



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *Geographies of Swimming Pool Provision: Lessons from Glasgow 1804–2014*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/113326/>

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

McLauchlan, A (2017) *Geographies of Swimming Pool Provision: Lessons from Glasgow 1804–2014*. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 133 (2). pp. 83-100. ISSN 1470-2541

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14702541.2017.1285042>

© 2017 Royal Scottish Geographical Society. This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Scottish Geographical Journal* on 21 February 2017, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/14702541.2017.1285042>.

Reuse

Unless indicated otherwise, fulltext items are protected by copyright with all rights reserved. The copyright exception in section 29 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 allows the making of a single copy solely for the purpose of non-commercial research or private study within the limits of fair dealing. The publisher or other rights-holder may allow further reproduction and re-use of this version - refer to the White Rose Research Online record for this item. Where records identify the publisher as the copyright holder, users can verify any specific terms of use on the publisher's website.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

MANUSCRIPT TITLE:

Geographies of swimming pool provision: lessons from Glasgow 1804-2014

NAME: Anna McLauchlan

INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION: University of Leeds

WORD COUNT: 5,861 (minus tables, references and appendices but include notes)

ABSTRACT:

Swimming is a popular form of recreation and exercise in the UK and US. Swimming can take place outdoors but, particularly in the UK, largely takes place in designated indoor pools. Existing research tends to focus on ‘public’ or ‘municipal’ pools leaving broader spatial geographies of swimming pool provision under explored. In response to concern about swimming pool closures, this paper draws from extensive archival research into all swimming pools in the City of Glasgow, Scotland, since the first opened in 1804. Formal and informal programmes of pool building and closure were revealed. Rather than decreasing, public provision has remained constant for the last 100 years but become progressively more spread out in relation to the city’s changing size. Broadening exploration beyond the ‘public’ category exposed a vast drop in school pool numbers around the year 2000 due to a Private Finance Initiative project that consolidated the secondary school estate and outsourced school building management. The lessons: researching all types of swimming pool through time greatly enriches understandings of the changing meaning and extent of public service provision.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS:

School of Geography, University of Leeds, Garstang Building (Level 7) Leeds, LS2 9JT UK

NAME OF CORRESPONDING AUTHOR: Anna McLauchlan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Thanks to everyone who provided access to information about swimming facilities in Glasgow, including: the staff of The City Archives and The Glasgow Collection within the

Mitchell Library; the staff of the University of Strathclyde Archives; the University of Glasgow Archives, and; the Centre for Research Collections University of Edinburgh. Thanks to Ross Lee who assisted with the research during his internship summer 2013 and to George Yule for mapping the boundary of Govan Parish. Thanks also to the many people that were happy to discuss swimming provision in Glasgow, notably: Wun Fung Chan, Susan Fitzpatrick, Leigh French, Bernard Harris, Allyson Noble and Sarah Tripp.

ROLE OF THE FUNDING SOURCE:

The Interns@Strathclyde programme, providing undergraduate students with practical experience of research, supported the initial stages of the research reported in this paper. Funding had no influence on: the study design, collection, analysis and interpretation of data; writing of the report; or the decision to submit the article for publication.

1. INTRODUCTION

Official sources indicate that, next to walking, swimming is the UK's most popular form of recreation (Gordon & Inglis 2009; Sportengland 2015). People can swim outdoors in rivers and lakes (or lochs) and the prevalence of outdoor recreational swimming in UK towns in the 1800s has been documented (Bilsborough 1988; Dickinson 2000; Gordon & Inglis 2009; O'Brien 2010; Throsby 2013). However, the growth of industrial development and related pollution in the early twentieth century, together with desires to halt public nakedness, curtailed swimming in many towns and cities, including Scotland's largest city, Glasgow, and its main river, the Clyde (Bilsborough 1988; O'Brien 2010). People occasionally swim in the River Kelvin, but now within Glasgow, and most urban centres in the UK, swimming largely takes place within designated swimming pools.

Pool closures have been identified as contributing to the recent decline of swimming uptake (Gordon & Inglis 2009; Sportengland 2015). In the US context there has been media attention about budget cuts affecting local pool provision but no research to substantiate whether or not this is widespread. Throughout the UK, but significantly in Manchester, Liverpool and London, closures of public (that is, municipal) 'historic' swimming pools – those built between 1880 and 1920 – have increasingly met resistance from nearby residents and campaigners (Williams 2004; Beauchampé 2013; Landreth 2013; Sport Aston 2013). Fittingly, when Glasgow's historic Govanhill Baths shut in 2001 (opened 1917) it garnered widespread and continuing support together with media and academic attention (for example, McCallum 2001; Mooney and Fyfe 2006; Paddison and Sharp 2007; Burnside 2012). Govanhill has been celebrated as an individual site of resistance. Similar to other campaigns, a community developed around the pool to support the continued use of the building. Now managed by a community trust, the ambition to reinstate it as a place for swimming has recently been secured (de Main 2015; The Prince's Regeneration Trust 2015).

Swimming's popularity has led to accounts celebrating individual swimmers (For example, Sprawson 1993) to case studies of specific facilities (See Williams 2004; Beauchampé 2013; de Main 2015). However, few English language texts concerned with swimming directly engage with geography's three core capacities to: "study of relationships between humanity and the environment... [explore] the distinct and differing character of places... [or document

and analyse] spatial patterning across the surface of the Earth” (Purvis 2004, p.34). Social and cultural studies of swimming have discussed the range and development of municipal facilities in the United States (Wiltse 2007), and a comprehensive social history of swimming pools in England during the time period 1800-1918 exists (Love 2007, the period from 1750 to 1800 is also discussed in this volume). However, this latter study was generated in response to a lack of attention to swimming in earlier texts about UK sport (Holt 1989) and does not aim to engage with the last 100 years of provision. Programmes of municipals building and maintenance of sites for public swimming in the City of New York 1870-2013 have been investigated, providing a rich contribution to social history, although, again, the focus is municipal, rather than broader, provision (Adiv 2014; 2015).

In the Scottish context Campbell’s (1993) unpublished dissertation provides a comprehensive overview of Scottish Baths from 1868-1914 and Bilsborough (1988) analysed the development of the sport and swimming clubs from 1888-1998. O’Brien (2010) drew from both these sources to feature many of Glasgow’s membership and public pools, also discussed in the UK overview of municipal swimming provision Great Lengths (Gordon and Inglis 2009). These studies do not aim to provide comprehensive overview of all forms of swimming pool or foreground the importance of changing spatial patterns. As such, this paper provides a unique spatial geography of swimming pool provision, focussing on lessons from Glasgow in the time period since the first pool opened in 1804, until 2014.

2. LOCATING SWIMMING POOLS

Campaigns to prevent public pool closures, or reinstate pools that have closed, position themselves in relation to organisations responsible for providing public pools. In the UK, Local Authorities have this responsibility. As a result, Glasgow City Council was directly identified as responsible for the closure of Govanhill Baths; reinstating the Baths as ‘public’ would require funding from and management by the council. Consequently, when the swimming pool is reopened by the community trust (The Prince’s Regeneration Trust 2015) use of the pool will likely necessitate a membership. Accordingly, other organisations provide access to swimming pools, and thus this paper examines the Council swimming pools (including those in schools) in relation to those provided by other organisations within the current land reach of the Local Authority.

The process of gathering information to produce a complete spatial and historical overview of swimming facilities is documented in McLauchlan (2016) which provides a full list of the pools, their location, dates when pools became operative, and, where applicable, dates of closure. Data derived from desk based research was accompanied by site visits by bicycle giving an understanding of the current state of provision, for example, in summer of 2013 St Cuthberts’, a primary school classed as ‘in operation’ by “the national agency for sport” SportScotland (2015), was being knocked down (McLauchlan & Lee, forthcoming). In a small number of cases pools had been demolished and buildings and roads built on the site (e.g. Townhead; Kinning Park). Where possible I swam in the pools. To enrich the discussion of mapped information, pools were classified in relation to their management as listed in Table 1. This classification draws from the information that informed McLauchlan (2016) together with Gordon and Inglis (2009) and Lamb et al (2010).

[Insert Table 1] Classification of swimming pools according to their management (further details about these classifications are provided in the relevant sections) adapted from McLauchlan (2016, descriptive metadata)

Class (with symbol for 'in operation' and 'closed')	Details
Public ● ○	Pools managed by Glasgow Corporation, Glasgow District Council, Glasgow City Council and Glasgow Life
Private ■ □	Private facilities answerable to a membership and managed on a not for profit basis.
Commercial ▲ △	Commercial and hotel facilities (normally requiring membership, can be accessed by hotel visitors)
School + ⊕	School facilities including primary, secondary and additional support for learning (ASL). Truant schools have been included in the latter category.
University/ College ◆ ◇	University and Further Education (college) facilities. Historically, school pools have often been publicly accessible although University and Colleges tend to have more restricted public access.
Residential * ✻	Pools in houses or apartments, not publicly accessible.

Confusingly, in the UK, swimming pools are often referred to as ‘baths’. Historical records from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reveal why this word is used. Although the word ‘bath’ can refer to Roman and Turkish Baths, ‘Baths’ literally contained single bathtubs for individuals to bathe in and associated washhouses for cleaning clothes and perhaps (but not as a requirement) a plunge or swimming pool (sometimes also referred to as a ‘swimming pond’) (Campbell 1993). Associations between hygiene and swimming pools

were solidified by various Baths and Washhouses Acts from 1846 enabling local authorities in England to provide covered Swimming pools (Bilsborough 1988) and continued until the 1980s¹. This study focusses on swimming pools; only facilities with swimming pools or ‘ponds’ are included in the information provided.

Historical analysis draws attention to the contingency of boundaries. Most of the swimming pools discussed in this paper pre-existed the administrative area Glasgow City Council, which came into being in 1996.² However, Campaign groups, the media and the Council itself, frame their discussions of the history of swimming pool provision in relation to the present Local Authority boundary. As a result, it becomes an imaginative site that is called upon in discussion. Explicitly examining the spatial location of swimming pools over a period of over 210 years, in relation both to one another and the present Glasgow boundary, revealed formal and informal programmes of openings and closures.³

3. SWIMMING POOLS IN GLASGOW

The information gathered about the location of swimming pools (McLauchlan 2016) was mapped – Appendix A contains map features source and licencing details. Figure 1 provides an overview map from the date when the first pool, a commercial pool as part of Willow Banks baths house in the area now identified as the city centre, opened in 1804. The shaded symbols represent pools that are currently operational, outlines represent pools previously in operation that are now closed (the building housing the closed pool may remain; others have been demolished; and some demolished then built over). Several pools changed their name

¹ As evidenced in Glasgow Corporation reports from the 1960s (Glasgow Corporation 1960 1961) and newspaper reports related to closure of facilities (e.g. Govan Press 1982; Evening Times 1970). A quotation from Evening Times (Glasgow) (2003 p.14), ‘One of the last to remain in Glasgow was Govan Baths. It closed in 1993.’ The source also refers to wash-houses as ‘Steamie’s’. Although in current usage ‘steamie’ can refer to wash-houses (Evening Times 2012) it can also be used to refer to a steam room in a spa (McArthur 2013).

² Undated annotated maps available from the City Archives (Mitchell Library) show the changes including: Areas added to the city at various dates; and Parish and Burgh Boundaries around the County of the City of Glasgow. The Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994 (Glasgow City Council roughly covers the area of Glasgow District Council).

³ Glasgow’s pivotal place within Strathclyde region means that people living outside of the area gravitate towards the city for work and use of amenities. The study does not attempt, via network analysis or other means, to identify who or what groups use any particular pool or for what reason. See Macintyre et al (2008).

throughout their lifetime (McLauchlan 2016). In addition, despite determined efforts to source information, pools beyond those listed may exist, particularly in the ‘Residential’ class.

[Insert Figure1.tiff – double column] Figure 1: Map of Glasgow City Council area showing swimming pools in Glasgow 1804-2014 including those in operation (shaded), those previously in operation that are now closed (in outline)

Clearly, a pool may be in or near an area identified as ‘residential’ but features such as major roads, rivers or canals can restrict peoples’ access; other factors, such as perceived quality of provision, can encourage or deter a facility’s use. However, this form of presentation enabled in-depth reviews of each class of pool, how they are spread across Glasgow, and how this may have changed. Table 2 tabulates pools open, shut and total in each class (as described in Table 1) from 1804 to 2014.

[Insert Table 2] Table 2: Swimming pool buildings in Glasgow 1804-2014 including those in operation, those previously in operation but now closed, and the total in each category.

The total number of in operation swimming pool buildings roughly matches those previously in operation that are now closed. However, historic pools, many of which are now inoperative or demolished tended to have more than one main pool (to separate girls and women from boys and men). A pool’s design reflects when it was built and for what function, in turn influencing how they can be used. Five residential pools were identified, mostly from the planning register, all but one in the south side of the city⁴ and all indoors: as these are unlikely to be widely accessible they are not examined further. Reviewing all of the other classes of provision indicates that there were formal and informal programmes, either of pool construction, pool closure or both. These programmes are now investigated, beginning with private and commercial pools.

⁴ The exception is Kennyhill House which later became a school – there are no records indicating that the pool was retained once the status of the house altered. For construction date see House (1913) and Virtual Mitchell (2015). Information about the school was gained from Glasgow City Archives (2015).

3.1 Exclusive private and commercial pools

Many of the first private members clubs were constructed to accommodate “a middle class desire for exclusive and well provisioned sporting and social facilities” (Bilsborough 1998, p.4). There were five private baths in Glasgow – Arlington, 1870; Western, 1875; Victoria, 1878; Pollockshields, 1883; Dennistoun, 1884 – “built by groups of businessmen [as part of an informal programme] who contributed part of the initial capital and raised the rest by selling shares from the creation of limited liability companies” (Bilsborough 1998, p.4). As Figure 2 shows these clubs seem to gravitate around the city centre in response to the location of the city boundary at the time of building. All but two of these Baths have closed: Pollokshields closed in 1937 and the possibility of this being sold to the corporation [the then local authority] was discussed (The Glasgow Herald 1937), the Victoria closed in 1942 (Campbell 1993) and finally the Dennistoun Baths Club closed circa 1983 to make way for its present use a snookerhall– the pool was filled with concrete providing a solid foundation for the snookertables (Site visit; O’Brien 2010).

[Insert Figure2.tiff – single column] Figure 2: Private and commercial swimming pools, those in operation (shaded), and those previously in operation that were closed in 2014 (in outline)

The Arlington and Western Baths remain, both have retained their original design but over the years their “excellent facilities” (Bilsborough 1998, p.4) have required considerable maintenance (Mann 1993; Gordon and Inglis 2009). These exclusive clubs require a joining fee and annual membership payments, with members owning and running the club. The cost of membership of these clubs is prohibitive for many – a single woman wanting to join either would have to pay annual fees in the region of £700.

The first swimming pool, built by entrepreneur William Harvey, was in Glasgow’s centre and was part of a ‘commercial’ facility but was referred to as a ‘public’ baths. The Willowbank Baths contained private hot baths but also a public cold plunging pool which, judging from the 1808 plan, was 32 feet by 14 feet (9.8 x 4.3 metres approximately) (Glasgow University Archives 1808). After Willowbanks baths shut no further facilities classed by this study as commercial opened until 1990. These later pools are largely clustered around North West of the city centre. The geographical exception is David Lloyd (previously Next Generation

opened 2000) lying near the council boundary adjacent to East Dunbartonshire Local Authority on the upper west side, it contains two swimming pools including the only full sized openair pool in Glasgow.⁵

Two of the other three commercial pools located just outside of the city centre are in chain gyms Virgin Active and Nuffield Health, the latter also providing private health care. These gyms were originally built as part of a broader increase in commercial sports centres in UK, beginning in the 1980s. Similar to the private members clubs, commercial facilities tend to require membership, although this can be month to month rather than annual. Many large hotels have pools in gyms catering for hotel customers but also offices in the city centre. These pools, mainly build from 1990 to 2000 at the same time as the hotels,⁶ enabled hotels to tap into the new luxury market via ‘Spa breaks’ reviving the ailing industry in health based water treatments (Middleton 2005).⁷

To sum up, the first swimming pool built in the city was part of a commercial facility providing a space where people could wash. Subsequently, comparatively more exclusive pools were built – two of which remain and retain their status as membership facilities and thus their inevitable exclusivity. A small number of larger companies that provide sports facilities manage larger pools, although these may be more affordable access membership is still limited. There is also a number of smaller pools in hotel gyms that cater for the luxury spa market. Access to all of these facilities is greatly restricted by capacity to pay, therefore it is important to review the spread of public facilities.

3.2 A changing distribution of public pools

⁵ Bellahouston Leisure Centre has a small area where people can swim outside the building. The nearest ‘Lido’ is located South west of the city in Gourrock. The city council proposed to redevelop the Fleshers Haugh section of Glasgow Green previously “the busiest bathing spot” (Bilsborough 1988, p.1) in the 1980s and 90s but these plans never materialised.

⁶ The exception to this is the Blythswood Spa which is in the basement of a building that was renovated into a luxury hotel opening in 2010 (Site visit).

⁷ Despite a pre-world war II decline there are a large number of texts related to providing overviews of the English Spa including Granville (1841[1971]), Addison (1951), Hembry (1990).

The building of publicly accessible indoor bathing and washing facilities across the UK was driven by concern for public health as a result of increasingly cramped conditions in cities during the 1800s (Bilsborough 1988). In England, legislation was introduced in 1846, 1847 and 1878 that enabled councils to borrow money to provide baths and washhouses⁸. In Scotland, no similar legislation came into force until 1892⁹. However, pressure resulting from reports of poor housing and sanitary conditions led Glasgow Corporation to put ten Baths into operation between 1878 and 1902 with some support from private funds (Bilsborough 1988). Lockhart (1938) identifies:

In 1869 the Glasgow Town Council approved the following motion, viz. :- “That it be an instruction from this board to the Sanitary Committee that they shall forthwith provide, at four of the most suitable points of the city, public baths and wash-houses for the accommodation of the inhabitants,” and nine years later, in 1878, Glasgow’s first corporation Public Baths, the Greenhead Baths, Glasgow Green, were erected and opened at the cost of £17, 190. North Woodside followed in 1882, Cranstonhill in 1883, and Townhead in 1884

The popularity of swimming in larger pools had been identified in other UK cities by the time that many of the Scottish pools were constructed (Bilsborough 1988), therefore, Glasgow’s first swimming pools were big even by contemporary standards. They were also located around, if not within, the present city centre, again reflecting the boundaries of the city at that time (Figure 3). Many Victorian baths closed during the 1970s into the 90s¹⁰ with newer facilities being provided. For example people attending Shettleston (opened 1929 closed 1995) could now go to the newer facility at Tollcross (opened 1996). Rather than two pools supporting a gender divide during bathing, these newer pools often contained one unisex pool.

[Insert Figure3.tiff – 1.5 column] Figure 3: All Glasgow’s public pools with the names of facilities

In some cases, a different form of facility may have been placed in the same building, this could happen directly (Govan pool was replaced with a fun pool) or pools may have been

⁸ Public Baths and Wash-houses Acts of 1846, 1847 and 1878.

⁹ The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892.

¹⁰ Thomson et al. (2003, p.663) note that despite swimming pools being an attractive investment “the expense of maintaining ageing swimming pools is considerable.”

shut and then years later another may open in the same place (Maryhill shut in 1985 a new pool opened in a different part of the same building in 2010 – thus it is listed twice in the Appendix A). In another case, North Woodside (built 1882) was subject in 1991 to a “Roman style” refurbishment (Bulletin 1991) where one of its two pools closed and the other changed in character. North Woodside is the only remaining Victorian public baths in operation and reopened in April 2014 after a two year closure for repairs (Nicoll 2012).

North Woodside and the Gorbals are on the perimeter of the city centre – illustrating an absence of public leisure provision in the city centre area dominated by facilities in hotels. The only recent substantial investment in new swimming provision is associated with the Commonwealth Games 2014, a new 50 metre training pool and refurbishment of existing facilities at Tollcross (Scottish Swimming 2011; Glasgow Life 2015c).

The building of the public pools (1996-2000) were not clearly identified in City Council records as a discreet programme. However, pools were all “designed by the Council’s in-house architects” (O’Brien 2010, p.215) and the progressive ‘replacement’ of older facilities resulted in provision that gradually became more dispersed across the land area now identified as Glasgow: Figure 4 shows pools spread across the city. Clearly decisions about location of facilities are influenced by conceptualisation of the local authority land area routinely used in planning.

[Insert Figure4.tiff – double column] Figure 4: The 11 public pools open in 1914 (on left) and the 12 in operation in 2014 (on right)

In the 1980s, when the washing facilities were in use and new leisure centres had not yet been built, local newspaper reported discontent about restricting facility opening hours and closing pools (Govan Press 1982; Scott 1982). In particular, there was active protest about Govan baths closure, it reopened 1986 and then finally closed 1993 ((The Herald (Glasgow) 1994; Daily Record 1997; Evening Times (Glasgow) 2003). In comparison, Govan’s neighbour, Ibrox, received little attention in local press in advance of finally shutting in 1984 just shortly before the renovated Govan had reopened (Govan Post 1984; 1986). Council records and newspapers document discussion about Maryhill’s closure in 1985 and its aborted

redevelopment in the 1990s, indicating the lack of facilities in the North area of the city (City of Glasgow Town Clerk's Office 1991a; 1991b). The new facility finally opened in 2010.

Govanhill Baths' closure in 2001 has garnered most attention (Mooney & Fyfe 2006; Paddison & Sharp 2007). Residents of the area were not fully consulted prior to the pool closing, and a 141 day occupation began that was forcibly ended by Sheriff's officers acting for Glasgow City Council. Similar to pool campaigns elsewhere in the UK (Williams 2004; Beauchampé 2013), action motivated formation of a Community Trust that has recently gained funding for the baths to reopen (Govanhill Baths Community Trust 2015; The Prince's Regeneration Trust 2015). Therefore, whether this facility will be 'public' or managed as an exclusive private membership facility similar to the Western and Arlington Baths remains to be seen.

Certainly, the 'public' status of 'Public' pools is already equivocal. Since 2007 'Public' pools have been managed by the arm's-length external organisation (or ALEO) Culture and Sport Glasgow, rebranded in 2010 as Glasgow Life (for a general commentary refer to Gordon Nesbitt 2008; 2011). Glasgow Life receives management fees from Glasgow City Council together with funds to run the facilities; users are encouraged to take out monthly membership of 'the Glasgow Club'. However, unlike many of the clubs identified as 'Commercial', there is no requirement to pay a membership and swimming can be free for people aged 5-18 and over 60.¹¹

In contrast to expectations, over the last 100 years the number of public pool buildings has remained stable: initially focused in the central area of the city, they have gradually come to cover the land area now identified as Glasgow City Council. However, there are fewer pools in the council estate because the form of facilities altered, early facilities tended to have separate pools for men and woman rather than one unisex pool. Also, recently built or refurbished pools, such as Maryhill and North Woodside, are shallow and do not allow for

¹¹ Swimming is free for: those between 5-12 years in possession of a Glasgow Kidz Card; those between 12-18 years that have a Glasgow Young Scot Card; and Glasgow residents aged 60 or older. Glasgow Kidz and Glasgow Young Scot card are free to apply for (although the Young Scot Card requires the applicant to be in full time education) – (Glasgow Life 2015a)

diving. Despite there still being a large number of facilities, these changes to form can be seen to limit a range of swimming activity.

3.3 Construction and closure of educational pools

There are different forms of educational pool, university, further education (college) and school. The school pools themselves can also be usefully defined in relation to whether they are housed in a primary, secondary or additional support for learning (ASL) schools. University and further education (college) facilities tend to cater for people with an affiliation to these organisations and have limited public access. Whereas, it is possible to ‘let’ school facilities for a nominal charge and until 2015 one of the 12 school pools (Holyrood) had limited public opening hours.¹²

There was no formal programme of higher education pool building, but all of the five further and higher education swimming pools were built within the same decade. The two pools that remain open are in the main campuses of the two main universities, Glasgow (opened 1969) and Strathclyde (opened circa 1962). Glasgow is exclusively for use by staff, students and alumni of the university whereas, similar to the commercial pools, Strathclyde’s position in the city centre enables it to also cater for people that work in the area.

Jordanhill College of Education became part of the University of Strathclyde in 1993. The College had two pools, the main one was opened by the queen in 1963 (Jordanhill College of Education 1963) and the other training pool was built around 1972 (Jordanhill College of Education 1976). The former was used by the staff and the local school and both were used to teach physical education. The pools closed in 2000 and 2004 respectively in advance of the full closure of the building (2012) with the former pool demolished in 2004 (Buie 2000). The College of Nautical Studies pool opened in 1969 and at a depth of 3 metres could accommodate tuition in deep sea diving – it shut August 2013 in advance of a merger with

¹² The closure was ascertained by calling Holyrood about their opening times in 2015.

two other colleges.¹³ Clearly, the provision for swimming in higher education has declined despite increases in the numbers of people going to university and college.

There have been clearly defined programmes of school swimming pool openings and closures. The first school pool was built next to Bellahouston Academy in 1885 by Govan School Board, subsequently the board built a further seven pools during the construction of new schools between 1885 and 1904 (O'Brien 2010, p.211). Govan is now identified as south of the River Clyde although Govan Parish School Board (1972-1918) extended north into the area now known as Partick as illustrated within Figure 5. The relative lack of public pools in that area in 1900 may be because school pools were also routinely used by the public – a relationship that continued with Church Street School until its closure in 1997 (O'Brien 2010).

[Insert Figure5.tiff – single column] Figure 5: School swimming pools in Glasgow focussing on the area covered by Govan School Board

Different incarnations of the council, either as districts (1975-1996) or Glasgow Corporation (until 1975) or School Boards (1872-1918) have managed the school estate. The estates of primary, nursery and ASL schools are now managed by Glasgow City Council (by Education Estates)¹⁴ with the secondary estate managed by Amey as part of the consortium 3ED, the other members being the bank Halifax plc and the construction company Miller Group.¹⁵ The primary, nursery and Additional Support for Learning estate was recently rationalised as part of the Pre-12 strategy that involves mergers of schools and their accommodation in new buildings, together with refurbishment and also closures of existing buildings (Evening Times

¹³ The merger, with the Central College Glasgow and Glasgow Metropolitan College, resulted in the City of Glasgow College (City of Glasgow College representative Pers Comm 19 July 2013).

¹⁴ Since 2009 Education Estates school janitorial responsibilities have been contracted to Cordia (Cordia (Services)LLP) (Previously part of Direct and Care Services).

¹⁵ In 2010 Glasgow City Council transferred the management rights of over 1,400 income generating properties to City Property Glasgow (LLP) an 'arm's length external organisation' [loan of £120m from Barclays bank]. The management relates to commercial property, that is, industrial, office and retail. Where secondary schools are still active they are still owned by the Council and leased to 3ED. If a school was to become disused it would be passed to City Property. Glasgow Life swimming pools are still active properties and therefore are still managed and maintained by Glasgow Life on behalf of the Council.

2009; Bailey & Asenova 2011): resulting in the closure of pools in Greenfield and St Cuthbert's Primary schools': with the former made into housing (façade retained) and latter demolished (summer 2013).¹⁶

The five Primary schools and ASL schools pools still managed by Education Estates are in operation although four all west of centre were recently mooted for closure, including the two remaining Victorian baths built by Govan School Board in the primary schools Lorne St and St Bride's (McLeod 2013). Although, it is now claimed these will not be closed (Education Estates Pers Comm 5 September 2013; Stewart 2013). There are also dedicated hydrotherapy facilities, for pupils that required additional support for physical needs.

Although Bellahouston (1885) was the first school to have a pool. The broader geographic spread of school pools from the late 1960s came with new secondary school building and additions to schools (Scottish Executive and COSLA 2003). A report by the building study group prepared for and on behalf of Glasgow Corporation recommends that schools have pools, and, together with other facilities such as theatres and drama studies, these could be accessible to the public – and perhaps be shared by community centres (Corporation of Glasgow – Education Department 1971). This report was positioned as “the basis of a brief for the building of a new school” providing a clear suggestion that school swimming pools were considered to be a publicly available resource (Corporation of Glasgow – Education Department 1971, p.3).

Schools often change names, or can retain names and shift location. The massive programme of school restructuring in Glasgow, Project 2002, means that between 1998 and 2002 many schools have been relocated (refer to Poole and Mooney 2006). Project 2002 reduced Glasgow City Council's school estate from 38 to 29 secondary schools (Scottish Executive Private Finance Unit Undated) in response to the poor state of much of the secondary estate and a declining school role resulting from depopulation of outlying areas (McCabe et al. 2001; Fitzgerald and Melvin 2002). The consortium 3ED are responsible for fulfilling the contract until 2029.

¹⁶ This is also accompanied by targeted investment courtesy of the '4Rs Strategy' – Right School, Right Size, Right Place and Right Time.

[Insert Figure6.tiff – 1.5 column] Figure 6: The 20 swimming pools in the Glasgow secondary school estate. Glasgow Corporation were responsible for building of the bulk of the estate (18 pools) 1963-1976 and Glasgow City Council closed 12 pools as a result of Project 2002 (Refer to Appendix A for sources).

As Figure 6 illustrates the seven secondary schools (of 30 currently open schools listed at Glasgow City Council 2015a) that contain swimming pools. Five were constructed with the school and two (Shawlands and St Roch's) during major additions. The oldest pool in the secondary estate, Bellhouston (1885), is now derelict. All but one of the other pools were all built 1963-1976.¹⁷ Project 2002 radically altered school pool provision – with closure of 12 pools of 20.

Indeed, school pools were deliberately closed by this project. Although many of the schools remained in the same location, the new building was built on existing playing fields and the original school then demolished to reinstate the playing fields. This action, profitable to the construction company, meant that six schools that remained roughly in their original location no longer have pools. Of the nine schools that were completely closed, seven had swimming pools. These facilities are lost to people attending and working in the school and the surrounding residents. Although schools can use Glasgow Life facilities, and similarly the eight independent schools rely on private leisure services to meet swimming needs, how such arrangements function in practice have not been investigated.

Latest UK Treasury figures identify Project 2002 at the ninth UK PFI Schools project of 214, although at a capital cost of £225 million it is still the second biggest (HM Treasury 2012). Despite its size, Project 2002 prompts consideration of whether there has been a more general downgrading of school facilities via provision of services as a result of private investment (McLauchlan & Lee, forthcoming). It also suggests there may be need to further investigate the outcome of the continuing promotion of private investment in school building and upgrading in light of recent decline in swimming uptake.

4. CONCLUSIONS

¹⁷ No information could be found regarding the build date of John Bosco Secondary's pool.

Examining spatial geographies of swimming provision revealed that, rather than an expected decline, the number of public pool buildings in Glasgow has remained stable over the last 100 years. Progressive ‘replacement’ of pools led them to become more spread out in relation to the altering council administration. Despite the number of buildings being the same there are fewer public swimming pools due to changes to the form of facilities. Alongside this, there has been development, particularly around the city centre, of commercial facilities; mostly smaller pools in hotels which accommodate the spa market.

The baths at Govanhill, as with other historic swimming spaces in the UK, continues to gain media and public attention. Around the same time as Govanhill’s closure in 2001, almost two thirds (12 of 20) of the secondary school pools, built 1963-1976, were demolished or taken out of operation. The PFI project that motivated this change is one of 214 in the UK, therefore it is expected that loss of facilities is more widespread.

Certainly, there was no effective public discussion about these closures despite the original ambition that school swimming pools would serve surrounding communities. There may be many interrelated reasons for this disparity in debate about the closure of one historic pool building as opposed to 12 school pools. Perhaps lack of awareness of school pool being shut or the difficulty for people to comprehend closures that were part of a school rationalisation process. Certainly, this decline in services supports the need for further reviews of primary and secondary school pupils’ access to pools (Littlefield et al. 2011) particularly because the council no longer directly manages its swimming facilities.

This study focussed on spatial patterning of swimming pools in the Glasgow context through time. As such, it provides a basis from which other geographies, in particular people’s interaction in or “the distinct and differing character of [swimming] spaces (Purvis 2004, p.34) can be explored. Further investigations can draw from in-depth work in social history derived from the US context (Wiltse 2004, Adiv 2014; 2015). Indeed, there is capacity for it to transcend simple observations about spatial patterning and connect to literature in urban political geography (for example, Boyle et al. 2008).

Importantly, reviewing all pools, not just those identified as ‘public’ or municipal, revealed and located formal (Govan Parish Plan or Project 2002) and informal (the city centre building

of hotel pools) programmes of pool openings and closures. This geographical study acknowledges the trend for increasing management of the UK's public services by arm's-length external organisations and private companies which have yet untold implications for the accessibility of swimming and other sport provision. However, it also highlighted philanthropic involvement in the construction of historic pools and thus an ongoing blurring between the identification of something as 'private', 'commercial' or 'public'.

[Insert AppendixA] APPENDIX A: MAP FEATURES SOURCE AND LICENCING DETAILS

REFERENCES¹⁸

Addison, W. (1951) *English Spas* (London, New York, Toronto, Sidney: Batsford).

Adiv, N. (2015) Paidia meets Ludus: New York City Municipal Pools and the Infrastructure of Play, *Social Science History*, vol. 39 (3), pp. 431-452.

N. Adiv (2014) *The Amphibious Public: A historical geography of municipal swimming and bathing New York City, 1870 – 2013*. PhD Dissertation City University New York.

Bailey, S.J. & Asenova, D. (2011) A Case Study of Glasgow's Use of the Prudential Borrowing Framework (PBF) for Schools Rationalisation, *Local Government Studies*, vol. 37 (4), pp. 429-449.

Beauchampé, S. (2013) *Pool of Memories – A History of Moseley Road Baths* (Birmingham: Friends of Moseley Road Baths).

Bilsborough, P. (1988) *One Hundred Years of Scottish Swimming* (Edinburgh: Scottish Amateur Swimming Association).

¹⁸ [All internet sources were available 21 July 2015 unless otherwise stated.]

Boyle, M., McWilliams, C. & Rice, G. (2008) The spatialities of actually existing neoliberalism in Glasgow, 1977 to present, *Geografisk Annaler Series B*, vol. 90(4), pp.313-325.

Buie, E (2000) 'Housing plans for city campus; Strathclyde University to sell part of Jordanhill site', *The Herald (Glasgow)*, 6 Apr., p. 10.

Bulletin (1991) 'A wonder weed for woodside: new sports centre is unique', *Bulletin*, May, pp. 15-16.

Burnside, A. (2012) 'Pooling together: Govanhill Baths complex is reviving a Glasgow community', *Scotsman*, 12 Oct. (Friday).

Campbell, D.M. (1993) *Scottish Baths 1868-1914 and their conservation*. Submitted for the degree of M.Sc. in Architectural Conservation. Conservation Unit, Department of Architecture, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh.

City of Glasgow Town Clerk's Office (1991a) Memorandum to Mr J Campbell, Depute Town Clerk, North Area Management Committee, Joint use with Strathclyde Regional Council of public swimming facilities. 1 Feb.

City of Glasgow Town Clerk's Office (1991b) Memorandum to Mrs Frances Rikus, North Area Co-ordinator, North Area Management Committee, Joint use with Strathclyde Regional Council of public swimming facilities. 7 Mar.

Corporation of Glasgow – Education Department (1971) *New Secondary Schools: Second Report by the School Building Study Group –1971* (Glasgow, Glasgow Corporation Printing Department).

Daily Record (1997) 'Budget of Cuts and Closures; Cuts in Glasgow council are aimed at saving pounds 80,700,000, and could cost up to 2000 jobs', *Daily Record*, 11 March (Tuesday), p. 2.

de Main, H. (ed) (2015) *United We Will Swim: 100 Years of Govanhill Baths*, (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited)

Dickinson, G. (2000) The use of the Loch Lomond area for recreation, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, vol. 116 (3), pp. 231–244.

Evening Times (2003) ‘Timespast: Steamie, Rutherglen Road, 1970’, *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 17 Apr.

Evening Times (2009) ‘Where Schools Axe Is Falling’, *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 20 Jan., p. 6.

Evening Times (2012) ‘Steamie tales of washday blues’, *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 27 Apr., p. 15.

Fitzgerald, E. & Melvin, D. (2002) The UK private finance initiative and Glasgow schools, *Facilities*, vol. 20(3/4), pp. 119-126.

Glasgow City Archives (2015) ‘Department of Education D-ED 5/28/4/5’ [Online] Available at: <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSA02031>

Glasgow City Council (2015a) ‘Our Schools’ [Online] Available at: <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=8632>

Glasgow City Council (2015b) ‘Planning: Simple Search’ [Online] Available at: <https://publicaccess.glasgow.gov.uk/online-applications/>

Glasgow Corporation (1960) *Glasgow Corporation Baths and Wash-Houses: Annual Report. Year Ended 31st May 1960*, Glasgow.

Glasgow Corporation (1961) *Glasgow Corporation Baths and Wash-Houses: Annual Report. Year Ended 31st May 1961*, Glasgow.

Glasgow Life (2015a) 'Glasgow Sport: I want to Swim' [Online] Available at:
<http://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/sport/swimming/swim/Pages/default.aspx/Pages/home.aspx>

Glasgow Life (2015b) 'Glasgow Sport: Glasgow Club North Woodside Pool' [Online]
Available at: <http://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/sport/our-facilities/swimming-pools/north-woodside/Pages/home.aspx>

Glasgow Life (2015c) 'Tollcross International Swimming Centre: Tollcross Swimming Pools, 2014' [Online] Available at: <http://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/sport/glasgow-club/Tollcross%20International%20SwiJCEmmy%20Centre/Pages/Tollcross-Swimming-Pools.aspx>

Glasgow University Archives (1808) A plan of William Harley's baths, demonstrating the strict segregation of the sexes', dated 13 Dec. 1808 [PHU64/278].

Gordon, I. & Inglis, S. (2009) Great Lengths: The historic indoor swimming pools of Britain Swindon: Malavan Media Ltd).

Gordon Nesbitt, R. (2008) The New Bohemia, Variant, vol. 32 (Summer), pp. 5-8.

Gordon Nesbitt, R. (2011) Glasgow Life or Death, Variant, vol. 41 (Spring), pp. 15-20.

Govan Press (1982) 'Baths demo over plan', Govan Press, 16 July., p. 3.

Govanhill Baths Community Trust (2015) 'Govanhill Baths Community Trust' [Online] Available at: <http://www.govanhillbaths.com>

Granville, A.B. (1841[1971]) The Spas of England, and principal sea-bathing places [two volumes, 1. Northern Space; 2. The midlands and the south] (London, Henry Colburn).

Hembry, P. (1990) The English Spa 1560-1815: A Social History (London: The Athlone Press).

HM Treasury, PFI signed projects list: March 2012 (2012).
<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/pfi-projects-data> (consulted 21 July 2015).

House, J. [illustrated by Eadie, R.] (1913) *The plumber in Glasgow: the history of the firm of Hugh Twaddle & Son, Ltd., 130-132 London Road Glasgow, from 1848 to 1948* (Glasgow: Privately printed by Robert Maclehose and Co. Limited).

Holt, R. (1989) *Sport and the British: A Modern Future* (Oxford).

Jordanhill College of Education(1963) *Opening of Crawford Building Gameshall • Swimming Pool by Her Majesty the Queen accompanied by His Royal Highness Prince Philip Duke of Edinburgh on Wednesday, 3rd July* (Glasgow: McCorquodale & Co., Ltd).

Jordanhill College of Education (1976) JCE/1/14: Jordanhill College of Education Board of Governors Minutes of meetings, 1971-1976.

Lamb, K.E., Ferguson, N.S., Wang, Y., Ogilvie, D. & Ellaway, A. (2010) Distribution of physical activity facilities in Scotland by small area measures of deprivation and urbanicity, *International Journal of Behavioural Nutrition and Physical Activity*, vol. 7, pp. 1-8.

Landreth, J. (2013) 'Let's pool our resources to save our historic swimming baths', *The Swimming Blog*, 29 Oct. [Online] Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/the-swimming-blog/2013/oct/29/pool-historic-swimming-baths-network-lido>

Littlefield, R., Green, B., Forsyth, S. & Sharp, B. (2006) Physical education in Scottish schools – A national case study, *European Journal of Physical Education*, vol. 8, pp. 211-227.

Lockhart, A.M. (c1938) Dr. Thomas Menzies and Glasgow's Early Public Baths, in: A. Aitken (ed.) *Old Glasgow Club Transactions Session 1937-1938* (Glasgow) [Appears in Vol VIII of the *Old Glasgow Club Transactions* as an insert between pages 56 and 57 (not listed in index). Held in the Glasgow Collection of the Mitchell Library]

Love, C. (2007) *A Social History of Swimming in England, 1800-1918: Splashing in the Serpentine* (London: Routledge).

Macintyre, S., Macdonald, L. & Ellaway, A. (2008) Do poorer people have poorer access to local resources and facilities? The distribution of local resources by area deprivation in Glasgow, Scotland, *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 67, pp. 900-914.

Mann, W.M. (1993) *The Baths: the story of the Western Baths, Hillhead from 1876 to 1990* [with additional material by Jack House] (Glasgow: Western Baths Club).

McArthur, L. (2013) 'Why does it have to be different for girls?; Steamie talk', *Daily Record & Sunday Mail (National Edition)*, 10 Aug., p. 3.

McCabe, B., McKendrick, J. & Keenan, J. (2001) PFI in Schools – Pass or Fail?, *Journal of Finance and Management in Public Services*, vol. 1, pp. 63-74.

McCallum, F. (2001) 'Me And My Job - Careers; Jim's New Post Is Working Out Fine', *The Express*, 22 Feb., p. 70.

McLauchlan, A. (2016) *Glasgow's swimming pools 1804-2014*. University of Leeds. [Dataset]. <http://doi.org/10.5518/118>

McLauchlan, A. & Lee, R. (forthcoming) Public facilities and public geographies: Glasgow's swimming pools. In: D. Miller, L. Brown, W. Dinan, & L. Stavinoha (eds) *Researching the Powerful: Public Sociology in Action* (London; Routledge).

Mcleod, K. (2013) 'Round to save St Bride's swimming pool', *STV News*, 6 Feb. 12:00 GMT, [Online] Available at: <http://local.stv.tv/glasgow/magazine/212911-st-brides-pool-on-craigie-street-under-threat-of-closure-from-council/>

Middleton, V.T.C. [with Lickorish, L.J.] (2005) *British Tourism: The Remarkable Story of Growth* (Oxford, Burlington MA; Butterworth-Heinemann).

Mooney, G. & Fyfe, N. (2006) New Labour and Community Protests: the Case of the Govanhill Swimming Pool Campaign, *Glasgow, Local Economy*, vol. 21(2), pp. 136-150

Nicoll, V. (2012) 'Leak keeps historic city pool shut', Evening Times (Glasgow), 19 Nov., p. 11.

O'Brien, G. (2010) Played in Glasgow: Charting the heritage of a city at play (London; Malavan Media Ltd).

Paddison R. & Sharp, J. (2007) Questioning the end of public space: Reclaiming control of local banal spaces, Scottish Geographical Journal, vol. 123(2), pp. 87-106.

Poole L. & Mooney, G. (2006) Privatizing education in Scotland? New Labour, modernization and 'public' services, Critical Social Policy, vol. 26(3), pp. 562-586.

Purvis, M. (2004) Geography and Sustainable Development. In M. Purvis and A. Grainger (eds) Exploring Sustainable Development: Geographical Perspectives (London, Sterling VA; Earthscan Publication Limited).

Scott, D. (1982) 'Baths shock shut down', Govan Press, 16 Apr. p.1.

Scottish Executive and COSLA (2003) 'Building Our Future: Scotland's School Estate' [Online] Available at: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2003/02/16251/17426>

Scottish Executive Private Finance Unit (Undated) 'PPP Datasheet: Glasgow Schools Project' [Online] Available at: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/1069/0005235.pdf>

Scottish Swimming (2011) Swimming Performance Plan 2005-2014 [Updated October 2011].

Sport Aston (2013) 'The National Historic Pools Network' [Online] Available at: <http://www.aston.ac.uk/prospective-students/sport/news/the-national-historic-pools-network/>

Sportengland (2015) 'Further swimming decline dominates latest sports figures', 11 June [Online] Available at: <http://www.sportengland.org/media-centre/news/2015/june/11/further-decline-in-swimming-numbers-dominate-latest-sports-figures/>

Sportscotland (2015) 'Putting sport first' [Online] Available at:

<https://www.sportscotland.org.uk/>

Sprawson, C. (1993) *Haunts of the Black Masseur - The Swimmer as Hero* (London: Vintage).

Stewart, C. (2013) 'New hope for 4 city swimming pools', *Evening Times (Glasgow)*, 4 Oct., pp. 19.

The Glasgow Herald (1937) 'Glasgow Baths Closed. Pollokshields Company's Difficulties. Position of Other Private Clubs', *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 Jan. pp. 11.

The Herald (Glasgow) (1994) 'Attempt to save 'steamie'', *The Herald (Glasgow)*, 1 July, p. 3.

The Prince's Regeneration Trust (2015) 'Govanhill Baths Receives £1.2 million Lottery funding', 28 Sep. [Online] Available at: <http://www.princes-regeneration.org/news/govanhill-baths-receives-12million-lottery-funding>

Thomson, H., Kearns, A. & Petticrew, M. (2003) Assessing the health impact of local amenities: a qualitative study of contrasting experiences of local swimming pool and leisure provision in two areas of Glasgow, *Journal Epidemiology and Community Health*, vol. 57, pp. 663-667.

Throsby, K. (2013) If I go in a cranky sea lion, I come out like a smiling dolphin: marathon swimming and the unexpected pleasures of being a body in water, *Feminist Review*, vol. 103, pp. 5-22.

Virtual Mitchell (2015) 'C75, Kennyhill, 1913, Kennyhill House, indoor swimming pool and gymnasium' [Online] Available at: <http://www.mitchelllibrary.org/virtualmitchell/index.php?a=district&s=item&key=dYToxOntpOjA7czo5OiJLZW5ueWhpbGwiO30=&pg=10>

Williams, P. (2004) *Victoria Baths: Manchester's Water Palace* (Manchester: Spire Books Ltd).

Wiltse, J. (2007) *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press).