From health promotion to winning medals: A policy analysis for the development of scottish sport and physical activity

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Abstract

Introduction: Sport policies in developed countries have been a focal point of policy research and analysis in Taiwan. In previous analyses of sport policies, the focus has mainly been on "England" when discussing relevant research on the United Kingdom. However, within the context of UK sport policies, Scotland has a unique and comprehensive development in sport policies due to its political and economic status. Specifically, it emphasises the importance of cultivating a sporting culture, improving public health, and enhancing social well-being. This research aims to comprehensively analyse Scotland's sport and physical activity policy environment, with a particular focus on strategies and initiatives to promote sport participation and development in the country. The study explores the various dimensions of sport and physical activity policies, including their objectives, implementation methods, and outcomes, to gain insights into their effectiveness and impact. **Methods:** The study employs a case study approach with qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted with policy-making agencies, school sport representatives, participants in nationwide sport initiatives, performance sport policy stakeholders, and scholars. Using a governance theory framework, the researcher will explore the roles and tasks played by different organisational units in the formulation and implementation processes of Scotland's sport and physical activity policies under the competition and contention for power. The current policy implementation, predetermined goals, and other aspects are analysed in light of the competition's outcomes. **Results:** This study reveals the various dimensions encompassed by Scotland's sport policies. The researchers found that Scotland's initial sport policies primarily focused on enhancing active level and driving the development of performance sport. The policy objectives aimed to transform Scotland into a nation where its citizens can fully engage in sport and become a country capable of nurturing athletes and gaining international recognition. The approach of utilising large-scale sporting events helped to complete the sport policies,

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ultimately positioning Scotland as a nation capable of achieving world-class sporting performance. Additionally, Scotland is establishing its dedicated sport development system by integrating with the National Performance Framework. Policy learning, knowledge exchange, and cross-national collaborations are distinctive features of Scotland's sport policies. These policies emphasise evidence-based decision-making, learning from past policy experiences, and adapting strategies to address the unique challenges and opportunities present in Scotland's context. **Conclusion:** Scotland's sport strategy primarily prioritises health and well-being as its main development direction for sport. The strategy explicitly outlines Scotland's future policy goals. Scottish sport policies were jointly formulated by official, semi-official, and non-official organisations to adapt to the rapidly changing society, establishing complementary development strategies that can adjust along with people's changing exercise habits. In addition to fostering comprehensive organisational cooperation, the Scottish government utilises external resources acquired through hosting sporting events to renovate various venues and sport facilities, creating a more refined sport environment that provides enhanced opportunities for sport participation and enjoyment of sport convenience. With the continued development of sport policies, Scotland's world-class sport system for its people gradually takes shape.

Key words: elite sport, sport for all, sport policy analysis, Scotland, UK

Introduction

Since winning the bid to host the 2012 London Olympics, the United Kingdom has made remarkable strides in sport development. It has achieved impressive results, ranking second in the total medal chart at the Rio Olympics and securing 64 medals, placing fourth at the 2020 (2021) Tokyo Olympics. The UK has successfully implemented sport policy programs and plans for elite sport and has taken a comprehensive approach to promoting mass participation in sport. Following the 2012 Olympics, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) established three main objectives for sport development: maintaining and enhancing elite sport performance, creating a legacy from the London Olympics, and increasing participation in sport among the general population (DCMS, 2013). The UK's well-developed strategies for elite sport

and mass participation have made it an important learning objective for sport policies in other countries, including Taiwan. Scholars have conducted extensive research on the development of sport policies in the UK, analysing various aspects such as overall sport policies, the development of professional football, career guidance programs for athletes, sport sponsorship, and the revival of mass participation sport in post-pandemic era (Lee et al., 2022; Lee et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2012; Jiang & Henry, 2016; Jiang & Lee, 2014; Wu et al., 2023).

However, previous studies that mentioned sport development in the "UK" often focused primarily on "England." While the sport development strategy in the UK is primarily formulated by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), with practical implementation carried out by UK Sport and Sport England, it is essential to note that alongside UK Sport's responsibility for coordinating and

executing elite and performance sport policies across the UK, semi-official organisations such as Sport England, Sport Scotland, Sport Wales, and Sport Ireland play significant roles in their respective regions for promotion of sport and physical activity. The UK competes in the Olympics under the name "Great Britain" (Team GB), while individual associations often participate in competitions like the FIFA World Cup under the names of their constituent countries. For example, England, Scotland, and Wales participate as separate entities. Football, which has captivated the European countries, has its professional leagues in each of the UK's constituent countries. However, England holds a dominant position in authority, media coverage, and economic organisation, leading to the common misconception that England represents the entirety of the UK. However, Scotland has produced numerous exceptional athletes in various sport, including golf, rugby, and tennis. It has excelled internationally in traditional sport such as field hockey and curling (The Official Gateway to Scotland, 2016). The 2020 Tokyo Olympics marked Scotland's most successful Games, with 14 medals (BBC Sport, 2016).

Scotland, as one of the constituent countries of the United Kingdom, has its own comprehensive sport/physical activity policy planning and implementation system. Unlike England, which separates elite sport and mass participation sport through UK Sport and Sport England, Scotland has gradually built a sport achievement development system through grassroots sport development despite limited resources. The policies formulated by the Scottish Parliament differ significantly from those of the UK, guided by the important principle of addressing Scottish issues in a uniquely Scottish manner (Greer, 2005; Keating, 2005; Adams & Schmuecker, 2006). In England,

policy-making focuses mainly on the interests of physical education (PE) and school sport, Scotland places a greater emphasis on addressing health-related concerns (Peacock, 2004).

Using sport as a tool to promote national identity and international exposure is one of the goals of sport development in Scotland (Jarvie et al., 2017). However, the Scottish Government is also incorporating the implementation of policies related to physical activity as one of its core policies, aligning with the World Health Organization's goal of reducing global inactivity by 10% by 2025 (Murray et al., 2016). Considering the hierarchical development of sport in Scotland, policy transformation, and collaborative efforts among cross-departmental organisations, it bears certain similarities to Taiwan's desired sport development in recent years. Like Scotland, Taiwan has been developing its sport sector in the shadow of a powerful neighbour with limited resources. It is also transitioning and adjusting sport and physical activity policies, collaborating with relevant organisations such as the Ministry of Education's Sport Administration and the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Therefore, based on research related to UK sport policies, this study delves into the development of sport policies in "Scotland," one of its constituent countries, to gain a deeper understanding.

Theoretical Framework

According to policy learning theory, instrumental conditioning in policy-oriented learning suggests that decision-makers learn from the implementation outcomes of past policies. This experiential learning forms the basis for social learning, where past policies, combined with new information, guide the adjustment of goals and techniques in new policies (Heclo, 1974). This

perspective emphasises that learning occurs through formal decision-making processes and influences the selection of methods and tools to achieve policy objectives (Lin & Liu, 2008).

In line with organisational learning, cross-national learning occurs when countries face similar problems in their social and economic development processes. The experiences of one country in addressing such issues can serve as valuable lessons for others, representing a form of exogenous learning (Liu, 2012). Therefore, researchers argue that understanding policy learning and knowledge acquisition in the UK context requires a comprehensive understanding of the overall development of the country but also an examination of the sport policy development in Scotland, as it contributes to knowledge accumulation in policy formulation.

This study, therefore, employs a policy analysis approach and establishes a research framework. A comprehensive and multi-level analysis is undertaken based on Houlihan's (2000) notion of a transparent, competitive arena in sport policy-making. To analyse the changing landscape of mass participation sport policy in Scotland, this study adopts the concept of governance theory. In the 21st century, good governance has become a crucial factor for sport organisations in policy implementation and collaboration (Chappelet & Mrkonjic, 2013). Scholars such as Flemming & McNamee (2005), Taylor & O'Sullivan (2009), Mowbray (2012), and Pricewaterhouse Coopers (2012) emphasise the establishment of internal structures within sport organisations and the effective allocation of resources to achieve policy goals. The research trends in Taiwan have shifted from initially focusing on physical education to encompassing studies on leisure participation, sport events, and sport strategies (Chiu & Tseng, 2018).

Additionally, to provide insights into the development of sport policies in Taiwan, this study draws upon the experiences of Scotland to some extent. Using a governance theory framework, this research analyses the shaping, implementation, and effectiveness of sport policies, particularly examining the policy-making process and internal operations of sport management organisations. By examining the traditional top-down model, policy networks, and inter-organisational cooperation from a macro perspective, as well as investigating the management models of individual organisations from a micro perspective, this study seeks to provide insights into the development of sport and physical activity policies in Scotland and identify their unique characteristics.

Methods

Based on the concept of sport governance by Henry & Lee (2004), this study not only focuses on the factors influencing elite-level development but also interprets the development of sport and physical activity policies in Scotland from multiple perspectives.

After obtaining approval from the Research Ethics Committee, the interview sessions were carried out between 2021 and 2022. This study encompasses two core research approaches: qualitative methods, specifically semi-structured interviews, and the analysis of documents. The practical phase of the investigation included engaging in interviews with key stakeholders from three distinct sectors associated with the formulation of Scottish sports and physical activity policies: the policy-making domain, the policy implementation domain, and the sector focused on promoting participation. The selection of interview candidates was based on their ability

to provide insights into specific aspects of the systemic management of Scottish sports development, particularly in relation to policies or strategies such as "Let's Make Scotland More Active: A Strategy for Physical Activity" (LMSMA), "Raising the Bar Corporate Plan," "Sport for Life," "Sport 21," and "Active Schools," among others. Our objective was to pinpoint individuals actively involved in the processes of policy creation and execution. This process of identification was predominantly carried out prior to the commencement of interviews. Additionally, further interviewees were identified through an analysis of historical context and policy documents, as well as by employing a method of 'snowball sampling,' which relied on the recommendations of interviewees for individuals possessing pertinent knowledge about the subjects of the interviews.

Figure 1

Flow of the policy analysis of the development Scottish sport policy
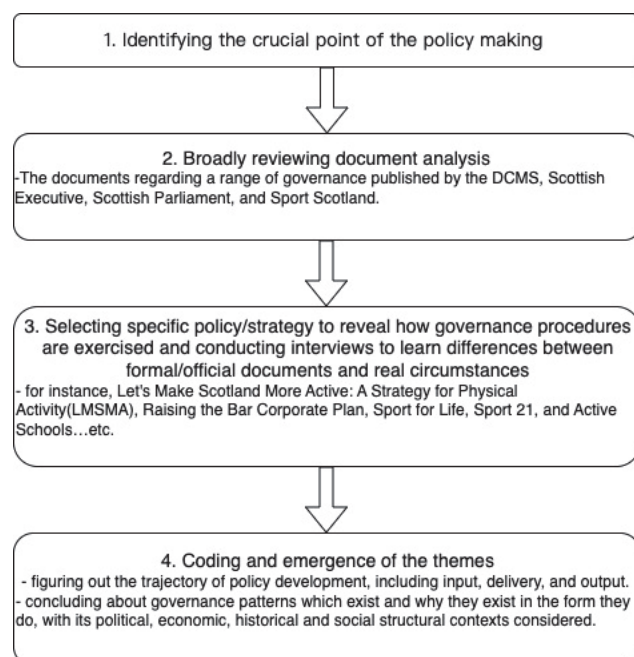
By employing the approaches of systemic governance, corporate governance, and political governance, the study analyses the interactions among the nation (Scotland), the country (UK, England), politics, society, and the economic context, at the macro-level. Furthermore, it explores grassroots units' strategic relationships or actions from a micro-level perspective, thereby describing the trajectory and context of sport policy development in Scotland within its unique political, social, and economic framework. The empirical data for this study is obtained from policy document analysis and field investigations. The collected documents and interview data provide valuable insights for the researcher to analyse the context, content, and implementation of policy-making and practical solutions.

Table 1

Interviewee 's Background and Coded Themes

Code	Interviewee background	Main coding theme
A	Researcher on Scottish elite sport policy	Development and effectiveness of elite sport policy
B	Policy maker for the Scottish government	Overall government policy and sport development
C	Manager of the Active Schools program	Practical content of sport policy implementation
D	Staff member at a Scottish Sport Hub	Practical execution of sport policy
E	Researcher on UK sport policy	Development and effectiveness of mass participation sport policy
F	Developer of the PE curriculum in Scotland	Development of physical education curriculum
G	Former implementer of the Active Schools	Practical aspects of mass participation sport
H	Staff member of a UK sport agency	Practical aspects of sport development
I	Participant in the Active Schools program	Analysis of program implementation

Health Promotion-Oriented Sport/Physical Activity Policy Non-Medal-Oriented Sport Policy

The biggest change for sport development in Scotland occurred with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament. Prior to that, there was a limited level of devolved power. However, in recent times, the parliament has taken on a significant role in determining the purpose of sport in Scotland. As a result, there has been a greater focus on promoting health and well-being. (Interviewee A)

The restoration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 granted the Scottish executive powers in policy areas such as education, health, and sport. This devolution of power led to the emergence of a new political framework, allowing for innovative institutional practices and the exploration of a distinct Scottish approach to problem-solving (Paterson et al., 2001; Hassan & Warhurst, 2002). Within this context, the promotion of sport and physical activity gained momentum. In 2002, establishing the Physical Activity Task Force increased government investment in sport and physical activity, highlighting the crucial link between physical activity and improved health. This marked the beginning of what became known as the "Scottish way" in sport policy, wherein the Scottish Government recognised the importance of addressing public health concerns, fostering sport participation, enhancing physical education, and disease prevention. Consequently, Scottish sport policy shifted its focus beyond mere medal acquisition to embrace a holistic approach, addressing various facets such as health, community engagement, and the well-being of its citizens (Interviewee E).

Over the past 20 years, Scotland's sport/physical activity policy has undergone four distinct stages. The first stage, from 2003 to 2007, was characterised by implementing the Sport 21 program, which aimed to position Scotland as a nation where sport participation is accessible to all, help athletes be recognised on a national level, and achieve sporting excellence on the global stage. The second stage, spanning from 2007 to 2011, built upon the success of Sport 21 and introduced the Reaching Higher initiative. This phase continued to prioritise increasing participation rates and enhancing performance. The third stage, from 2011 to 2015, marked the development of a world-class sporting system through the Developing a World Class Sporting System program. It set five key objectives: promoting wealth and fairness, fostering intelligence, improving health, ensuring safety and strength, and prioritising environmental sustainability. In the most recent stage, the focus has been on the National Performance Framework, which incorporates the goals of Raising the Bar and Sport for Life. While maintaining the goal of establishing a world-class sporting system, this stage has introduced three additional areas of emphasis aligned with the United Nations SDGs: equality and inclusion, people development, and collaboration and impact (Sport Scotland, 2011; Sport Scotland, 2015a; Sport Scotland, 2019; Scottish Government, 2023).

The landscape of elite-level sport in Scotland, as a devolved sub-state within the UK, is complex. This complexity arises from the fact that Scottish sport also receive significant funding through the UK National Lottery system while being part of the broader UK sport system governed by UK Sport (Jarvie & Birnbacher, 2018; UK Sport, 2021). However, the sport policy pursued by the Scottish Government is primarily rooted in addressing

obesity concerns and promoting public health. It seeks to explore policy measures and interventions that can be adapted, transferred, and reconstructed into Scotland's public and social policies (Levin, 1998; Scottish Government, 1999; Scottish Executive, 2004; Payne, 2005). Consequently, Scotland's sport and physical activity policy aligns with the National Performance Framework, which aims to concentrate resources and public service investments towards achieving five key objectives: creating a more successful country, providing opportunities for all residents of Scotland, improving the well-being of its population, fostering sustainable and inclusive growth, and reducing inequalities while prioritising economic, environmental, and social progress (Scottish Government, 2021).

The actions taken by the Scottish Government reflect the principles of systemic governance and political governance, which involve the regulation and manipulation of patterns within organizations. These actions are designed to shape the development of the sports and health systems by leveraging the interactions between sport and health organizations through competition or collaboration, and by utilizing their authoritative power and influence (Henry & Lee, 2004; Jiang & Henry, 2016; Lin, 2006).

As far back as 2003, the Scottish Government acknowledged the increasing prevalence of obesity and the significant health impact of coronary heart disease, affecting approximately two-thirds of the adult population in Scotland. Data revealed that one-third of the population overall experienced deaths related to heart disease. The primary contributing factor to heart disease was identified as insufficient physical activity, stemming from a lack of established exercise habits developed during early education (Scottish Executive, 2003).

Recognizing the critical nature of the issue, the Scottish Government has made it a priority to address inadequate physical activity, as it heightens the risk of heart diseases and contributes to problems such as obesity, muscle atrophy, and compromised mental well-being.

Strategies introduced from 2003, such as the "LMSMA", followed by the "Raising the Bar Corporate Plan" and "Sport for Life," aimed to enhance the overall health of the Scottish population, foster a culture of physical activity, and mitigate the rising costs of healthcare. An examination of Scotland's national budget reports reveals that allocations for sport-related expenses were categorized under education from 2004 to 2007, under health and well-being from 2008 to 2014, and directly designated under health, well-being, and sport from 2015 to 2017. Against this backdrop, it can be observed that Scotland's physical activity policies are centred around public health.

In fact, the Scottish Government in 1999 published a white paper on public health to improve the well-being of children and young people, reduce cancer-related deaths, and prevent heart disease occurrences in Scotland by 2010. Recognising the issue of insufficient physical activity and its impact on overall health, the Government established a task force in 2001. Until 2003, the task force released the long-term strategy "LMSMA" (Scottish Government, 1999). The strategy aimed to make Scotland's vibrancy and addressed different approaches to promoting physical activity among various age groups. For instance, the strategy highlighted the crucial role of parental support in fostering children's enjoyment and engagement in sport and physical activities. It emphasised the importance of parental encouragement and involvement in school, community, and club settings to promote active lifestyles for children.

Apart from addressing the needs of children, the strategy encompasses comprehensive policies targeting adolescents and older adults. The strategy document highlights specific actions to be undertaken, including the development and upkeep of top-notch sport facilities, training of personnel engaged in governmental policies and sport service delivery, organisation of sport workshops to promote public awareness of sport and health, and the undertaking of research, monitoring, and evaluation initiatives. (Scottish Executive, 2003):

These measures aim to create an environment that supports physical activity and promotes the overall well-being of individuals across different age groups. Before 2003, Scotland did not have a comprehensive long-term sport and physical activity policy. Instead, there were only short-term investment plans or strategies in place. However, the introduction of the sport and physical activity policy by the Sport Task Force marked a significant milestone as Scotland's first long-term sport and physical activity strategy. This policy outlined the direction for sport and physical activity initiatives from 2003 to 2023. Its main objective was to have 50% of adults aged 16 and above and 80% of children aged 16 and below meet the recommended activity levels set by the World Health Organization by 2022. To achieve this ambitious target, Sport Scotland is responsible for developing sport policies tailored to the Scottish population's current needs and conditions. Additionally, Sport Scotland conducts regular reviews and evaluations of the implemented sport policies every five years to assess their effectiveness and make necessary adjustments for the next policy cycle (Scottish Executive, 2003).

Scotland's sport policy has undergone significant changes in response to societal shifts since 2000. 2003 the Scottish Government implemented a revised version of Sport 21 (Sport Scotland, 2003, 2004). Sport Scotland focused on school activities, facility and club development, and athlete transition in 2004, particularly emphasising school activities (Sport Scotland, 2004). They collaborated with 328 secondary schools, 277 primary schools, nine unique schools, and 32 local authorities to implement school activity policies between 2004 and 2005. In 2005, Sport Scotland further enhanced grassroots sport promotion, facility and club development, coaching, medal increases, national centres, and volunteer services to strengthen the local sport culture (Sport Scotland, 2005). Club development was a vital aspect of the policy, with a £3 million investment in sport facility resources to support community services and encourage public participation. Moreover, Sport Scotland prioritised the training of sport coaches to enhance the public's sport experiences and knowledge.

Scotland considered sport as an indicator for both nationalist sentiments and sporting transformation. In fact, Scotland's sport activities were a manifestation of a passionate sporting culture. (Interviewee G)

Starting in 2006, Sport Scotland focused on enhancing networking building and developing internet platforms for schools and clubs. They continued their commitment to investing in clubs, which resulted in a significant milestone for Scottish sport development. At the 2002 Commonwealth Games, Scotland achieved a remarkable feat with 29 medals, including 11 gold medals (Sport Scotland, 2006). The flourishing club development also witnessed the addition of 8,000 sport coaches, out of which 300 possessed educational qualifications. The growth of sport

coaching played a pivotal role in promoting grassroots sport in Scotland.

Moreover, Sport Scotland implemented various initiatives, such as regional facilities, regional academies, and partnerships, to ensure Scotland's sustainable and long-term sport development. The combination of club development and coach training has accelerated sport development in Scotland, transforming the sport culture from recreational to elite sport. Sport Scotland's policies aim to support sport at all levels, creating a comprehensive system beyond elite sport to encourage participation in various sport across the population (Sport Scotland, 2006).

Multi-Stakeholders Sport Networks

Emergence of the Active School Networks

Sport 21 was more than just a plan to align with national strategic goals; its primary vision was to become a country where people could fully engage in sport, cultivate athletes with recognised abilities, and maintain world-class sporting performance. In order to achieve this vision, Sport Scotland set 11 specific targets to be reached by 2007, and it was tasked with developing and implementing corresponding action plans to accomplish these objectives.

Considering the 11 objectives of the Sport 21 initiative, which encompass areas such as mass participation, facilities, performance sport, and volunteer services, a significant portion is dedicated to developing school sport. In support of this, Sport Scotland has implemented a dedicated program called "Active Schools" (Scottish Executive, 2007). The "Active Schools" campaign is one of the initiatives under the LMSMA and is executed by Sport Scotland, the national agency for sport in Scotland.

Table 2

The 11 expected goals of Sport 21

Targets	Goals
School sport	Achieve active participation in physical activity for 80% of primary school students.
PE	Make it a breakthrough in the policy of ensuring all students participate in at least two hours of quality physical education classes per week.
School sport	Promote physical activity at least once a week for 85% of children aged 13-17, in addition to school curriculum.
Community development	Encourage weekly physical activity for at least 49% of adolescents aged 14 and above in social care institutions.
School sport	Promote engagement in physical activity twice a week for 55% of young adults aged 17-24.
Participation	Ensure that at least 43% of middle-aged and older adults aged 45-64 engage in physical activity at least once a week.
Elite sport	Produce more than 250 Scottish athletes who can win medals on the world stage.
Facility	Provide over 500 sport facilities accessible within a 20-minute journey to ensure that 70% of the Scottish population can reach a sport facility.
Community development	Engage over one million Scots in sport and encourage them to become members of sport clubs.
Volunteer	Maintain a volunteer workforce of 150,000 contributing to the development of Scottish sport.
Overall planning	Align community planning processes of local authorities to support the achievement of the Sport 21 goals for 2003-2007.

Note: Data source：Sport Scotland (2003) Let's make Scotland more active

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The precursor to Active Schools was the Active Primary School Programme, initiated by Sport Scotland in 2000. The aim was to provide children with more opportunities for physical activity during their school hours. The program employed primary school teachers as sport administrators, responsible for organising sport competitions, seeking coaching for after-school activities, and arranging venues. By 2002, there were already 37 sport administrators serving in 280 primary schools. Building on the success of the Active Primary School Programme, Sport Scotland applied for a grant of £5.4 million from the Scottish Government in 2003, leading to the transition from an experimental project to a full-fledged program known as Active Schools.

Apart from increasing activity opportunities for children, the program also introduced administrative positions within the local government structure, such as Active Schools Managers and Coordinators. These individuals are responsible for facilitating communication between the Government, schools, and community partners during the events and activities. This expansion of the Active Schools program resulted in the addition of more sport administrators across Scotland's primary and secondary schools. At the local level, the collaboration between schools forms the foundation of the Scottish School Sport Network, enabling the smoother organisation of student activities and competitions. At the national level, the network of Active Schools Managers facilitates collaboration between different regions, contributing to establishing a comprehensive sport network across the country (Reid & Thorburn, 2011; Scottish Executive, 2003).

The primary goal of the Active Schools program is to achieve "More people, more active, more often." By appointing coordinators, the program aims to plan and provide more opportunities for students to engage in physical activities, thereby increasing their overall physical activity levels. This aligns with the primary objective of implementing the LMSMA policy. In the initial phase of the Active Schools program, spanning from 2003 to 2007, Sport Scotland referred to the process as Phase 1, focusing on initial promotion and establishing the program's foundation (Sport Scotland, 2004).

The Active Schools program involves the appointment of full-time coordinators and program managers, as well as the establishment of the Active Schools network and the development of partnerships. As mentioned earlier, the role of the coordinators is to arrange more opportunities for students to participate in sport and physical activities. In the early stages of the Active Primary Schools and Schools Coordinators pilot programs, coordinators were often "volunteer school teachers" or "part-time staff," which led to challenges in providing consistent after-school activity arrangements for students. The part-time coordinators may have had other school duties or personal commitments, resulting in a lack of stability in providing ongoing activity opportunities for students (Interviewee D).

To address this concern, Sport Scotland, Sport Scotland, made it a top priority in the Active Schools program to appoint full-time coordinators. These coordinators ensure students have a dedicated person responsible for planning and providing consistent after-school physical activity opportunities. Each coordinator is assigned one or more designated schools within their administrative district, creating a solid foundation for collaboration and networking across different regions in Scotland. Regarding salary structure, half of the coordinators' funding comes from the National

Lottery Fund, while the other half comes from local government policy funds (Sport Scotland, 2004). The prominent role of coordinators is to offer and plan more opportunities for student participation in sport and physical activities within the school setting, including physical education classes, games, and activities after school. Coordinators act as intermediaries, connecting students with instructors or facilitators who can meet their specific needs (Interviewee G). The coordinators are instructors and facilitators, but they are not the school's physical education teachers. They often come from local community clubs, sports coaches, and volunteers. With the coordinators' guidance and suggestions, students can engage in a variety of physical activities or activities that are relevant to the local community. (Interviewee I).

In addition, as part of the Active Schools program, Sport Scotland appointed program managers to oversee establishing the coordination network and monitor the implementation of related initiatives. This managerial role was absent in the previous Active Primary Schools and Schools Coordinator programs. Without a precise management mechanism to supervise or support the coordinators, situations arose where coordinators were unable to entirely focus on planning physical activities or deviated from the local Government's expectations, resulting in inefficient use of resources or funding (Interviewee C; Sport Scotland, 2004).

To address these issues, Sport Scotland introduced program managers in the Active Schools program to assist in monitoring the coordinators' performance and ensuring alignment with the goals set by both Sport Scotland and local authorities. One program manager is assigned to each administrative district, totalling 32 program managers. The funding for program managers is

also divided equally, with half coming from Sport Scotland National Lottery Fund and half from local government policy funds. The allocation of one program manager per administrative district is the prevailing approach (Sport Scotland, 2004).

Furthermore, establishing coordinators in different administrative districts, each dedicated to one or multiple schools has gradually fostered cooperative relationships between schools and local communities. The introduction of program managers has also provided a collaborative supervision mechanism involving local authorities, coordinators, and Sport Scotland, laying the foundation for the Active Schools network and facilitating partnerships (Interviewee C).

Developing partnerships was an essential goal for Sport Scotland in the initial phase of the Active Schools program. Through establishing the coordination network, the relationship between schools and communities has transformed from a simple affiliation to a resource-sharing partnership where mutual assistance is provided. Over nearly 20 years of implementing the LMSMA policy, the Scottish Government has conducted periodic policy reviews through the Scottish Health Survey to assess short-term outcomes and the achievement of implementation targets (Scottish Executive, 2003). This approach has led to the phased presentation of goals in the Active Schools program, allowing for a gradual understanding of the program's implementation. The focus and execution of critical initiatives throughout the 20 years of the Active Schools program will be presented, highlighting the vital role played by Sport Scotland in promoting mass participation in sport in Scotland during different stages.

After five years of development in the initial phase of the Active Schools program, Sport Scotland embarked on the second phase with a

significant focus on reform. During this phase, Sport Scotland actively utilised the Active Schools network to engage with local governments and foster collaborative relationships through the coordination network (Sport Scotland, 2008). A vital feature of this period was the establishment of partnership agreements by Sport Scotland and prioritising cooperative networks with local governments. This involved allowing local governments to appoint personnel dedicated explicitly to Active Schools to assist in implementing local development plans, including developing volunteer groups, coach assistance programs, and formulating relevant initiatives targeting hard-to-reach populations.

Volunteers play a vital role within the Active Schools network, providing unpaid assistance in organising physical activity, sport training, and athletics activities. Volunteers are often coaches from local sport clubs, making the development of volunteer groups and coach assistance mutually beneficial and essential for strengthening the Active Schools program (Interviewee G). While the program has established a solid foundation, Sport Scotland recognised that despite most students being engaged in sport through the coordination network, a small portion of hard-to-reach students, such as female students, remained. As a result, Sport Scotland aimed to develop specific initiatives for these underrepresented groups. For example, the Fit for Girl pilot project was introduced, focusing on activities like dance and cheerleading that would appeal to female students and enhance their motivation to participate in sport (Sport Scotland, 2008). This pilot project eventually led to the long-term Active Girl program, which focuses on promoting sustained physical activity among female populations. The Active Schools program has thus

evolved to include specialised initiatives, promoting diverse groups' participation and leveraging coordinators' unique role in grassroots sport participation coordination. By engaging with disadvantaged populations, the program effectively implements the core policy objective of increasing and maintaining the number of people participating in sport in Scotland (Interviewee G).

From 2011 to 2017, the Active Schools program provided a significant number of classes for children. According to the Active Schools reports, until 2018, the program had delivered a total of 389,244 classes for children (Sport Scotland, 2009, 2018). With the support of the Scottish Government, the Active Schools program has experienced positive improvements in terms of the number of classes offered, participation rates, and the involvement of coaches and volunteers.

The activities offered by Active Schools differ from the design of the PE curriculum and can be considered specialized extracurricular sports activities (Interviewee F). Through participating in extracurricular activities provided by Active Schools, children develop various sport skills and make friends outside their regular classroom settings. Most importantly, they cultivate a habit of physical activity from a young age.

Analysing the Active Schools program's main content, establishing coordinators and managers to build a coordination network, create partnerships with local authorities and communities, and promote the implementation of national sport promotion goals. Therefore, the content of the Active Schools program is explicit, with straightforward measures and no complicated personnel and funding arrangements. However, the program has created strong partnerships between the central Government, local authorities, local communities, clubs, and relevant sport management organisations for Sport

Scotland. This mutual cooperation between the government and local entities in resource allocation and policy implementation has indeed achieved the common goal of promoting sport participation.

The Scottish sporting landscape is vast, varied, and supported by different entities at local, regional and national levels (Jarvie, 2023). The sport development network established by Sport 21 plays a crucial role in the successful development of sport in Scotland. It not only sets the future vision for the nation, national sport facility plans, and the establishment of professional sport institutions but also develops sport at various levels, including individual, family, community, clubs, and the country as a whole. Each level has its own dedicated sport development strategy. When we look at the 11 goals within the Sport 21 program, they encompass areas such as mass participation in sport, facility provision, performance sport, and volunteer services.

Figure 2

*The Trajectory for the promotion of Scotland Sport/Physical Activity*
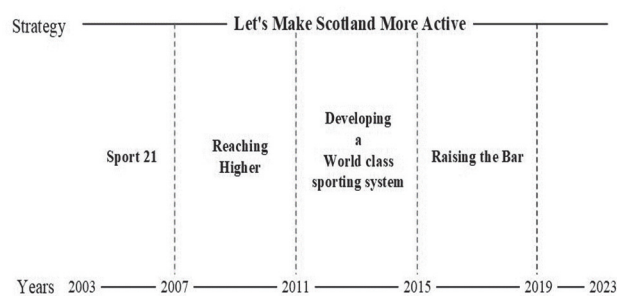
Partnership-based performance sport system

"Reaching Higher" was the second collaborative strategy between the Scottish Government and Sport Scotland, implemented from 2007 to 2011. It built upon the achievements of the Sport 21 plan and aimed to increase participation rates and improve performance in sport (Scottish Executive, 2007a; 2007b). As early as 2004, the Scottish Government had already expressed its intention to bid for the hosting rights of the 2014 Commonwealth Games. While many countries focus solely on winning medals, Scotland took a different approach. The Government saw international sport events as an opportunity to promote national development and enhance its sport policies. The goal was not only to foster the growth of performance sport in Scotland but also to create a comprehensive sport ecosystem, aligning the Games with the broader objectives of the nation for 2022 (Interviewee E).

Scotland has been able to produce world-class athletes over the years. Although the country achieved impressive results at the 2006 Melbourne Commonwealth Games, Scottish sport organisations recognised that the performance of Scottish athletes in many sports did not reach the global standard (Interviewee D). Various factors contributed to this, including the reduction in competitive school sport, the lack of strong connections between clubs and other sport service providers, and the challenges parents, teachers, and volunteers face in providing guidance and coaching. As a result, opportunities for emerging sporting talents in Scotland were becoming increasingly limited. The fragile club structure and the shortage of full-time coaches further exacerbated the difficulty of nurturing sport talent (Scottish Executive, 2007b).

During this period, Scotland embarked on a plan to prepare for the upcoming 2014 Commonwealth Games and improve its population's sport participation habits. The goal was to establish a distinctive sport system that would meet world-class standards. This marked the beginning of the initial model for a world-class sport system in Scotland.

Figure 3

Sport system of the Reaching Higher
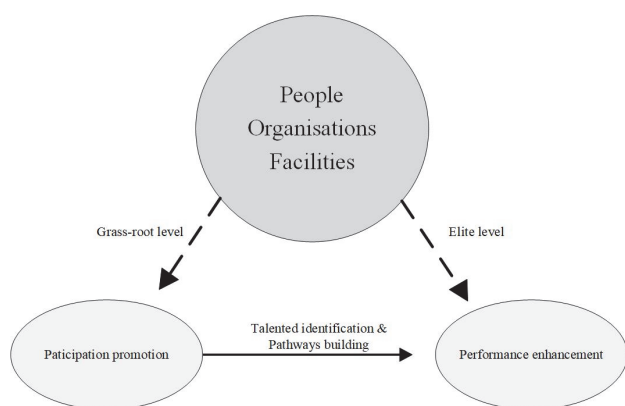
Note: Data source: Scottish Executive (2007b). Reaching higher.

The provided figure not only represents the Reaching Higher sport system but also reflects the critical priorities of Scottish sport strategy between 2007 and 2011. These priorities encompass the establishment of high-quality sport facilities and environments, the development of a solid organisational framework, the enhancement of the professional sport workforce, and the provision of pathways for talent development. Firstly, creating superior sport facilities and environments is crucial as they impact individuals' willingness to participate in sport, enjoyment of sport, frequency of engagement, and overall performance. Secondly, fostering a robust organisational system involves establishing stable collaborations between the Government, sport organisations, clubs, schools, and communities to guide the continuous growth of Scottish sport. Thirdly, focusing on increasing and improving the professional sport workforce ensures that individuals have access to qualified sport professionals who can enhance their sporting experiences and cultivate the potential of young athletes at the grassroots level. Lastly, offering talent development pathways is essential for connecting talented individuals with global opportunities, enabling them to shine as future

stars in the sporting world. The Scottish Executive identified these strategic priorities in 2007 (Scottish Executive, 2007b).

Prior to 2012, the primary focus of Sport Scotland revolved around policies concerning school sport, grassroots initiatives, club development, and regional sport programs. As these grassroots sport initiatives flourished, Sport Scotland aimed to transition towards establishing a world-class sport system. However, the development of such a system relied on six interconnected processes: school activities, club activities, performance sport, public engagement, local sport initiatives, and strategic partnerships. Scottish sport introduced a novel sport ideology emphasising the interdependence between individuals and sport rather than individualism (Jarvie, 2003). Following establishing connections between the Government, schools, communities, and clubs, and the emphasis on grassroots sport development from 2003 to 2007, the Scottish Government commenced collaboration with sport organisations between 2007 and 2011, laying the groundwork for a distinct Scottish sport system. The focus was ensuring a seamless connection between a well-developed grassroots sport sector and talent development pathways.

Integrating mass sport and performance sport policies through the organization of major sporting events

Sport events serve as one of the overall goals for national development

Scotland has invested significant resources in grassroots sport development instead of focusing solely on elite sport to drive mass participation. This approach has provided a solid foundation for future elite sport development. This foundation was evident during the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games, where the integration of

grassroots sport laid the groundwork for elite sport growth and made significant contributions to the overall national development goals. Hosting the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games is a significant milestone in developing Scottish sport.

The Scottish Government's expenditure is primarily directed towards community development, with an estimated allocation of 60% for communities and 40% for elite sport. However, these percentages may vary, reaching 70% for communities and 30% for elite sport in Scotland. The trend is increasingly favouring community-oriented initiatives while reducing the emphasis on elite sport. An exception to this trend occurred during the 2014 Commonwealth Games, where there was a significant increase in funding for elite sport to enhance the chances of achieving numerous gold medals and overall success (Interviewee B).

Hosting mega or large-scale sporting events allows the host country/city to attract domestic and international visitors and sponsors. It serves as a platform to showcase local products globally, creates opportunities for trade exports, promotes tourism industry growth, and boosts community morale (Lee & Taylor, 2005). While there are positive social benefits, such as enhancing the international image and improving residents' quality of life, it is crucial to consider potential social costs such as violence, crime, and increases in prices or real estate (Barget & Gouguet, 2007; Dwyer et al., 2000; Ohmann et al., 2006). The impacts of hosting international sporting events encompass three dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental (Fredline & Faulkner, 1998; Deccio & Baloglu, 2002; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Kim et al., 2006). On November 9, 2007, Glasgow, Scotland, won the bid to host the 2014

Commonwealth Games with 47 votes, surpassing Abuja's 24 votes during the Commonwealth Games Federation General Assembly in Colombo, Sri Lanka (Audit Scotland, 2009).

Sport have always been fascinating in Scotland as they have allowed the country to assert its distinct identity, especially through football and rugby. Historically, each component part of the United Kingdom had its own national teams, and this tradition continues. These teams served as important symbols of Scotland's separate nationhood. However, with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament within the United Kingdom, it has become easier for sport policies to adopt a uniquely Scottish approach. (Interviewee A)

When the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council decided to bid for the 2014 Commonwealth Games, they also outlined plans for the post-event impact and legacy on society and the city. The legacy of the 2014 Commonwealth Games can be categorised into software and hardware components. Regarding software, hosting a major sporting event does not directly increase overall sport participation rates among the population, but it can inspire specific groups to engage in sport. By collaborating with official, semi-official, and unofficial organisations to develop future sport strategies, the goal of enhancing sport participation can be achieved. On the hardware side, the external resources acquired through hosting the event were utilised to refurbish schools, community sport hubs, and clubs, as well as construct new sport facilities for competition venues. Over ten years after the Games, more than 150 community sport hubs will spread throughout Scotland, resulting in a more comprehensive sport system for the country.

However, hosting a large-scale sporting event requires significant investment from both the public and private sectors. After Glasgow won the bid for the 2014 Commonwealth Games, the global economy experienced a significant downturn and changes in the political landscape. As a result, public authorities faced more stringent budget allocations. "Developing a world-class sporting system" became the third collaborative strategy between Sport Scotland and the Government, with an implementation period from 2011 to 2015. This strategy was influenced by the five key indicators proposed by the Reaching Higher initiative and the requirements of the Scottish national framework. Sport Scotland aims to assist the Government in meeting the objectives of increasing sport participation rates and improving sport performance (Sport Scotland, 2009, 2011).

There are 32 local governments in Scotland and I suppose what's happening there…Sport and soft power have the potential to influence various aspects, including event legacies and local government involvement. While this may seem uninteresting at first, it is important to note that a significant portion, approximately 90%, of the budget is dedicated to these areas (Interviewee C).

The collaborative strategies of Sport Scotland must align with the direction set by the national sport strategy, which, in turn, follows the Scottish Government's national framework. Through layers of collaboration, the ultimate goal is to make Scotland a prosperous nation (Sport Scotland, 2009). This phase of collaboration involves seven key pillars: school and community sport, performance development, performance sport, quality facilities, coaching and volunteering, partnership, and organisational improvement. The

Scottish sport strategy has yielded positive results through collaboration among official, semi-official, and unofficial organisations. Building on the success of the 2009-2011 collaboration plan, which boosted the sport culture in schools, grassroots initiatives, clubs, and communities, Sport Scotland decided to enhance the concept further. Thus, the collaborative plan between Sport Scotland and the Government for 2011-2015 was developed, consolidating the previous seven pillars into six: school sport, club sport, performance sport, public engagement, local sport initiatives, and partnership. These six pillars are interdependent and crucial for developing a world-class sport system, ensuring a more comprehensive approach (Sport Scotland, 2011).

More than medal winning: Glasgow 2014 enhances the promotion of Sport and physical activity

2011-2015 was an exciting period in Scottish Sport history, as Scottish athletes achieved remarkable success on the global stage. In the 2012 Olympics, Scottish athletes contributed 20% of Team GB's total medals, including 25% of the gold ones. The 2014 Commonwealth Games saw 63 Scottish athletes winning medals across more than ten sport, ranking Scotland fourth among all participating nations. The Glasgow-hosted games were hailed as the best in the Commonwealth Games history by Mike Hooper, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Federation (BBC Sport, 2016; Sport Scotland, 2015a, 2015b). The success extended beyond the performance on the field. Scotland's grassroots Sport development also thrived during this period. In school sport, the number of students participating in the Active Schools program reached 5.8 million in the 2013-2014 academic year, marking a 30% increase from 2011-2012 (Sport Scotland, 2015b). In the

community and club Sport sector, the efforts of Sport Scotland paid off, with 83,000 members joining 833 clubs and the establishment of 137 community activity centres (Sport Scotland, 2015b).

Furthermore, Sport Scotland achieved significant milestones in people, facilities, and partnerships. In terms of human resources, they trained 2,600 coaches, offering professional training courses to over 31,000 participants. In terms of facilities, they invested £41 million in developing three sport venues: the Emirates Arena and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome, the Royal Commonwealth Pool, and the Aberdeen Sport Village. These facilities continue to serve the Scottish people by providing public services (Sport Scotland, 2015b). In addition to these achievements, the strategic policies of Sport Scotland align with various frameworks, including Scotland's National Performance Framework, the Active Scotland Outcomes Framework, A More Active Scotland - Scotland's Physical Activity Delivery Plan, Sport for Life, and Powering Success Inspiring Impact (Jarvie, 2023). These frameworks aim to work together towards national outcomes, promote physical activity, develop an active Scotland, and achieve long-term success in Sport.

It's been easier to do that in Scotland, because Scotland were a bad sport in the first place. To get Scotland to be fantastic in sport at country level will take so much time, and so much investment (Interviewee D).

Scotland has adopted a social democratic approach to defining the nature of Sport, which has been relatively easier to implement due to the country's initial struggles in Sport. However, transforming Scotland into a highly accomplished sporting nation on the international stage requires significant time and investment. The current sporting landscape in Scotland is multifaceted, comprising various interconnected components. It is not a static structure, organisation, or process but rather a system that adapts to its environment. As the world of Sport continues to evolve, the system's components and interactions also evolve. It is crucial to stay informed about the changing landscape and be willing to adapt when necessary (Scottish Government, 2019a; Scottish Government, 2019b).

Conclusion

This study employs the concept of governance theory to explore the interactions among decision-making policy actors, encompassing elements such as interest compromises, coordination efforts, and communication. The aim is to comprehend the strategic directions, methods, and processes adopted by government authorities or relevant sports organisations in their operational procedures, as well as the pathways to achieving organizational objectives. In the context of Scotland, the advancement of sports and physical activity policies necessitates collaboration among pertinent organisations, transparent and responsible procedures, stakeholder engagement, organisational effectiveness, and resource dependency to achieve desired outcomes. Fundamentally, members, supporters, and government agencies of sports organisations, as societal entities, have the potential to influence the actions, behaviours, and policies of these organizations (Lin, 2006).

Scotland's distinct political and economic position has led to the development of a comprehensive sports policy, with a specific emphasis on the interrelation between sports, physical activity, and health. Unlike approaches centred solely on

medal winning or commercialisation, Scotland's evolution of sports policy initially aimed to mitigate excessive healthcare costs. Subsequently, it evolved into a national strategy focusing on health and well-being. This strategy outlines Scotland's future objectives and incorporates collaborative endeavours among official, semi-official, unofficial organisations, and communities to adapt to the rapidly evolving societal landscape and align with changing exercise habits. In addition to fostering organisational cooperation, the Scottish Government leveraged internal and external resources obtained from hosting sports events to renovate schools, community sports centres, and clubs into competitive venues. The primary goal was to establish an enhanced sports environment that offers accessible opportunities for individuals to engage in physical activity and reap its benefits. As the foundation of sports policy development becomes stronger, Scotland's world-class sports system, tailored to its populace, gradually takes shape.

Regarding the comparison with other "developing sports" nations like Taiwan, we can derive notable features from Scottish sport and physical activity policies worth learning from. First is the strategy framework of "cross-departmental cooperation": Scotland's development of sports and physical activity, beginning with public health, horizontally integrates official and non-official sports-related organizations, and vertically collaborates with local-level schools, allowing for the implementation of national policies through a more comprehensive framework. As for Taiwan, as the government begins to establish deeper connections between sports policies and health and well-being, such an approach is worthy of consideration.

The second feature is "continuity in policy formulation." In Scotland's sports and physical activity policies, the formulation and revision process reference previous achievements in sports policy planning. Regardless of aspects such as health promotion, facility improvement, investment in schools and community resources to cultivate professional athletes, the strategy direction is not abruptly changed. Instead, a multi-year continuous plan is employed to enhance school sports facilities, establish clubs and associations, and collaborate with local organisations, fostering opportunities for grassroots sports organisation administrators and increasing the demand for coaches. Coupled with the coordination of local organisations, this enables the Scottish Government to effectively promote sports activities, achieve mass participation in sports, and concurrently establish a development system for competitive sports.

Lastly, it is worth highlighting the emphasis on "real-time assessment of policy implementation and outcome analysis" in Scotland's approach. For instance, in the promotion strategy for sports and physical activities, the current state of physical activities is a key performance indicator (KPI) that Scotland has increasingly focused on in policy development. As a result, investigation reports on policy execution (conducted semi-annually or quarterly) review the current state of physical activities and assess policy achievements. Adjustments or continuations are made based on real-time KPI results to prevent policy focus from deviating. The content of this study also relies on annual reports from various units in Scotland. Scottish development organisations not only prioritize policy formulation and implementation but also attach great importance to outcomes and feedback. Real-time policy assessment, through examining various stages and aspects of the policy

process, enables the evaluation and judgment of policy effects, efficiency, and value by policy formulation and execution units.

In response to the title of this article, Scotland's development of sports and physical activities is built upon the foundation of social welfare and extends beyond, rather than initially cantering on medal attainment. Such values and practical actions could serve as references for promoting sports in Taiwan or other nations.

Declaration

Ethical statement: The study was conducted according to the ethical guidelines of the 1964 Helsinki declaration.

Conflicts of interest: All authors declare no conflict of interest.

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從健康促進到贏得獎牌：蘇格蘭運動與身體活動政策發展探析

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摘 要

緒論：蘇格蘭因其政治與經濟的地位，其運動政策有特殊且完整的發展，特別是強調在培養運動文化、改善公共健康和增強社會福祉方面的重要性。本研究旨在對蘇格蘭的運動與身體活動政策環境進行回顧，重點關注在促進該國運動與身體活動參與和發展的策略和倡議，並分析運動與身體活動政策的各個發展軌跡與面向。**方法：**採用個案研究方法，透過質性內容分析與深度訪談政策制定單位、學校體育、全民運動、競技運動政策涉入者及專家學者。以治理理論框架分析蘇格蘭運動政策的制定與實施過程中，單位組織在競爭與合作所扮演的角色與執行的任務，乃至於政策實施、預設目標等現況分析。**結果：**本研究揭示蘇格蘭不同時期的政策內涵。蘇格蘭的運動政策初期以提升運動參與率為主，政策目標方向期待成為一個國民能盡情運動的國家，爾後利用大型賽會促進運動政策完整化，最終成為世界運動表現國家。此外，利用與政府國家表現框架的結合，蘇格蘭建立專屬的運動發展系統。**結論：**政策學習、知識交流和跨國合作是蘇格蘭運動政策的特色，其強調基於證據的決策、借鑒過去的政策經驗，並適應蘇格蘭獨特的挑戰和機遇，以應對當前情境的重要性。以健康與福祉為主要發展方向的運動策略，因應快速變化的社會，結合官方、半官方及非官方組織共同擬定輔助發展策略，使蘇格蘭的運動政策能隨著人們運動習慣的改變而改變。蘇格蘭政府更利用舉辦賽會所獲得的外部資源，建立完善的運動環境，使人們能夠提升運動機會，享受運動的便利性，最終運動策略的基礎越發完整，屬於蘇格蘭人的世界級運動系統亦逐漸成形。

關鍵詞：菁英運動、全民運動、運動政策分析、蘇格蘭、英國