covered in the study (the building type stated the predominant activity), and use of building type assisted communication with the owners (the 'common usage' was reference to a swimming pool rather than an outlet for swimming).

As with the survey of voluntary organizations with their own premises, the collection of data on public facilities was part of a larger survey.

Records were available from the Workers' Educational Association, local education authority, Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Department and other places of further education on the number of adult education classes since 1918.



## APPENDIX TWO

### THE CASE STUDIES : METHODOLOGY

The content of the case studies was the procurement of indoor leisure facilities by the public sector in the period from 1960 to 1980. The selection of situations covered the time of increased public intervention, the majority of the issues faced by the Edinburgh Town Council during the two decades, and a range of approaches to the supply of facilities by the local authority.

The function of the case studies was to provide empirical evidence on events, decisions, policies, issues, decision makers and interest groups within a specific context. The aim was to identify the substance of policies, the various approaches to provision (including the relationship between the local authority and the users of leisure facilities) and the justification or distributive principles covering a policy, approach or decision. The studies were not concerned with the power structure in Edinburgh per se: power though was identified in the context of the source of authority that legitimized actions and points of view by individuals, groups and departments, including the ability to mobilize resources and to advocate, block, discredit or placate alternative or opposing interests in relation to a specific set of decisions.

An overview of the literature revealed a paucity of comparable empirical studies and a variety of presentation methods among studies of micro-politics. Three categories of micro-political studies of local government though were considered : the studies of community power structure by, among others, Dahl (1961) and Hunter (1953); the recording of issues surrounding locational conflict, including those studies by Aldous (1972), Dear and Long (1976) and Gregory (1971), which were mainly concerned with the conflict between development and amenity; the studies of specific local government services as summarized by Rich (1979) and in particular the study of their relationship with the local political system by Boaden (1971). Of these only the studies of location conflict dealt with policies and politics over time explaining the changing context and attitudes. While the descriptive presentation of the environmental journalist of Aldous over the politics of conservation in Bath and the political scientist of Gregory over the politics of physical resources appeared to provide a clarity not

necessarily found with the studies of power structure and the delivery of local government services.

The case studies in this enquiry included a description of the sequence of events, because:

- a. a decision was difficult to isolate from the immediate past and historical development.
- b. circumstances, including personalities, changed through the history of each study.
- c. decision A was a reaction to a previous decision B, which was a reaction to decision C, and so on, back in time. The reaction though was either negative (a disagreement in principle) or positive (towards a specific, but alternative, policy).
- d. decisions, attitudes and justifications were influenced by past experience and past experience influenced attitudes towards the future.
- e. a learning process over time was part of the decision-making procedure.
- f. there was an intrinsic value in the history of a set of decisions made by a few and affecting many.
- g. there was the practical need to establish a correct story with the chronological order the basis of each story.

The studies attempted to establish a factual base, covering specific decisions taken in the formal setting of the Town Council, the issues and policies, the cultural context and the roles, strategies, expectations and level of success of those individuals, groups and departments involved. Policies, choices and approaches were listed, conflicts examined and actual decisions described.

Data was collected from documents, correspondence, minutes of meetings, official statements, memoranda, personal accounts and newspaper reports. More specifically, the research method was as follows.

Phase 1 The extraction of information from the files of the Town Council including all internal communications, minutes of meetings, statements, negotiations with outside consultants; letters from individuals such as local residents, Members of Parliament, interested bodies, petitions, and Councillors;

reports by officials and of visits by Councillors and officials to schemes comparable to the proposed building. An initial diary of events was produced from this information, which was expanded by identifying personalities and their role, and associated reports, letters, issues and so on.

The files tended not to include the actual initiation of the project. The Town Council papers and minutes prior to the opening of a file on a particular topic by a local authority department supplied the evidence surrounding the formal initiation of a new project.

The files of the opera house, theatre provision, indoor sports centres, libraries, the Royal Commonwealth Pool and swimming pools, and the Meadowbank Sports Centre were made available in the City Chambers, after some initial hesitation by the local authority. A room was set aside for study. Any document, other than personal letters, was zeroxed on request. The City Archivist, Dr. Michie, was particularly helpful.

The files of the Wester Hailes estate were in the planning department of the District Council. Access was given and a room made available for study. The files relating to community centres, adult education classes and community schools were not made available at the time of the study : the files pre-1975 had not been sorted by the Regional education authority following re-organisation of local government.

The files of the Scottish Education Department were not made available : restriction on access was covered by the Officials Secrets Act. Similarly discussions with officials in the Scottish Education Department was restricted.

From 1974, meetings of the Social and Community Development Programme held in Wester Hailes and the meetings of the residents' groups were attended and the discussions recorded. The District Council meetings relating to the presentation of officials' reports, debates and decisions were attended.

Phase 2 The examination of press cuttings and letter columns of The Scotsman, in the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library.

The staff of this library department were particularly helpful over drawing together this information. Contradictions with the information in the files of the local authority and issues not included in these files but in the newspaper coverage were followed up in the interviews with personalities involved in each case study. The newspaper accounts included quotations from Town Council, and other meetings not recorded in the local authority files.

Phase 3 The issues, decisions, justifications about intervention, roles and personalities, interest groups, points of conflict and topics of divergence were listed, in relation to the sequence of events. Those closely involved in each case study who were still alive and willing to comment were interviewed and asked to answer specific questions covering the confirmation of factual information, approaches, role and attitude. The list of people interviewed follows at the end of Appendix 2.

Phase 4 The sequential description of events, issues, policies and decisions, in the case studies were checked by one person conversant with each situation. Explanation and commentary were integrated into the sequential description and concluding overview.

An attempt was made in the case studies to reconstruct the decision-making behaviour from documentation and interviews to identify and explain decisions, issues and conflict of issues. It was acknowledged that certain 'negative' aspects tended to be excluded from the research method. The necessity of acquiring 'negative' information has been stressed by Luke (1974 p.25), with the need to identify:

- a. potential issues as well as key issues.
- b. control over the agenda.
- c. latent conflicts as well as recorded conflicts.
- d. real interests as well as subjective interests.

These additional topics have been classified as negative, in as much as they were concerned with aspects not pursued within a case study through

political blocking, omission and placation. Relying on documented evidence these 'negative' topics tended to be omitted. Only in the case study of the leisure provision in Wester Hailes, with the opportunity of attending the meetings of the Social and Community Development Programme and associated meetings, were the 'negative' topics at least raised and recorded. It was also the only situation that was overtly concerned with the involvement of the consumers' interests by residents' representatives.

As a concluding observation about the presentation method adopted by the case studies in this, and other, enquiries has been the inability to integrate the detailed relationship between the personalities, the narrative and the abstractions. The academic emphasis on analysis has tended to fragment evidence rather than comprehend the holistic nature of behaviour. The simultaneous description of power, relationships between personalities, situations, issues, conflicts and so on in an involving process though was the trade of the dramatist. Indeed, not only does the historical drama, Galilei Galileo, by Bertolt Brecht describe the interrelationship between personalities and sequence of events but also dealt with the relationship between scientific knowledge, the establishment and the common man in a cultural context. While The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny by Brecht and Troilus and Cressida by Shakespeare explored the power structure, legitimacy of authority and personalities within a particular cultural context.



LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED IN CASE STUDIES

S. Aitken Edinburgh Gateway Company (1956-1963)  
 B. Annable City Architect, Edinburgh District Council  
 W. Bell Director of Recreation and Leisure, Edinburgh District Council  
 C. Bissett Councillor  
 G. Bishop Department of Architecture, Edinburgh District Council  
 C. Black Director of Baths and Washhouses, Edinburgh Corporation (retired 1975)  
 H. Brechin Provost, Edinburgh Corporation (1966-1969)  
 P. Brookes Chairman, Edinburgh Playhouse Trust  
 D. Brown Councillor  
 S. Burgess Lecturer, Department of Social Administration, University of Edinburgh  
 G. Cairns Community Education Officer, Lothian Regional Council  
 K. Campbell Scottish Sports Council  
 M. Carr Theatre Consultant on Castle Terrace Project  
 L. Cousins Dartington Amenity and Research Trust (Scottish Tourism and Recreation Planning Studies)  
 T. Davies Councillor  
 L. De Marco Area Co-ordinator, Wester Hailes : Social and Community Development Programme  
 P. Diamond Director, Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama (retired 1978)  
 C. Drysdale Planning Department, Edinburgh District Council, (Social and Community Development Programme)  
 A. Dunbar Director, Scottish Arts Council  
 A. Duns Manager, Meadowbank Sports Centre  
 T. Fleming Artistic Director, Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, (retired 1966)  
 G. Foulkes Councillor  
 J. Grey Councillor  
 S. Harris Depute City Architect, Edinburgh District Council  
 P. Heatly Chairman, Scottish Sports Council  
 P. Hemmings General Manager, Scottish Opera  
 A. Howe Director of Cultural Services, Department of Recreation and Leisure, Edinburgh District Council  
 A. Hughes Minister of the Episcopal Church, Wester Hailes  
 K. Hutchison Scottish Sports Council  
 T. Jamieson Architect : Sir Frank Mears and Partners  
 J. Kane Provost, Edinburgh Corporation (1972-1975)  
 W. Kininmonth Architect  
 L. Liddle Director, Department of Physical Education, University of Edinburgh  
 W. Martin Planning Department, Edinburgh District Council, (Social and Community Development Programme)  
 S. Maxwell Councillor  
 A. McBean Director of Physical Recreation, Edinburgh District Council  
 A. McIntosh Councillor  
 A. McLernan Councillor  
 R. McNeill General Manager, Royal Lyceum Theatre Company (formerly Secretary of Scottish Equity)  
 L. Miller Provost, Edinburgh District Council (1975-1978)

S. Milne Chairman of the Wester Hailes Association of Tenants (retired 1975)

D. Molyneaux Sports Council of Great Britain

P. Moro Architect, Consultant to the Castle Terrace Project

J. Mulvey Councillor

K. Oppenheim Chairman of Argyle Securities Ltd

C. Percy Planning Department, Edinburgh District Council, (Social and Community Development Programme)

C. Perry Artistic Director, Royal Lyceum Theatre Company

J. Richards Architect : Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners

M. Rifkind Member of Parliament

S. Shaw Chairman of the Civic Theatre Movement

A. Shearman City Librarian, Edinburgh District Council

R. Smith Councillor

A. Steele City Architect, Edinburgh Corporation (retired 1972)

H. Stevenson Residents' representative, Wester Hailes

C. Stewart Secretary, University of Edinburgh

G. Strathey Journalist, (Edinburgh) Evening News

J. Sturrock Architect : Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners

M. Tait Edinburgh Council of Social Services

C. Waugh Councillor

A. White Assistant City Librarian, Edinburgh District Council

M. Williamson Councillor

R. Wilson Director, Wester Hailes Education Centre

P. Williamson Depute Regional Community Education Officer, Lothian Regional Council

Librarians and Assistant Librarians at Portobello, Sighthill and Corstorphine Public Libraries

Wardens of the Sighthill, Jack Kane, Northfield and Leith Community Centres

Youth and Community Workers and members of the Social Work Department of the Lothian Regional Council operating in Wester Hailes

APPENDIX THREE

THE PROVISION OF CINEMAS IN EDINBURGH

The following table outlines the cinemas which were opened, and also closed, in Edinburgh, the previous functions of buildings that became cinemas and the subsequent use of cinema buildings which closed:

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
ABBEY PICTURE HOUSE North Richmond St.	1921-1922				Demolished
ALHAMBRA Grove Street	1906-1917		New Pavillion Theatre 1897 Prince of Wales Theatre 1906	PRINGLES 1908	Garrick Theatre 1917 Destroyed by fire
ALHAMBRA (THEATRE OF VARIETIES) Leith Walk	1914-1958	1550			Warehouse/Supermarket
ALLISON Laurie Street	1911-1944			Laurie Picture House 1912 Leith Picture House 1931 Allison 1944	Woolworths
ASTORIA PICTURE HOUSE Manse Road	1930-1970	1368			Vacant
BLUE HALLS Lauriston Street	1930-1960	1757		BEVERLEY 1954	Demolished
BROADWAY Elm Row	1936-1946		Pringles Theatre 1930 Festival Theatre 1935		Gateway Theatre 1946 S.T.V. Studios 1965
BUNGALOW ELECTRIC THEATRE 26 High Street, Portobello	1913-c1919	575	Roller skating rink	PORTOBELLO PICTURE HOUSE 1928	Furniture store
CADONA'S PICTURES AND VARIETY Parliament Street, Leith	1912-c1929	200	Fair ground	MAGNET 1914 COALHILL PICTURE HOUSE 1920	Demolished

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
CALEY Lothian Road	1923	2100			Still open
CAPITOL Manderson Street, Leith	1928-1968	2200			Bingo Social Club
CARLTON SUPER CINEMA Piershill	1935-1959	1400			Storage
CENTRAL KINEMA Hope Street, Leith	1920-c1939	c550			Demolished
CENTRAL PICTURE HOUSE 281 High Street, Portobello	1915-1961	847 (1284)		GEORGE 1942 CENTRAL PICTURE HOUSE 1954	Bingo Social Club
CINEMA HOUSE Nicolson Street	1911-1930	550			Salvation Army H/Q
CINEMA HOUSE Tolbooth Wynd, Leith	c1908-c1948			LEITH CINEMA 1913	Demolished
CINEMA THEATRE Old Town Hall Portobello	1913-1915				Meeting place
COLISEUM Fountainbridge	1911-c1942	1800			Demolished
COUNTY Wauchope Avenue	1950-1968	1000			Bingo Social Club
COUNTY Bath Street Portobello	1939-1970	1284		GEORGE 1954	Vacant



Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
DOMINION Newbattle Terrace	1938	1369			Still open
ELECTRIC Bath Street, Portobello	1913 -1965	575		GEORGE 1942	Vacant
EMBASSY Boswell Parkway	1937 -1968	1500			Shops
EMPIRE PICTURE PALACE Henderson Street	1917 -1918	c350			Shops
GAIETY Kirkgate, Leith	1900-1956	1521	Princes Theatre 1886-1888		Demolished
GRAND St. Stephens St.	1920-1960		Tivoli Theatre 1901-1904		Bingo/Dance Hall
HAYMARKET Dalry Road	1912-1964	638		SCOTIA 1949	Bingo Social Club
IMPERIAL ELECTRIC THEATRE 123 Kirkgate, Leith	1911 -c1918				Demolished
KINGS CINEMA Home Street	1914			CAMEO 1949	Still open
LA SCALA Nicolson Street	1912	800	New Royal Alhambra 1862 Princess Theatre 1863		Still open
LIVINGSTON HALL South Clerk Street	1912-1939	1040	Literary Institute	SALISBURY 1925	Destroyed by fire Shops

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
LYCEUM PICTURE HOUSE Slateford Road	1926-1961	1324			Bingo/Destroyed by fire
MACMAHON'S Infirmary Street	1914-1926			PENNY SCRATCHER THE WAVERLEY	Demolished
MORNINGSIDE PICTURE HOUSE Springvalley Gardens	1912-1937	400	Music/lecture hall	RITZ KINEMA 1913 MORNINGSIDE PHOTO PLAYHOUSE 1914 EVANS PICTURE HOUSE 1914 MORNINGSIDE CINEMA 1915 CINE PLAYHOUSE 1920 SPRINGVALLEY CINEMA 1931	Demolished
NEW ELECTRIC THEATRE Shrubhill	1909-1914			PETIT PARIS 1909	Building demolished 1962
NEW PALACE High Street	1929-1957	950			Supermarket
NEW PICTURE HOUSE 56 Princes Street	1913-1951				Demolished, Marks and Spencer
NEW VICTORIA Clerk Street	1930	2200		ODEON	Still open
OLYMPIA PALACE Annandale Street	1912-1938	1800	Roller-skating rink		Garage
PADDY'S COAL FAULD Dudley Bank, Leith	1908-1962				Supermarket

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
PALACE Leith Walk	1913-1960	2000			Bingo Social Club
PALACE PICTURE HOUSE Deanhaugh Street	1911-1972			ST. BERNARDS 1912 SAVOY 1921 TUDOR 1960	Bingo/Warehouse
PALACE PICTURE HOUSE 15 Princes Street	1913-1955	750			Demolished/shops
PALLADIUM East Fountainbridge	1912-1932	895	Cookes Circus (1886)		Theatre 1933 Discotheque 1973
PALLADIUM 38 Raeburn Place	1914-1962		Roller skating rink		Woolworths
PAVILLION Dean Street	1912-1938	900		DEAN 1930	Warehouse
PEOPLES PICTURE HOUSE 19 Blackfriars St.	1912-1915				Demolished
PICTUREDROME Easter Road	1912-1962	875		EASTWAY 1943	Supermarket
PICTURE HOUSE 111 Princes Street	1910-1923	400			Demolished Shop
PLAYHOUSE Greenside Place	1929-1973	3300			Vacant/concerts
POOLES ROXY Gorgie Road	1937-1963				Bingo Social Club

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
POOLES SYNOD HALL Castle Terrace	1907-1963		Edinburgh Theatre 1875-1877 Church 1877-1902		Demolished
PORTOBELLO PICTURES Bath Street, Portobello	1928 -c1935				Vacant
PORTOBELLO THEATRE AND CINEMA (AND PANTOMIME) 189 High Street Portobello	1900-1916			STAR CINEMA 1913- 1916	Star Hall 1920 Baptist Hall 1939 Demolished 1940
PRINCES CINEMA 131 Princes Street	1912-19	520 (347)		MONSEIGNEUR NEWS 1935 JACEYS 1963	Demolished/Shop
PRINGLE'S PICTURE HOUSE (ATMOSPHERIC THEATRE) Elm Row, Leith Walk	1930-1931	850	Roller skating rink		Pringles Theatre 1931 Studio Theatre 1932 Repertory Theatre 1933 Festival Theatre 1935 Broadway Theatre 1936 Gateway Theatre 1946
REGAL CINEMA Lothian Road	1938	2750	Diorama	A.B.C. FILM CENTRE	Still open
REGENT Abbey Mount	1927 -1973	1765			Vacant
RIO Wauchope Avenue	1936-1950	1100			Destroyed by fire rebuilt as COUNTY
RITZ Rodney Street	1929	3030 (1923)			Still open

Name and address	Dates	No. of Seats	Previous function	Change(s) of name	Subsequent function
ROXBURGH PICTURE HOUSE Drummond Street	1920 - c1935				Hall
RUTLAND Canning Street	1930-1962	2200		GAUMONT 1950	Destroyed by fire, office block
ST. ANDREWS SQUARE Clyde Street	1923-1952	1400	Veterinary College		Destroyed by fire, bus station
SALON Baxter Place	1913-1977	1000			Vacant
SILVER KINEMA Nicolson Square	1913-1930			LYRIC 1914	Shops
STAR PICTURE HOUSE St. Mary's Street	1914-1963	700	Entertainment (1878)		Meeting place
STATE Great Junction St.	1938-1915	1650			Bingo Social Club
TINDLE'S PICTURES Shandwick Place	1911-1918	800	Arts Institute	ALBERT HALL 1913 WEST END CINEMA 1915	Restaurant
TIVOLI Gorgie Road	1913-1963	1300		NEW TIVOLI 1934	Bingo Social Club
TOWER PICTURE PALACE	1910-1915		Roller skating rink		Demolished
TRON PICTURE HOUSE High Street	1913-1929	600		ROYAL PALACE 1928	Store



At the turn of the century various locations were showing films

- 1.. Marine Cinema Theatre in the Marine Gardens in Seafield Road opened in 1913: the gardens were occupied by the SMT Garage in 1968.
  2. Old Church in West Port was used for showing films in 1901
  3. Odd Fellows Hall, Forrest Road, had opened as a music/concert hall in 1873 was showing films in 1903.
  4. Gorgie Entertainments presented films in the Tynecastle Parish Church Hall in 1905.
  5. The Methodist Central Hall in Tollcross, which held 2000 patrons, showed films in 1901.
  6. Modern Marvel Co. Ltd., showed films in Queen Street Hall in 1897.
  7. The Operetta House in Chambers Street was advertising film shows in 1914.
  8. The Lauriston Hall showed films from 1912 to circa 1915.
  9. The Bioscope in Kings Street is shown on the map of Edinburgh 1900.
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Sources: Baird(1963), Scotsman, Edinburgh Evening News, Evening News, Building Control records.

APPENDIX FOUR  
FURTHER RESEARCH

Suggested further research contains various general topics.

The interplay between cultural traditions and political ideology over time was a central topic in this enquiry. However this examination of the interplay remains and their influence on a specific decision concerning the provision of leisure facilities requires further study. To develop further study, a common conceptual framework for the procurement of leisure facilities across the various approaches and policies would be necessary. The case studies were developed in isolation with their style of presentation and analysis dependent on the types of issues and classification of the situation as either prestigious or community based. While the contrasts between the case studies, and also the historical development in Part One, assisted a comparative analysis, a common framework as a basis for further examination would be essential. A framework should include:

- a. situational factors: those sequence of events which identify a problem, where political and social forces are brought together to determine a particular decision. Situational factors include the actors and their roles and motivations, the policies and strategies considered, and the relationship with previous, contemporaneous and subsequent decisions, in addition to the actual decision and the conditions surrounding the decisions. Situational factors refer to specific events and short-term actions, and include available resources of land, money, skills and organizations.
- b. structural factors: those social and economic characteristics of an area under consideration; the types, extent and influence of the institutions that political and parapolitical roles. Structural factors accommodate situational factors over a long period of time, and are concerned with the slow evolving nature of societal change. Political insitutions include party structure, councils and local authority departments with the associated roles of politicians, officials and consultants. Parapolitical organizations include newspapers, participatory community groups, voluntary organizations, churches and businesses and other commercial interests : in addition, parapolitical groups

include ad hoc groups or pressure groups formed to support specific interests. As well as the formal political and parapolitical institutions is the population political characteristics and support in terms of voting patterns, minority interests, general interest in discussions over issues and so on. The structure of decision-making includes the characteristic pattern in which needs are identified, resources mobilized, sanctions employed and the political division of labour.

- c. cultural factors: the normative base in the decision-making structure, the legitimacy of demands and approaches by various groups, and an amalgam of the laws, politics, policies, and ethics that define and influence action. Cultural factors include degrees of solidarity amongst groups and their relative strength, and degree of access into the political processes by individuals and community groups, and the cultural traditions of the study area.
- d. beyond the situational, structural and cultural factors internal to an area, decisions and attitudes are subject to environmental factors. Such factors are defined as those that may influence a situation but are beyond the immediate control of those involved in the decision-making process.
- e. an historical dimension invades the structural and cultural factors, and refers to the sequence of past social and economic conditions that have produced the current social composition and physical characteristics.

A specific historical study would be the closer examination of the leisure characteristics during the inter-war period. There was little recorded evidence of life in Edinburgh during the 1920s and 1930s, while the relationship between the economic depression, the effect on Edinburgh and the rise of the commercial leisure provision and popularity was an area of speculation rather than comprehension. The opportunity should be taken to record the experiences of those still alive who were living in Edinburgh in the 1920s and 1930s. The proposition that the various strands of commercial development and the social changes with female emancipation a principal factor produced an upward spiral of activity would be one basis for examination.

The four groups of approaches of political conservatism, restrained intervention, comprehensive idealism and radical alternatives raised the question of the role of the architect within each group. The role of the architect, other than as a proponent of a particular approach, was carefully avoided. The role of the architect in relation to the decision-making procedure and other professional groups and their values could be an area of further study.

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The acceptance that architecture existed not by aesthetics, building costs and technology alone, but included political and cultural dimensions, came more from nocturnal discussions with Professor David Harvey (Johns Hopkins University), Professor Gerhard Fehl (Aachen University) and Professor Michael Teitz (Berkeley) than from the architectural literature, experience or inclination. Many others wittingly, but mostly unwittingly, continued the persuasion to study the political and cultural aspects of architecture : these included Frank Bechhofer (Reader in Sociology, Edinburgh University), Terry Coppock (Professor of Geography, Edinburgh University), Brian Duffield (Senior Research Fellow, Department of Geography, Edinburgh University), Jim Johnson (Lecturer in Architecture, Strathclyde University), Bob Hodgart (Lecturer in Geography, Edinburgh University) and Roger Savage (Senior Lecturer in English Literature, Edinburgh University) in addition to the supervisory discussions with Barrie Wilson (Professor of Architectural Science, Edinburgh University) and Charles Raab (Senior Lecturer in Politics, Edinburgh University).

Noticeably the largest group of those acknowledged was from the discipline of geography. Architecture and geography have some common aspects : unclear boundaries, borrower from other disciplines, and a nominal theoretical base within their subject. These were both their strengths and weaknesses. The strengths centred with the potential of a multi-disciplinary approach to policy issues. No doubt a weakness was in the academic eclecticism as seen by those central to a borrowed discipline.



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