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**THE IMPACT OF COMPULSORY COMPETITIVE
TENDERING ON THE ROLE OF
THE LOCAL AUTHORITY LEISURE PROFESSIONAL**

by

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A Doctoral Thesis

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**This thesis is dedicated to the memory of
Professor Sue Glyptis, Department of P.E., Sports Science
and Recreation Management, Loughborough University.**

**Her support, knowledge and humour will always be
remembered.**

ABSTRACT**The impact of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) on the role of the local authority leisure professional**

The principal aim of this thesis is to establish the extent of the impact of the introduction of CCT on the changing role of the local authority leisure professional. CCT was introduced into the management of local authority leisure facilities in phased stages between January 1st 1992 and January 1st 1993, following the publication of the Parliamentary Order (Competition in Sports and Leisure Facilities, November 1989). As a policy it was one of a series of measures implemented by the Government in the 1980s and early 1990s to reduce the power of local authorities and reform the processes, systems and structures of these institutions.

Change initiated at this structural level, stimulated change at the operational and individual levels of the policy process and it is at this individual or 'agency' level that this thesis is most concerned. The empirical work undertaken to identify the impact of CCT at the agency level was based on 26 in-depth qualitative surveys administered on local authority leisure professionals who had worked in leisure services between the mid 1980s and 1998.

At the individual level, the research considered in detail the role of the leisure professional as s/he was both a participant and spectator in the implementation of CCT. Individual officers' responses to the implementation were mediated by factors such as training, background, previous work experiences and the contextual local authority situation within which they found themselves.

The findings demonstrate that the dominant values in the institutional environments within which leisure professionals operated, changed significantly with CCT as 'goal governance' and 'competitive individualism' came to the fore. Within this often aggressive and competitive environment, the implementation of CCT resulted in staffing restructuring and realignment of responsibilities and there was severe pressure to achieve the policy requirements. Relationships between colleagues became strained

and some elements of leisure provision suffered as a result. Terms and conditions of employment deteriorated and many staff became de-motivated and disillusioned. However, in some instances CCT was seen as beneficial as it gave officers opportunities for career enhancement, it led to the development of generic leisure managers and heightened the profile of the leisure professional.

Thus, CCT had a huge impact on local authority leisure professionals, as it imposed significant constraints and inhibitions on officers in their working relationships and environment. However, it also enabled some officers to advance within the leisure management industry and benefit from improved employment opportunities and heightened status. CCT as a policy both constrained and enabled leisure professionals. It was at the individual level that these constraining and enabling effects were most felt although previous research has given scant recognition to the human resource implication of CCT implementation through statistical analyses of outcomes. This research, however, recognises that one should use statistics "*for support rather than illumination*" (Lang as quoted in Cohen, 1960) and in so doing underlines the importance of the 'bottom up' approach to policy analysis where the emphasis is on the role of the individual in the policy process.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION - THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF THE CONTEXT OF LEISURE POLICY

1.1 THE ESSENCE OF THE ENQUIRY

1.1.1 Five key questions

The main concern of this thesis is to establish the extent of the impact of compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) on the role of the Public Sector leisure professional. The particular group of 'leisure professionals' the thesis focuses on is those officers who work in sports and recreation-related functions and does not encompass officers who have a wider brief in areas such as the arts, ground maintenance etc. In providing an introduction to this thesis it is useful to consider the five key questions identified by Mason (1997) as being essential in gaining an understanding of the essence of this enquiry.

The first two questions centre on the ontological and epistemological issues of the *"nature of the phenomena"* and *"the social reality"* under investigation and how the knowledge and evidence of these are represented. Further essential considerations are the *"broad substantive area"* of the research, the nature of the research questions and the purpose of the research project itself (Mason, 1997, pp10-18).

These five issues taken in their entirety represent, according to Mason (1997), *"a rigorous way"* (p18) to establish the rationale for a research thesis and used here in the introduction, will both set the agenda and inform the reader of the purpose of this thesis.

1.1.2 The nature of the phenomenon

In addressing the first of the issues, it is important to establish the ontological perspective of the research. In the social world of the leisure professional, the

position taken in this thesis is one that underlines the importance of the actions and the reactions of individuals. It is also recognised that 'social reality' for the leisure professional was strongly influenced by the structures within which they operated.

Giddens (1979) clarified this position in his Structuration Theory, which considered human actions and interactions, how these were conceptualised and the relationship of the individuals to the institution. He considered that the relationship between the individual and society, between 'agency' and 'structure', was central. In this context, the leisure professional was both a participant in and spectator of the changes which occurred at the agency and structural levels as a result of CCT. S/he was a very important actor in the CCT policy process and operated as an initiator, communicator and implementor of CCT policy at the local authority level.

The leisure professional faced significant changes post-CCT in terms of perceptions of roles and working relationships and also in the nature and character of his/her interaction with the working environment. Individual leisure professional's responses to the changes brought on by CCT were influenced by their education, training, background, status, previous work experiences and the contextual local authority situation within which they found themselves at the time of CCT implementation. But to make sense of the leisure professional's response and reaction to CCT implementation, it must also be recognised that the individual did not operate independently. To fully understand the phenomena under investigation it is important to appreciate that the leisure professional operationalised CCT policy within a structural context. An appreciation of such a context is provided by academics researching into policy process (Gordon, Lewis and Young 1993, Gunn 1980, Levitt 1980, Minogue 1993, Younis 1993).

One model, which provides a simple and accessible understanding of the levels of policy process, is that put forward by Houlihan (1991), and it is this which provides a structure for this thesis.

Drawing on Houlihan's work, three levels can be clearly identified in policy process analysis.

- i) The macro level which gives a broadly based analysis relating to the structure of power in society.
- ii) The meso level with the focus on the organisation.
- iii) The micro level where the emphasis is on the actor at the individual level.

The leisure professional pre- and post-CCT operated within a societal structure at the macro level that included social and professional associations, political networks and alliances. At the meso level, departmental hierarchies, functional roles and organisational responsibilities were to the fore. At both the macro and meso levels, political and institutional norms, behaviour, rules and resources both *"enabled and constrained"* (Blaikie, 1993, p73) the behaviour of the leisure professional.

To summarise, from an ontological standpoint, the 'social reality' under consideration in this thesis was produced by the leisure professionals themselves, and was in fact a series of multiple realities in which each individual officer was able to provide his/her own view of the reality of working in a competitive leisure environment. Thus, the agenda for this research study, was based on the premise that leisure professionals reproduced social realities within complex organisational local authority structures, which in turn were *"enabled and constrained"* by a powerful political institution at the societal level, i.e. central government.

1.1.3 The basis of the knowledge and the evidence

In response to the epistemological question posed by Mason (1997), this study draws upon the research and writings of a range of commentators in the disciplinary fields of politics, management theory, sociology and leisure policy. This is discussed as a background in the literature review and is concerned with:

- i) Determining a macro political and historical context as debated by Coalter (1988) and Henry (1993). This serves to highlight the unique features of CCT as a leisure policy.
- ii) Managerialism and professionalisation in leisure management.
The mesa context of CCT implementation is viewed through consideration of material written on managerialism and professionalisation in local authorities and local authority leisure services. This serves to fix the ambient conditions for the introduction of CCT, as the old administrative state gave way to a new management style in the Public Sector (Lane, 1995). In this scenario leisure management demonstrated an increasing professionalisation.
- iii) The debate between academics on policy process analysis.
Recent research has demonstrated the significance of the individual in the policy process and the role of the 'street level bureaucrat' (Lipsky, 1980) is central to this research study.

The empirical focus of the thesis is based upon a series of in-depth qualitative interviews conducted in person with 26 local authority leisure professionals in the period June to September 1998. The results are reported in sequential format based on the levels of policy process analysis as identified by Houlihan (1991). They consider the strategic context of change; the implications of CCT policy implementation at both mesa and micro level; changes in the work content and conditions and finally the impact of changes on the individual leisure professional.

1.1.4 The broad substantive area

The broad substantive area of this thesis is government leisure policy with two identifiable but interrelated policy communities operating in this field, i.e. central and local government. Drawing from sources such as Hill (1997) and Houlihan (1991) a 'policy community' is any organised group or social body having a common interest in terms of shared values, perceptions and goals.

One of the most important facets of central government as a policy community from the point of view of CCT implementation was the very strong consensus of opinion by the ruling Conservative party on the need to introduce a free market economy. The political goal shared by Thatcher and the Conservative Government was the desire to reform local authorities as it was thought they were *"highly inefficient in the provision of their services"* (Cooke, 1994, p231).

The policy community of local government, on the other hand, viewed the imposition of CCT from a range of standpoints which reflected *"the full spectrum of anticipation and concern which prevailed at the time"*. (Cooke, 1994, p233)

The resultant mismatch in perceptions between central and local government was a crucial feature of the inter-organisational relationships of CCT.

1.1.5 Causes and influences

The fourth issue highlighted by Mason (1997) was the necessity to clarify the causes and influences of a particular phenomenon, in this instance the causes and influences of CCT on the role of the local authority leisure professional. In order to understand this phenomenon the following aims were addressed, i.e.

- i) To identify pre- and post-CCT the dominant values in the cultural and political strategic (supra-national and national) environments in which leisure professionals operated.

- ii) To evaluate the nature and causes of the changes in the attitudes, values, beliefs and roles of leisure professionals when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management work environments and regimes.
- iii) To analyse the significance of the impact of CCT on the changing role of the leisure professional.

These three key issues were used as vehicles upon which to base a subsequent more extensive exploration of the research topic and research process and as a result, a series of detailed research questions were prepared and these were classified as either descriptive or explanatory. They were as follows:

A) Descriptive questions

- i) What was the role of the leisure professional in the management of local authority leisure services in the two periods under examination i.e. 1979 to 1988 and from 1988 onwards?
- ii) What were the attitudes, values and beliefs held by leisure professionals in the pre-1988 period and how did these differ from the attitudes etc., held by leisure professionals in the post-1988 era?
- iii) What was the nature and extent of the change and how did this influence the manner in which the leisure professionals fulfilled their duties and responsibilities?
- iv) In terms of "*core job dimensions*" and "*critical psychological states*" (Bryman, 1995, p10) how did leisure professionals perceive their own individual personal fulfilment and job satisfaction levels before the introduction of CCT and how did these differ from the perceptions of leisure professionals in the period following 1988?
- v) What were the dominant values in the broader cultural and organisational environments within which leisure professionals operated? Had these shown any evidence of change in the 1980s before the onset of CCT?

What have been the dominant values in the environments in the period following CCT implementation?

B) Explanatory questions

- vi) Have changes been as a result of CCT or other government policy changes or is it a reflection of a broader shift in cultural, institutional and organisational norms?
- vii) Have the structural changes acted as a mediating factor in the process of change in the values etc. of leisure professionals?
- viii) Have the changes in attitudes, values and beliefs of leisure professionals been as a result of changing individual perceptions based on age, gender, training, background etc., or organisational change or can it be directly attributable to the introduction of CCT?
- ix) What have been the results of the introduction of CCT? What has been the effect on leisure professionals? How do they perceive their core job dimensions and critical psychological states as a result of working in a competitive environment?
- x) As a result of analysing the above, how far can the changes in the role of leisure professionals be attributed to the introduction of CCT?

1.1.6 Rationale for the study

Addressing Mason's (1997) final key issue, the purpose of the research is twofold.

- i) To extend and increase the theoretical understanding of an area of leisure policy which has resulted in fundamental changes in the way in which public leisure services are provided in the United Kingdom (UK) and the impact of these profound changes on the individual leisure professional. Cooke commented in 1994 that

"...the announcement that leisure services would be subjected to CCT prompted a whole plethora of literature concerned with the economic advantages and disadvantages of CCT and how the exercise would ultimately affect the provision of services. There is significantly less being written now." (p238)

This is particularly the case with regard to the human resource impact of CCT implementation and this thesis is aimed at highlighting and extending this debate.

- ii) The researcher has a substantive interest in the impact of CCT on leisure professionals as it related to her work as a local authority leisure professional between 1980 and 1992.

It is important to understand the implications of the three interrelated aims outlined above (Section 1.1.5) by way of an introduction to this thesis and the following three sections set the agenda for more detailed discussions in subsequent chapters.

1.2 THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTS WITHIN WHICH LEISURE PROFESSIONALS OPERATED PRE- AND POST-CCT

This section considers in more detail the most relevant aspects of the three interrelated aims outlined in Section 1.1.5, namely the dominant cultural and political environments pre- and post-CCT; the changing attitudes of leisure professionals and the impact of CCT on his/her role.

1.2.1 The supra-national environment

In discussing the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional, it is important to consider trends at the supra-national level, as these give explanation to the changes in the cultural and political environment in the UK. A strong body of academic research by commentators such as Harvey (1989) and Lane (1995) have analysed changes in society in the economically advanced countries over the

past 50 years. The standardisation of 'modern' society of the 1930s - 1970s has been superseded by a concern for differences with individualism and entrepreneurialism to the fore. This 'postmodern' society with its emphasis on streamlined structures and processes, is the context within which Margaret Thatcher and her Conservative Governments of 1979 to 1991 endeavoured to restructure the Public Sector.

1.3 CHANGE AT THE MACRO LEVEL

1.3.1 The political environment in Britain

Leisure-related policies of both industrial and post-industrial societies are considered in the literature review and a series of themes are highlighted as being of particular relevance to current leisure policy initiatives such as CCT. Of particular importance, however, are the ideologies and policies of recent governments and these are addressed in detail in Chapter 2.

Thatcherism forms one of the most important themes in this analysis as Thatcher's Governments endeavoured to restructure and reform the Public Sector through the introduction of initiatives such as the sale of council houses, contracting out of local government services and the limiting of spending across all service areas. A notable aspect of this reform was the context within which it was undertaken. According to Curtis (1990) the ambient political condition which existed in the 1980s and early 1990s was that of adversarial politics.

In the 1950s and 1960s consensus politics was the agenda with all parties agreeing that there was a requirement for

"...full employment, adequate income, a mixed economy with private and public enterprise." (Curtis, 1999, p29)

Henry (1993) extends our understanding of the change from consensus to adversarial politics by attributing this change to an erosion of relationships at the local political level due to increasingly difficult social and economic circumstances.

A further factor in the development of adversarial politics was Margaret Thatcher. Her style as political leader in this period was aggressive and confrontational and the political movement she instigated reflected this.

Extensive discussions provided by Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993), Curtis (1990), and Stoker (1988) assist in explaining the utilitarian approach she had towards leisure. She saw leisure as a creator of jobs and it became an important political tool in her governments.

In broader terms, the 'New Right' movement led by Thatcher, as a political philosophy, emphasised a strong central government, the efficacy of the market and the management of local authorities on the lines of efficiency and economy (Stoker, 1988).

Henry (1993) drew attention to the following pieces of legislation which represented significant realignment of central government to the Thatcherite principles outlined above. The 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act introduced controls on local government spending and the concept of competition. The financial controls were extended by the 1982 Local Government Finance Act and the 1984 Rates Act. The 1988 Local Government Act introduced the requirements for a number of local authority services to be exposed to competition. These Acts reflected the Government's strategy of the time, which was one of control, guidance and direction of local government (Stoker, 1988).

1.3.2 CCT in the management of local authority services

The concepts and ideas put forward in the literature concerning CCT demonstrate a change in emphasis as CCT progressed. In 1988, the Local Government Act extended the concept of CCT into a range of local authority services and literature at that time considered the strategic alternatives.

The Act stipulated that a local authority would only be able to undertake certain 'defined activities' through its own labour force, i.e. the Direct Services Organisation (DSO), if the work had first been tendered and won in competition. The legislation created two distinct roles, i.e. the 'client' and the 'contractor'. The client planned and specified the service required through preparing the specifications, managing the tendering process, letting the contract and monitoring the work of the successful contractor. The contractor, who could be the DSO or an external private company, managed the contract and thus serviced the local authority. The DSO operated as a private contractor with the bid price as its budget. Stewart and Stoker writing at the time of the publication of the order (1989), summarised the connection between the client and DSO as being

"...separated off [] and whose relationship will be governed by the terms of the contract rather than by membership of the organisation or by hierarchical control." (p179)

Discussion in the period 1988-1990 centred on the strategic options which local authorities could adopt to implement CCT in leisure and other services, led by Audit Commission publications (1989, 1990).

The order extending competition to leisure management (1989) stimulated debate in the literature of an instructional nature (Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management 'Red Book', 1989). It considered the phased nature of the implementation of CCT between 1989 and 1992 and the range of local authority facilities affected, including sport centres, swimming pools, gymnasias and so on.

Considerable guidance was given on the need to separate the two 'arms' of the leisure service into client and contractor. The remit of both units and the legal and financial requirements of local authorities was discussed and written guidance given at this time by bodies such as the General and Municipal Boiler Makers Association (1990), the Sports Council (1990, 1992) and the Audit Commission (1988, 1989). The Audit Commission (1989, 1990) particularly, gave strong guidance on the strategic routes to take, the nature and scale of the service to be provided by the client and the DSO and the preparation of the specifications and contract documentation.

Although guidance was given, each authority had to determine its own strategic and tactical routes through implementation within the broad boundaries established by central government. Much of the work was thus undertaken in the authorities by leisure professionals working within these broad boundaries to very tight timescales. The Audit Commission (1990) published a management handbook aimed mainly at officers and members responsible for preparing an authority for the extension of CCT to the management of sport and leisure facilities to assist in this work.

Subsequent literature provided a more analytical perspective. For instance, Cooke (1994) commented that CCT

“...can lead to a deterioration in the payment of labour and in their general working conditions, particularly for the unskilled, as firms seek to promote cost savings. This can affect basic wage rates but has been found to be more likely to manifest itself in lower bonus payments and overtime rates...there may be less employee protection, an increase in redundancies and greater use of casual labour to avoid the payment of National Insurance contribution.” (p232)

On a more strategic note, Walsh (1995) provided an excellent commentary on the changing perspectives of public management since the mid-1980s and evaluated the

effects of contracting and competition across a range of services. He concluded that the use of contracts had only started to affect public service provision and

"...when it comes to have its full effect is likely to require fundamental changes in organisation and culture." (p137)

This study demonstrates that these fundamental changes in organisation and culture are key issues in the implementation of CCT.

1.4 CHANGE AT THE MESO LEVEL

Change at the meso level is considered through a focusing on evidence of the effects of New Managerialism and the professionalisation of leisure management on the implementation of CCT.

1.4.1 The transition from bureaucracy to New Managerialism

The transition from Rule Governance to Goal Governance (Lane, 1995) gave rise to a very significant phenomenon in local government management, i.e. the introduction of 'New Think' principles (Wilson and Game, 1994) with the emphasis on the consumer, performance measurement, internal markets and an accelerated rhythm of change. This transitory world was the environment within which the leisure professional operated pre- and post-CCT. A very salient point was made by Leach et al (1994), who commented that the transitory nature of Public Sector management from a traditional bureaucracy to New Managerialism, was characterised by an emphasis on economic rationale and

"...the most obvious and powerful expression of this phenomena (the transition) is the use of CCT measures in an increasing range of local authority activities." (p217)

with significant implications at the meso level in terms of the way in which local authorities were managed and policies operationalised.

New Managerialism is equally important at the micro level and according to Mather (1989) ultimately led service managers to become generic managers and

“...no longer would there be a need for narrow specialisation.” (p223)

1.4.2 The leisure profession in transition

Increasing recognition has been given to the processes of professionalisation of leisure management as a significant factor in the implementation of CCT.

Robinson (1999) emphasised that leisure management gained in credibility and status in the early 1990s as a result of the introduction of CCT. This is an essential element in the CCT equation. An evaluation of the transition of leisure management from being a ‘semi-profession’ to a profession, forms an important backdrop in the ensuing debate on the changing role of the leisure professional in local authority leisure services.

1.5 CHANGE AT THE MICRO LEVEL

Change at the individual level is concerned with issues such as the introduction of New Management techniques and skills, the professionalisation of leisure management as it affected the individual leisure manager and the importance of the individual in the CCT policy process.

1.5.1 New Managerialism

Fareham and Horton (1993) attributed the change in managerial style in the Public Sector to a series of government reports of the 1960s and 1970s such as the Maud Report (1967), which argued for policy integration and increased central control. In the 1960s the focus of the leisure professional had been on the provision of leisure opportunities through professionally specialised departments. In the 1970s and early 1980s corporate management took a much higher profile and in the 1980s and 1990s customer service management became of paramount importance. The new challenges of the 1980s and 1990s associated with customer service

management i.e. entrepreneurialism, innovation, efficiency, productivity were accompanied by the development of the 'New Manager'.

Wilson et al (1994) provided a succinct summary of the New Manager and the new techniques and skills s/he developed.

"The devolving of the budgets, the growth of performance targets and PR, the development of quality circles and team working, the use of IT to collect information and monitoring activity have all in different ways created new opportunities for senior managers to guide and steer the management of staff and resources within their authority. What is being developed is a different style of indirect management which creates a range of powerful tools for senior managers." (p239)

It was the use of these powerful tools which enabled leisure professionals to implement CCT.

1.5.2 Professionalisation

Leisure professionals of the 1980s and 1990s were increasingly better qualified and more assertive as the profile of entrants to the profession changed, in the main, from non-graduate to graduate. A review of the development of professionalisation of leisure management was provided by Henry (1993). He identified the link between increasing professionalisation and the implications of new leisure policy directions when he commented

"...changing policy orientations carry with them implications for the ways in which professionals view themselves and interrelate with politicians and users of services." (p136)

Leisure management is a relatively recent profession to emerge. IBRM (Institute of Baths and Recreation Management) was formed in 1921 and was the first professional body to be established in this field. This is very recent in comparison with the foundation of the learned professions e.g. the Royal College of Physicians 1518, and the Law Society 1825.

The concept of leisure management as a discipline in its own right came to be recognised in the 1960s but it was not until after the Yates Report (1984) that one single professional institute was formed from the Association of Recreation Managers, the Institute of Municipal Entertainment, the Institute of Parks and Recreation Management and the Institute of Recreation Management. The literature gave an understanding of the emerging nature of the leisure management profession, the diversity of its base and the wide range of technical and specialist skill areas it encompasses.

The relative immaturity of the leisure profession with its disparate and diverse amalgam of managerial, technical and operational skills together with a lack of status and power provided an understanding of the type, nature and extent of the impact of CCT on the individual leisure professional as

"...the traditional professions (medicine and law) have been very successful in establishing status and power." (Henry, 1993, p113)

Leisure professionals, without the protection of a recognised, formal, established structure of a powerful professional body, were exposed to the full rigours of the CCT policy process. Thus the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional was, to some extent, determined by the status of the profession and the effect of this on the individual is discussed in a subsequent chapter (Chapter 4, Section 4.3).

1.6 POLICY PROCESS

The phenomenon of New Managerialism and professionalisation as outlined above, were examined through the application of a policy process framework. The analysis of policy process literature enabled a framework to be synthesised which would allow for a focus on the impact of CCT policy implementation at all levels, and particularly at the micro 'street' level. It demonstrated the extent and nature of

the involvement of the leisure professional in both the policy product and the process and the impact of both on the individual.

Extensive research has been undertaken in the field of policy process analysis over the past 30 years and this area of academic writing has been characterised by an increasing complexity of ideas and a broadening of perspectives. The result has been the emergence of a body of material which has acknowledged the importance of the central role of implementation within the overall policy process.

The main proponent of Implementation Theory (Minogue, 1993) emphasised that the most important issues which should be considered in policy analysis were

- a) The stages through which the policy issues pass
- b) The factors which are influential in the process
- c) The evaluation of the various roles
- d) The determination of input and output
- e) The evaluation of end results

The literature review considered these constructs and focused particularly on the stages through which CCT policy implementation passed and as such added a dynamic policy dimension to the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional.

1.7 CONCLUSION

The main issue under investigation is the impact of change on the role of the local authority leisure professional as a result of CCT implementation. This study recognised that CCT was the result of changes in the strategic outlook and cultural environments of local authorities as imposed by central government. In turn these

changes stimulated considerable change at the meso and micro levels of the policy process.

Pre-CCT leisure management within large public administrative bureaucracies was characterised by formal procedures, administrative predictability, hierarchical structures and 'rule governance'. Post-CCT with the advent of competition, leisure professionals had to adapt to new ways of working, private sector attitudes and 'goal governance'. An understanding of the introduction of these changes is provided through consideration of New Managerialism and the professionalisation of leisure management. A leading academic in this field, Lane (1995), emphasised that government had two roles i.e., the "*allocation, redistribution and regulation*" (p.vii), but "*on the other hand we have the dynamic policy perspective of a Public Sector involved in the making and implementation of policies*" (p.vii).

This study is most concerned with the dynamic policy perspective of CCT. The main concepts, frameworks and theories of CCT policy implementation are considered in Chapter 4 and the arguments of analysts in this field are highlighted in order to identify a suitable framework within which to analyse the CCT policy process.

The findings of the empirical research are presented in Chapters 6 to 9 inclusive and the study concludes in Chapter 10 with an analysis and evaluation of the findings.

CHAPTER 2: THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTS WITHIN WHICH LEISURE PROFESSIONALS OPERATED PRE- AND POST-CCT

2.1 THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK AS A CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

2.1.1 Introduction

In considering the impact of compulsory competitive tendering on the role of the leisure professional in the Public Sector it is essential to establish a cultural and political framework within which to contextualise the changes that occurred. At the macro level, a contextual framework is identified that utilised an approach by commentators such as Lane (1995) and Harvey (1989) who gave explanation for the changes on a supra-national front. They analysed the changing political, social, economic and cultural factors which were significant not only in the Public Sector but in society in general over the past seventy years in the economically advanced countries. These writers have identified fundamental and manifest changes in the society and the culture of the twentieth century and it will be demonstrated that these had significant implications for leisure policy product and process.

The developing agenda of leisure policy at the macro level is also given a further historical dimension in this chapter through a review of the work of authoritative academics in this field. Bramham et al (1993), Coalter et al (1988) and Henry (1993) gave detailed explanations of the changes on a national front.

Finally in this chapter a series of underlying themes in the development of leisure policy since 1611 are drawn out of this material and their relevance to the research study identified. But first the recent context is analysed as this is the most pertinent for CCT implementation.

2.1.2 The supra-national context

The 1930s - 1970s was marked by a period of standardisation of knowledge, production and process and according to Harvey (1989), this modern society, with its hallmark of rational planning and bureaucracy, was the "*Age of the Technocrat*" (p7). This was in stark contrast to the years following, where a shift in attitude, thought and feeling heralded in the era of postmodernism with "*its distrust of universality and totalising discourses*" (Harvey, 1989, p7).

Harvey (1989) suggested that the shift in sensibility and practices commenced in the early 1970s. He considered the change to postmodernism to be of major significance - a "*transformation*" (p113) within society with changes which reflected a new way of thinking and a radically different approach in the production of culture as evidenced in architecture, advertising, fashion, T.V. and diverse other forms. This transformation was reflected in a plurality of urban life styles, behaviour, attitudes and cultural forms with an increasing concern for differences. Individualism, entrepreneurialism and commercialism became the dominant practices in the social, economic and political environment.

In terms of the economy, Harvey (1989) identified in the latter part of the modernist period (1945-1973)

"...a certain set of labour control policies, technological mixes, consumption habits and configurations of political-economic power "
(p23)

which he referred to as "*Fordist-Keynesian*" (p23), the main features of which were mass production, standardisation of parts, production runs, routinised work, division of labour, collective bargaining and hierarchical, authoritarian management. He heralded this as the "*Modern Age*", or "*the Technological Age*" (Harvey, 1989, p23) where the technocrat was king; standardisation of

knowledge and production was uppermost and a totality in thought and action pervaded society. Stewart and Stoker (1989) provided an explanation for state intervention in the economy at this time as being able to provide an increasing role in the economy, housing, education and health and

"...to manage and sustain demand to provide social security and stability in which mass consumption flourished." (p144)

The break-up of Fordism or at least a shift away from Fordism was characterised by a more *"flexible"* regime of accumulation (Harvey, 1989, p147) with 1973 as a turning point which signalled a period of rapid change. Undoubtedly this was influenced by the oil crisis of 1973. But there had already been cracks in the economic veneer before 1973. Fordism was in crisis in the period leading up to 1973 with over production in many industries, saturated markets, rigidity of long term and large scale assets, inflexibility in the labour market, heavy and onerous state commitment and inflation. In the late 1970s, a more flexible regime has been identified that was in direct contrast to rigid Fordism. This new regime was marked by a total restructuring in economic, social and political terms, the main characteristics being an increasing flexibility in the labour market, in production systems and processes, in patterns of consumption and in fact, a radical reorganisation in many structures within society. It was particularly significant for local government as it marked a gradual withdrawal of the Welfare State through central government's endeavour to introduce *"more flexible economic structures, a two tier welfare system and an enterprise culture"* (Stewart and Stoker, 1989, p158).

The cultural changes in society as evidenced in the move from modernism to postmodernism are of considerable significance to this thesis as the new way of thinking formed an important reinforced image for the Thatcher Governments of 1979-1991. With the Recession of the early 1980s came

inflation, high unemployment and also the realisation that Keynesian inspired economics and the Fordist regimes of accumulation were failing to address the major economic problems and radical new measures were needed to resolve a very difficult economic situation. Thatcherism and the New Right took on the aspirations and attitudes of postmodernism and through an entrepreneurial culture endeavoured to remove the Fordist organisational and administrative structures throughout the Public Sector. Local authorities were seen as the cornerstones of the Fordist/Welfare state and as such were a major obstacle to Thatcher and her vision of a Post-Fordist Britain. Central government thus endeavoured to shift the

"...patterns of institutions and responsibility" / → "to transform the production process, the pattern of consumption and arrangements for political management associated with local government. " (Stewart and Stoker, 1989, p158)

Reforms were introduced that were particularly targeted at the Welfare State and local authorities. This reformation was accompanied by a major shift in management culture and thinking, which had also been initiated by Thatcher in her ready and eager adoption of Private Sector management practices and regimes. Stewart and Stoker (1989) suggested that local government adopted a new style of management in order to fully accommodate and in some circumstances to expedite the changes being imposed upon it. This is reflected in CCT policy content and the process of implementation.

It is thus important to recognise that societal transformation at the macro supra-national level was a very significant factor in the changing political and economic circumstances in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s and an analysis of the key concepts provides an understanding of the shift from a society based on planning and bureaucracy, to one based on innovation and entrepreneurialism. However, leisure studies commentators (Coalter et al

1988, Henry 1993, Travis et al 1978) have emphasised that it is also necessary to consider the macro environment in centuries preceding the twentieth, in order to gain a fuller picture of the context of leisure policy and CCT in particular. They have provided a body of academic knowledge which addressed the historical relationship between leisure, culture and other arenas of political, social and economic analysis. From the ideas and concepts they put forward it has been possible to identify predominant issues in the literature which give an excellent understanding of the underlying agendas of state leisure policy.

The material in the next section is both a descriptive and an analytical account of the historical development of leisure policy and as such it has two functions i.e.

- i) To provide a historical account of the development of the relationship between the strategic environment and state leisure policy. The historical legacy of this relationship is most relevant with respect to the disengagement of central government from direct state intervention in leisure policy at the local level.
- ii) To provide an evaluative insight into the progressive development of the academic debate on state leisure agendas in recent times and to highlight the increasing engagement of the state in leisure policy through CCT.

2.1.3 Historical review of state involvement in leisure in Britain

Predominant key issues and themes are reviewed on a historical basis from pre-industrial society to the implementation of CCT.

2.1.3.1 Pre-industrial society

According to Henry in Bramham et al (1993) the earliest

"...most obvious intervention by the pre-industrial state took the form of the 'Kings Book of Sports' (1618, reissued by Charles I in 1633), a defence by the monarchy of peasant rights to popular recreations on the Sabbath." (p105)

James I, with this publication, made it legal for working people to play certain games outside church hours. This was to counter the increase in religious opposition to active sporting pursuits.

In the eighteenth century there were attempts by the state to ban the worst excesses of "*popular culture*" (Gratton and Taylor, 1991, p3) - albeit at a local government level. Gratton and Taylor used the term 'popular culture' to describe activities such as fetes, festivals, parochial sports, all of which were accompanied by heavy drinking and also 'face to face' combat. Increasing opposition led to a series of local Acts to ban certain activities. In 1745 throwing at cocks was banned in Worcester and in 1780 London magistrates banned the playing of skittles outside taverns. These and other such measures reflected the move to greater control over leisure, particularly working-class leisure in the eighteenth century. According to Gratton and Taylor (1991) the motive was mainly social control i.e. fear of mob violence. Henry (1993) however added a further dimension with regard to the rationale for the interventionism of central government at this time. He emphasised that the state sought to control mass leisure forms as they were viewed as not only a threat to public order but also to a threat to industrial interests. A "*regularly available, compliant and alert*" (Henry, 1993, p7) workforce was essential to industrial production and mass leisure gatherings and opportunities for drunkenness and disorder were viewed as potentially damaging to work regimes.

2.1.3.2 Industrial Britain (1800 to the First World War)

The Industrial Revolution brought profound changes to Britain. These were characterised by a move from agriculture to manufacturing industry. This industrialisation was accompanied by a movement of the population from a rural to an urban base and the social, cultural, economic and political consequences were extensive. One aspect of this change was the alteration of the pattern of leisure provision and participation in Britain as emphasised by Coalter et al (1988). In Pre-Industrial Society work and non-work had been inextricably combined. Sports and pastimes were organised around the seasons of the year or associated with events such as marriages. This organic relationship between work, leisure and the community did not survive the process of industrialisation and urbanisation, and work and leisure became very separate elements in the life of the working classes.

Gratton and Taylor (1991) argued that the most significant change as a result of the Industrial Revolution was the actual reduction in the availability of leisure time. Factory work occupied six days a week, twelve hours a day for men, women and children and as a result *"many of the popular recreations of pre-industrial Britain virtually disappeared"* (Gratton and Taylor, 1991, p4). The role of central government during this period was to support the new manufacturing industries in providing an effective labour workforce. This included criminalising and banning many forms of popular recreation. Some blood sports were made illegal e.g. dog fighting, animal baiting and throwing at cocks (Suppression of Blood Sports Act 1833). For the more affluent classes, whether they were the aristocracy, the inherited rich or the nouveau riche industrialists, fox hunting and shooting and similar pastimes were not prohibited.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, government's efforts had thus been directed at controlling the leisure time activities of the masses through

suppression and Coalter et al (1988) stated that the foundation of public leisure policy in the early nineteenth century lay in suppression as local courts banned fetes and wakes. Fines were introduced for participating in recreation activities such as playing football on the roads. These measures proved to be ineffective as many of the banned activities continued to be enjoyed. Prevailing attitudes changed as the Government's role altered in the mid 1800s from one of suppressing popular recreation to that of promoting more acceptable recreational forms.

From the mid 1850s the constraints of lack of time and money were eased for the mass of the English populace and leisure activities began to expand. By the 1850s Saturday afternoon was 'free' - no longer a regular work time - and it quickly became a recreation afternoon. Real wages increased considerably, i.e. by about 40% between 1860 and 1875 and by a further 33% between 1875 and 1900. This resulted in a higher discretionary spend for many of the working class.

Between 1801 and 1850 Britain's population doubled and by 1850 the majority lived in urban areas. Following this population explosion, a mass market for leisure developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century and this resulted in the building of public stadia for mass spectator sporting events, large scale music halls, theatres, cinemas and so on.

There was growing concern during this period and particularly from 1850 onwards that the physical, moral and environmental working conditions of the working class were unacceptable as expressed by a number of elements within society including industrialists, temperance reformers, evangelists and political reformers.

"A growing recognition of the dangerous social and physical implications of unfettered industrial capitalism, served to reinforce the attempts of reformers to foster alternative and wholesome leisure pursuits." (Coalter et al, 1988, p10)

These concerns were accepted by the Government and it adopted a more positive role in promoting social reform. At central government level, legislation was passed which improved working conditions and prevented exploitation i.e. the Factories Acts. Central government also reflected the work of a number of philanthropists in promoting legislation directly concerning leisure. The Museums Act 1845 and the Libraries Act 1850 permitted local authorities to levy a rate to pay for the provision and management of these buildings, the main concern being the moral welfare of the working class. Coalter et al (1988) termed this the *"...rational recreation movement"* (p10) as it attempted *"to provide alternatives to the perceived degeneracy of working class social life"*. He further commented that *"the use of the term 'rational recreation' indicates something of the influence of enlightenment thinking which underpinned reforming zeal, with its implicit fear of the unbridled nature of sensual, rather than intellectual, pleasures"* (p110).

Despite this reforming zeal, central government did not impose a mandatory responsibility on to local authorities to provide facilities. However, it can be demonstrated that central government had adopted a more positive approach at this time as evidenced in the breadth of legislation passed which aimed to give extensive discretionary powers to local authorities to provide leisure facilities. The Public Baths and Washhouses Act 1846 permitted local authorities to provide swimming facilities (although they were more concerned with public health and sanitation than fitness through exercise). Between 1870 and 1900 over 200 swimming pools were built, mostly in city areas. This expansion

continued so that by 1914 over 500 swimming baths were open to the public. This was the first major Public Sector leisure spending boom.

Gratton and Taylor (1991) emphasised that

"...the nineteenth century signalled the beginning of a new, more positive attitude in government policy towards sport." (p8)

Coalter et al (1988) supported this view but qualified the direct nature of the role of the state in leisure policy. He emphasised that there was a reluctance to become directly involved and this was reflected in the permissive nature of most legislation.

"The various acts relating to baths and wash houses, museums, libraries and public health (insofar as they related to recreational activity), which served to provide the legislative basis and physical infrastructure for the development of public leisure provision, were permissive. This merely enabled local authorities to make provision where they so desired." (p2)[] "The development of many of the facilities depended on private philanthropy. Further, the organisation and provision of 'rational' recreational opportunities and the 'leadership' which was regarded as essential was left largely to the efforts of the voluntary sector." (p8)

It is therefore evident that the attitude of the state in this period with regard to public leisure policy was non-interventionist. Within this context, the following main elements of public leisure policy have been identified by Coalter et al (1988).

- i) Urban deprivation: It was felt that recreation provision could improve the quality of life of the general public.
- ii) Physical Health: The overriding concern was for the health, well being and productivity of the workforce.

- iii) Moral Welfare: The intention was to encourage socially desirable, educational leisure activities to be pursued.
- iv) Social integration: The aim was to develop a community conscious, civic culture.
- v) Utilitarianism: The emphasis here was on self-improvement, physical and moral health.
- vi) Limits of public provision: *"While the state may set the outer limits of leisure behaviour and morality through prescriptive legislation and licensing, the development of leisure policy was to be left to the permissive powers of local government, voluntary effort and the commercial sector."* (Coalter et al, 1988, p14)

To summarise, by 1900 the broad elements of a public policy for leisure were visible and according to Coalter et al (1988) these were to form the basis of much subsequent policy, including CCT.

2.1.3.3 The inter-war years (1918-1939)

There was a two-fold scenario in the inter-war years with regard to leisure participation. At a time of economic depression and high unemployment, the unemployed bore the brunt of the hardships of the Depression and there were few opportunities for leisure activities. Those in work, however, found that their real incomes rose faster than prices, giving higher disposable incomes and more opportunities for leisure participation. The average working week had also been reduced significantly: before the First World War it had been 54 hours but by 1920 it was 48 hours a week. The growing availability of the motor car extended leisure opportunities. There was also increased commercialisation of leisure with the growth of mass spectator sports e.g. football. Thus availability of leisure time, leisure opportunity and leisure provision increased significantly in the inter-war years for those in employment.

The inter-war period was also characterised by a significant growth in the voluntary sector e.g. National Playing Fields Association (1925), and the Ramblers Association (1935). These and other organisations sought to put pressure on the Government to take a more positive attitude towards a state policy for leisure.

Despite this, although there was considerable activity in the commercial and voluntary sectors, there was a lack of government policy in inter-war leisure provision. The most significant government intervention in leisure was the Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937 that aimed at raising the level of fitness of the nation's youth. The National Fitness Campaign followed immediately afterwards and the Government allocated two million pounds for new facilities. The grants were allocated in the main to local authorities and voluntary bodies in sport. Gratton and Taylor (1991) commented that

"...this was to be the pattern of government financial support for sport in the latter half of the twentieth century." (p10)

2.1.3.4 Leisure policy in post-war Britain

Henry (1993) made a significant contribution to an understanding of the relationship between leisure policy and the state in post-war Britain, through the identification of three distinct periods that reflected a different political emphasis on leisure policy i.e.

- i) 1944-1976 Period referred to as *"The Welfare State"* (p15).
- ii) 1976-1984 Period of *"New Economic Realism"* (p60).
- iii) 1985-1990s Period of *"State flexibilisation and disinvestment"* (p67).

i) 1944-1976 The Welfare State

The post-war Labour Government passed legislation reforming and improving access to education, social security benefits, health services etc. This was the basis of the formation of the wider Welfare State. Leisure was not on the welfare agenda. Government policy was more concerned with the establishment of agencies to direct and promote leisure interests. The Arts Council was established in 1946; the National Parks were established in 1949; the Sports Council was founded in 1965 and the Countryside Commission came into existence in 1968 (Henry 1993, Bramham et al 1993). Direct intervention through the issuing of sport and leisure policy was outside this brief.

It was not until 1960 and the report of the Wolfenden Committee that the role of the state in the direct provision of leisure started to be considered. The Wolfenden Report suggested that the Government should set up a Sports Development Council to promote sport at all levels. The rationale for state intervention as outlined by Wolfenden was based on extrinsic gains i.e. to counter the increasing problems of anti-social activities of the young. The idea was initially rejected by the sitting Conservative Government, but the election of Labour in 1964 led to a change in government attitude to leisure. The Wilson Government of 1964-70 set up an Advisory Sports Council in 1964 and produced two White Papers on the Arts and the Countryside (1967). The White Papers showed "*welfare reformist thinking*" (Henry, 1993, p19) with the desire to extend access to the less affluent. At the same time a national recreation survey was supported by the Government and the results were published in 1969 (Sillitoe, 1969). This report supported the thinking of the time that instead of merely encouraging provision for those people wanting to take part in sport - sport should be an integral part of government welfare reformist social policy. This line of thinking led to the founding of the

Executive Sports Council in 1972, a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation (quango) with a responsibility to develop an understanding of the social importance and value of sport, encourage wider participation and raise standards of performance (Adams, 1994). Henry (1993) pointed to a political rationale for the formation of the Sports Council, namely to *"provide a useful antidote to counter anti-social tendencies"* (p17) of the youth sub-culture.

In 1974 the House of Lords Select Committee debated sport and recreation - the main topics under discussion were coordinated policies for informal outdoor recreation and the need for the provision of opportunity to participate. This was followed by the publication of a White Paper on Sport and Recreation in 1975. This paper discussed policy issues and action programmes for the development of sport and recreation in England and Wales. This represented a new political awareness for sport and leisure in Britain. This new political perception is of considerable significance as it is recognised in the literature as being the turning point with regard to direct government intervention in the provision and management of public leisure services (Haywood et al 1995, Henry 1993, Houlihan 1991, Torkildsen 1992).

A further landmark in the involvement of central government in leisure policy (although somewhat obliquely) had occurred in 1974 with local government reorganisation. A Royal Commission had been established in 1966 under Lord Redcliffe-Maud to review the structure of local government. In 1972 the Local Government Act introduced a two tier structure and in 1974, when it was implemented, six new metropolitan county councils were established and the 1,400 district councils were amalgamated into 333 new district authorities. Through the amalgamation of authorities and the hitherto disparate leisure services within these authorities, large leisure departments were formed with a director or chief officer in charge. These new large-scale departments (particularly in the cities) had responsibility for areas that had previously been

managed by different interests. Thus baths, parks, gardens, sports centres, community development and often the arts and tourism came under the same umbrella. Also published in 1972, the Bains Report emphasised the adoption of a corporate approach in the management of these leisure facilities, thus for the first time corporate management became important in the management of local authority leisure services (Torkildsen, 1999).

In the period leading up to the reorganisation those local authorities which were going out of existence used up existing funds on the building of new leisure facilities within their area. Sports Council research (1983) showed that in 1972 there were 30 sports centres in England and Wales and 500 indoor swimming pools. By 1978 there were 350 sports centres and 850 indoor swimming pools (quoted in Henry, 1993, p22).

Thus the reorganisation of local government resulted in a much higher profile for public leisure services. The scale of provision increased dramatically and a new corporate style of local authority leisure management laid the foundations for an area of service operation which would capture the interest of central government. By 1975 these authorities were responsible for a wide range of services and resources and according to Coalter (quote taken from Henry ed., 1990, p14) this resulted in *"a more comprehensive and unified approach to leisure planning and provision"*.

Local government reorganisation was thus a major contributory factor in an increasing central government interest and subsequent involvement in local authority leisure services. But Henry (1993) added a proviso to this increasing involvement by central government.

"Just as leisure was being added to the range of services to be accommodated within the welfare state, the country's ability to pay for

even existing levels of social provision was being seriously undermined." (quote taken from Bramham et al, 1993, pp117-118)

as Britain's economy ailed.

ii) 1976-1984 New Economic Realism and the restructuring of the Welfare State

Henry (1993) identified this period as having a major significance in leisure policy terms as it was during this period that

"...the emphasis on leisure expenditure as 'social consumption' gave way to leisure expenditure as 'social expenses'." (p25)

A public expenditure squeeze and a restructuring of the Welfare State, both imposed by central government, resulted in a period of financial restructuring for state leisure expenditure. As a result, state leisure policy during this period moved away from *"the notion of leisure as a right of citizenship"* (Henry, 1993, p60) to that of leisure as a necessary social expense. Leisure was seen as a means of promoting social integration, social order, *"a form of 'soft' policing"* (Henry, 1993, p65). This is evidenced in the growth, during this period, of inner city community recreation projects aimed specifically at 'volatile' groups such as young unemployed males.

iii) 1985-1990s State flexibilisation and disinvestment

From 1984 to 1997, the Conservative Government actively endeavoured to reduce the size of the Public Sector and introduce market forces into the management culture of public services. This has resulted in further shifts in state leisure policy with an emphasis on

"...a marketisation of service provision; leisure (and tourism) employed as a tool for economic rather than social regeneration; residual provision with leisure as (a) social policy tool in the inner city." (Henry, 1993, p 25)

New Right Wing policies emerged in the mid 1980s with a significant redirection in leisure funding. Initiatives such as a reduction of local authority budgets, the establishment of Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones, the introduction of Local Management of Schools and the withdrawal of state subsidies in the voluntary sector all had significant implications for the balance of leisure investment between the Private and Public Sectors. Disinvestment by the state together with the introduction of market forces resulted in radical change in the rationale for state involvement in leisure provision with leisure taking on an economic mantle.

Discussion of the literature covered in ii) and iii) is given further consideration in the following section as it details and defines the context for the development of Compulsory Competitive Tendering. In particular it is felt that a further consideration of material concerning the period 1979 to the early 1990s would inform and provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of compulsory competitive tendering. The extended review of this period is largely based on the analysis of Henry (1993) but broadened to include commentators such as Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993), Curtis (1990) and Veal (1987).

2.2 GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN LEISURE 1979-1991

2.2.1 Introduction

From the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century there was relatively little change in government leisure policy, although the series of initiatives in 2.1.3.3 and 2.1.3.4 indicated a government interest in leisure issues. However, this period saw the re-emergence of mass leisure and of new

themes for state leisure policies. From the 1960s onwards, however, there was an accelerating involvement by the state in local authority leisure in some aspects and a distancing in others. This was particularly the case in the successive Conservative Governments of the 1980s and an examination of the nature of the Government's involvement in local authority matters as viewed by the leading commentators provides the contemporary context for CCT policy in local authority leisure services.

Since 1960 the Government has had an increasingly significant involvement in leisure as evidenced in its statements in support of an increased provision of leisure facilities in the UK and through the extension of leisure opportunities to a much wider populace. Written material on the relationship between leisure and the state since 1960 demonstrated very clearly this increasing involvement and also highlighted the very intricate nature of the relationship. This has been established by Henry (1993) who maintained that the leisure policies of successive governments have reflected the prevailing social, cultural, political and economic circumstances of the times.

This was clearly the case in the 1980s as government policy reflected the predominant culture and spirit of the New Right and the philosophy of the Thatcher Governments. A number of critics have shed considerable light on the relationship between leisure policy and the social, cultural, political and economic 'zeitgeist' of the Thatcher years, and have contributed to a general understanding of central and local government political affairs in this period (Curtis 1990, Leach et al 1994, Stoker 1988, Veal 1987, Walsh 1995). Of a more specific nature relating to government policy and leisure, Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes 1993, Henry 1993, Houlihan 1991 and 1997, gave an insight into the factors and forces at work which shaped government leisure policy at the time. Henry (1993), for instance, emphasised that in the 1980s both the broadening sphere of central government interest and the hostile

environment were notable political features. In this scenario leisure was to become one of the Thatcher Government's contentious policy areas.

In considering the debate amongst the critics on government involvement in leisure policy in this period, a number of issues which have a significant bearing on the nature of this involvement at both central and local levels are discussed under the following headings:

2.2.2 Broadening of leisure policy interest

2.2.3 Thatcherism

2.2.4 Shift in central-local government relations

2.2.5 'Adversary politics'

2.2.6 New management styles - tensions

2.2.7 Continued disengagement

2.2.8 Fragmentary structure of central government

2.2.2 Broadening of policy interest

It is important to note that from the late 1970s there was a major shift in the range of policy areas that the Government sought to influence. In particular there was a significant change of direction at central government level with regard to leisure policy. It had been viewed as only a peripheral function of the Government but it became a linchpin in the Government's economic and social policies. This shift in emphasis has been analysed and catalogued by a number of authors (Benington and White 1990, Bramham et al 1993, Coalter et al 1988, Gratton and Taylor 1991, Henry 1993, Henry ed. 1990, Houlihan 1991, Walsh 1995). The consensus of opinion seems to be that the change in emphasis was as a result of a heightened awareness by central government of the importance of leisure and the belief that leisure provision and participation could improve the quality of life in urban environments; that it could aid social

integration, control and moral welfare and that it would act as a stimulus for economic development.

There has also been a strong instinctive belief that the provision of leisure facilities and opportunities alleviates anti-social behaviour (Coalter in Henry ed., 1990). This thread has run through the rationale for leisure and social policies from 1611. Considerable credibility has been given to this view particularly since 1960 at both central and local government levels with the publication of a number of government reports such as the Government White Paper, Sport and Recreation (1975) which emphasised that provision was a means of reducing delinquency in urban areas (DOE, 1972, p2). This view was also stressed in later reports e.g. 'Policy for the Inner Cities' 1977 and 'The Brixton Disorders' - the Scarman Report 1981.

These views were translated into action through various urban regeneration grant schemes administered through the Departments of the Environment and Employment. Government programmes included City Challenge, City Grant, Urban Development Corporations, Urban Programme, Derelict Land Grant, Land Registers, Enterprise Zones and City Action Teams and they were aimed at *alleviating "the economic, environmental and social problems of urban areas"* (DOE, 1991, p30). New provisions for leisure opportunities were seen as an important element in this new urban infrastructure.

The promotion of social order and social investment were very much part of the underlying agendas of the Thatcher Governments and demonstrated a broadening of political involvement and an increasing interest in leisure policy came as a by-product.

2.2.3 Thatcherism

Margaret Thatcher became leader of the Conservative party in 1975 and with her came the rise of the 'New Right'. Stoker (1988) gave a succinct description of the 'New Right'

"...among Conservatives a broad division can be drawn between 'dry' and 'wet' camps. The former have a longer tradition in local government. They are 'localists' and see their role primarily in terms of defending and promoting their area and its particular interests....the 'dry camp' in contrast is much more involved with the ideological concerns and commitments of the 'New Right'. They display a strong and active commitment to council house sales, contracting out, 'value for money' ...and cutting back on spending...local government they argue needs a 'good shake-up' and would benefit from being run on more business-like lines." (p40)

Within the 'New Right' movement 'Thatcherism' came to dominate the politics of the 1970s and 1980s. 'Thatcherism' was a particular political stance

"...comprising a belief in the efficacy of market forces, the need for strong central government, and a conviction that self-help is preferable to reliance on the state, combined with a strong element of nationalism." (Hutchinson, 1994, p27)

Curtis (1990) provided a very useful approach to the development of an understanding of Thatcherism and the relationship of CCT to this philosophy. He summarised Thatcherism as an adherence to a number of key values:-

- developing individual self reliance
- undertaking hard work
- developing the free market economy
- promoting individual and corporate economic initiative
- encouraging thrift
- stimulating consumer choice
- reducing the state role in the economy
- limiting the influence of the Trade Unions
- weakening the power of left-wing local authorities

- ending the post-war consensus on mixed economy
- reducing the size of the Public Sector
- removing economic controls
- limiting central and local government spending
- striving for economic growth
- controlling inflation
- reducing the budget deficit
- containing monetary growth

Curtis (1990), however, in his consideration of domestic policy, did not fully acknowledge the importance of Thatcher's policy of contracting out local government services. This was addressed by Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993) who spelt out the far reaching consequences of the contracting out of public services. They outlined how the contracting out of local government services started in 1980 with services such as highways maintenance work. In the late 1980s this was extended from manually based operational work through to the white collar services. They emphasised that government felt that competitive tendering for government services had

"...a very vital role to play in improving efficiency directly and in changing attitudes"...(of local authorities and) "...discovering the consumer." (p10)

The actual style of Margaret Thatcher also had a bearing on the development and implementation of government policy of the 1980s. Her premiership was characterised by a single minded authoritarian approach and this is summed up by Hutchison (1994) when describing her image as

"...an astute Parliamentary tactician, she tolerated little disagreement, either from the opposition or from within her own party." (p585)

Conservative views and attitudes on leisure during the Thatcher years were firmly shaped by Margaret Thatcher as part of her economic strategy. She saw the leisure industry, particularly the Private Sector, as a source of employment.

In an interview in *'The Director'* in 1983 she forecast that an increasing number of jobs would become available in the service industries, particularly the leisure sector through companies such as Macdonalds, Wimpys and Disney. This led to front-page headlines in the national press of

"Maggie's Mickey Mouse Jobs Plan: Thatcher Backs a Leisure Boom to Cut Dole Queues." (Daily Mirror, 26th Aug., 1983)

The theme of leisure as an employment issue, was further developed by Thatcher as evidenced in comments in subsequent reports by the Government as described by Veal (1987). He commented that the Government in the mid 1980s saw employment in the private leisure sector as a

"...rare symbol of a still flourishing private enterprise system." (p113)

It has been shown, therefore, that the 1970s saw the rise of the 'New Right' in the Conservative Party. This movement in the 1980s emphasised the free market and the importance of economic growth and leisure was bound up with this philosophy as it was given an economic rationale through the provision of jobs and the desire to expose inefficient and subsidised services to competition, and the desire to end the mixed economy in provision and reduce the state role in the economy (Butcher et al 1990, Curtis 1990). This reduction in the level of government intervention in all areas of the Public Sector was to significantly affect central-local government relations.

2.2.4 Shift in central-local government relations in the early 1980s

One of the consequences of the ascendancy of the 'New Right' was the shift in the nature of central and local government relations as characterised by an increase in the intensity and strength of central government's intervention not only in local government management and finances but in other spheres of activity. This was recognised and documented by Curtis (1990), Henry

(1993), Leach et al (1994) and Stoker (1988), who maintained that this shift was evidenced by

- i) the increasing volume of legislation, circulars, advice notices and consultation documents released by central government concerning local government matters;
- ii) the range of strategies, legislation and other measures used to reduce local authority discretion and choice. This was apparent not only in leisure provision and leisure management but also in education, housing, finance and transport;
- iii) the setting of arbitrary and non-negotiable goals for local authorities. According to Stoker (1988) this was very much in the style of Thatcher;
- iv) the short lead-in times given for consultation, with the result that consulting bodies had little faith in central government consultation processes;
- v) the systematic by-passing of local government policy processes through the introduction of practices such as the granting of planning permission on appeal (Henry, 1993);
- vi) the direct funding of major projects, through programmes such as the Urban Programme. This targeted funding by central government by-passed local government;
- vii) the restructuring of local government. Greater London Council and six Metropolitan Counties were abolished by Thatcher in 1986.

This strategy was continued by John Major through the introduction of unitary authorities.

Walsh (1995) maintained that measures such as these were part of a search for a new approach to Public Sector management - a 'reinvention of government'. He argued that the most radical change in this new approach to the management of public services was privatisation, particularly in the United Kingdom where the move was

"...from professional and political to market-based accountability." (p.xxi)

Both Stoker (1988) and Henry (1993) highlighted three pieces of legislation as being fundamental in the shift in this relationship

- i) 1980: The Local Government Planning and Land Act, which introduced the concept of central government spending assessments of local government spending, with penalties for overspending.
- ii) 1982: The Local Government Finance Act which further extended central government's control over local spending e.g. by preventing local authorities from raising a supplementary rate.
- iii) 1984: The Rates Act which enabled the Secretary of State for the Environment to limit the rates set by individual local authorities.

These were significant measures as they imposed controls of increasing severity on public spending by local authorities. Financial stringency led to a desire for greater efficiency and economy in service provision and this was the ideological basis for CCT. It is important however to note that despite these measures, local authorities continued to raise funds through alternative

methods. The result was that revenue expenditure on leisure, for instance, continued to increase into the 1990s. Henry (1993) recorded that

"...despite the remarkable persistence and doggedness of central government in initiating and planning new machinery for the control of local government expenditure, revenue expenditure on leisure grew in real terms during the decade (1980s), although levels of revenue expenditure on leisure by rate-capped authorities were clearly affected by central government restrictions." (p97)

Alternative policies for curbing local authority expenditure in service areas such as leisure were sought.

Perhaps the most precise summary of the change in emphasis in leisure policy is that provided by Henry (1993) who argued that the period from 1976 to the 1990s was characterised by pressures on the local authority leisure sector through a squeeze on local government spending, decentralisation and marketisation of leisure provision, summed up by the phrase: *"state flexibilisation and disinvestment"* (pp24-25). Compulsory Competitive Tendering was a major policy which reflected this state disinvestment and changed the relationship between central and local government. The progressive introduction of this policy was achieved through two pieces of legislation: the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act and the 1988 Local Government Act as these legislative instruments required certain local government services to be exposed to competition from the Private Sector.

CCT in leisure management was introduced by central government in 1988 in an attempt to extend its range of influence into a wider range of local authority service provision and was adopted at a time when Thatcherite views were entrenched in the political culture of the Government. In detail, the introduction of CCT into the provision of local authority leisure services was aimed at

- i) achieving greater value for money from local authority expenditure on leisure provision
- ii) promoting more efficient management and effective marketing
- iii) ensuring increased sensitivity to community needs (Fish and Hamilton 1994)

CCT was a very significant factor in the shift in the relationship between central and local government but the very nature of the relationship made for problematic implementation.

Central government's policy with regard to the introduction of competition in leisure management was greeted with

"...the full spectrum of anticipation and concern which prevailed at the time." (Cooke, 1994, p233).

There are reported instances in the literature that CCT stimulated resistance, antagonism and resentment in local government circles as reported by Cooke (1994) who recounted the following response to the proposal to introduce CCT into leisure management

"If profit maximisation becomes the aim of those running the facilities, the likely outcome is that the general public will have to pay much bigger entry fees and maybe even annual membership fees as is already common for private sports centres. (Councillor Knight, Chair of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities Public Works Committee)." (p233)

Thus major changes were forecasted to result from the competition process and forecasting of this nature continued for several years.

Following the first round of competition, Walsh (1995) argued that direct central government intervention could be very significant for the

organisational pattern of the Public Sector in the second round. He commented that

"...the use of contract has only begun to affect the core type of public service, and when it comes to have its full effect is likely to require fundamental changes in organisation and culture." (p137)

Stoker (1988) summarised the shift in the relationship between central and local government and the nature of the strategies adopted by the former of these two institutions as being

"...premised on control and direction rather than on consultation and negotiation." (p149)

The rationale provided by Curtis (1990) for the shift was that Conservative Governments under Thatcher (1979-1991) wished to reduce by selling off or exposing to competition a considerable part of the Public Sector to obtain a more self reliant society. The shift in the nature of the political environment was accompanied by a change in the relations between central and local government to that of 'adversary politics'.

2.2.5 'Adversary politics'

According to Curtis (1990) the underpinning theme in the politics of the 1980s was that of 'adversary politics' - this was the prevailing force. In the 1950s and 1960s 'consensus' politics had been the order of the day. Curtis (1990) commented that Britain was a

"...model of political stability and consensus. British politics depended on all participants abiding by the political game, a belief that government should govern with adequate powers...that Trade Unions are the channels through which the working class has a voice ...that people should be consulted ...there should be moderation in political behaviour...There was a consensus in the post-war years of the 1950s and 1960s that there was a need for full employment,

adequate incomes, a mixed economy with private and public enterprise." (p29)

Curtis (1990) gave a very clear picture of the nature of the change from consensus to adversary politics. He attributed the change to the alternation of Labour and Conservative Governments in the 1970s with reversals of policies in a number of areas including welfare and education. An *"even more significant"* (p33) aspect of this change according to Curtis (1990) was the policy of the Thatcher Government to reduce and sell off a considerable part of the Public Sector

"...in its effort to obtain a more efficient and competitive economy...it tried to reduce the influence of trade unions and to curtail the spending of local authorities". (p33)

This point is further supported by Henry (1993) with particular reference to local government.

"By the beginning of the 1980s the consensualist nature of local politics had been eroded away, particularly in metropolitan districts which had to deal with the worst aspects of restructuring of the economy and its social consequences." (p93)

In the 1980s conflict and tension between central and local government was heightened as an atmosphere of adversarial politics became the political culture. Adversary politics was epitomised by a fundamental mismatch of central and local government ideologies and this led to problematic implementation in many policy matters. This issue is considered in more detail in the empirical work of this study.

2.2.6 New management styles - tensions

The fundamental mismatch of ideologies was bound up with the efforts of central government to 'reinvent' local government and particularly the desire to

make local government more accountable and responsive to the needs of the electorate and to become closer to its market. It was thought that this could be achieved through the introduction of initiatives based on market principles and this would

"...lead to an enabling state, steering not rowing, setting the standards of the public services, which are checked by the various agencies of evaluation, and delivered by private or autonomous public organisations." (Walsh, 1995, p220)

Walsh (1995), however, pointed out that the new style public management was characterised by tensions.

"There are organisational tensions, with contrasting pressures to decentralise and autonomy, and to centralisation and control. There are tensions in the way staff are treated and managed, with pressures for commitment to organisational culture and values combined with differential personnel systems and harsher conditions for many. Increased transparency and clearer responsibilities go along with a decline in traditional political accountability." (p220)

Despite these tensions however Walsh (1995) maintained that the introduction of market principles and incentives encouraged public officials and politicians to be more responsive to service users.

Central government's desire for service providers to become closer to the market and to be more responsive to the needs of the local community is very relevant to this research study as this is an underlying theme in the rationale for the introduction of CCT and is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.2.7 Continued disengagement

The discussions of Coalter et al (1988), Cooke (1994), Elvin (1990) and Henry (1993) supported the view that central government from the 1960s did not seek to directly manage leisure.

"Although departments may have a keen influence on policies, powers have largely been delegated to public, quasi-public and private organisations." (Elvin, 1990, p19)

This thread can be traced back further than 1960. In fact Coalter et al (1988) identified it as an important element of public policy pre-1900.

Central government places a permissive and not a mandatory role on local authorities to provide leisure facilities. The only statutory requirements are to provide libraries, youth and adult education and allotments. Thus direct influence is not exerted through this medium and there is no national policy for leisure. With no national policy for leisure the development of leisure ideologies and related policies has been undertaken through various quasi-autonomous non governmental organisations (quangos) established to support particular needs. Elvin (1990) pointed out, however, that grant aid to one of these leading quangos i.e. the Sports Council has been *"insignificant"* and thus indicated the *"low political status afforded to sport and recreation"* (1990 p20).

Government policies have been developed at arms length through quangos in a fragmented and ad hoc manner (Travis et al, 1978). The establishment of quangos and the appointments to these bodies have been made by central government and in some areas quangos have taken over the role of local authorities. Enterprise Zones and Urban Development Corporations were established as quangos and here leisure interests have in the main been as part of commercial redevelopment e.g. wharf-side developments, strongly linked with housing provision and industrial, retail and tourism development. It has been argued that in the 1980s and early 1990s at the height of this activity, leisure interests were subsumed by economic and commercial considerations and that none of these investments was aimed primarily at providing leisure opportunities for the local community (Henry, 1993).

With reference to quangos it has been suggested that their establishment was a reluctance by government to become directly involved in policy formulation. Elvin (1990) argued that as a result, central government could not be held directly responsible for any failings nor could it be

"... the object of scrutiny by the sports lobby." (p21)

This was supported by Coalter (in Henry ed., 1990) who further expanded on the reason for central government's reluctance to become involved directly in policy implementation by stating that the 'arms length' style of the Government was due to

- i) *"Overload: Governments face increasingly complex problems of administration and management, making comprehensive, rational decision-making impossible. A solution is sought by delegating responsibility to quasi-government bodies.*
- ii) *Lack of government expertise: As the range of government responsibilities increase there is an inevitable lack of expertise in particular areas. Policy decisions are therefore delegated to professionals or experts with a comprehensive knowledge of these areas.*
- iii) *Depoliticisation: A 'liberal' version of this explanation is that judgements and policies concerning sport, recreation and artistic merit are regarded as being inappropriate areas for party-political judgements...where it is necessary to have independent experts..." (p17)*

Parallels can be drawn here with reference to CCT implementation. It was a significant policy initiative and was central to the Government's political and economic strategy in which enterprise, efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery were uppermost. As a leisure policy it was mandatory and represented a significant move away from previous leisure-related legislation which had been of a permissive nature. It was not 'sponsored' by a quango but

it was 'championed' by the Audit Commission - the Government watchdog for local government. It can be argued that there was an element of 'arms length management' in the implementation of the policy as central government established the framework for implementation but delegated the responsibility to each local authority to achieve the competition requirements. Local authorities therefore had to undertake all the preparatory and implementation works but received very little guidance from central government on the processes. Based on Coalter's rationale for implementation via quangos, it can be argued that the responsibility for CCT implementation was delegated to local authorities to avoid central government 'overload' and because central government itself did not have the expertise nor resources to provide detailed guidelines and so delegated both the responsibility and work to local authorities. Taking a more liberal view, it could also be said that this *modus operandi* allowed local authorities to adapt CCT to local needs. These issues are tested in the empirical research.

2.2.8 The fragmentary structure of central government

Central government involvement in leisure is fragmentary (Coalter 1988, Henry 1993). When CCT legislation was passed (1988) a 'Ministry of Leisure' (Adams 1994) was not in existence and the legislation was jointly produced by the Department of the Environment and the Secretary of State for Education. Despite the subsequent amalgamation of arts, tourism and sports interests into the Department of Heritage in 1992 and the department's relaunch in 1997 as the Department of Culture, Media and Sport there are still a number of leisure related responsibilities outside this ministry. For instance, the most significant leisure provider is local government, but the responsibility for all local government matters, including leisure is outside the remit of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport as it lies with the Department of the Environment. The responsibility for educational sports facilities lies with the Department for Education and Employment - again outside the remit of the DCMS. Issues

such as the National Lottery and the European Festival of the Arts are dealt with by the Department of Culture, Media and Sports but may not be considered by some to be mainstream issues, raising the question whether the DCMS should be concerning itself with issues more central to leisure provision, such as local authority spending on leisure projects. According to Stoker (1988) and other subsequent commentators (Adams 1994, Gratton and Taylor 1991, Henry 1993) the scenario of a diverse collection of departments and divisions with a number of conflicting interests was problematic for leisure policy implementation and this is still currently in existence.

In addition to this diversity of interest at central government level, the fact that local government communicated with a series of centres at Whitehall also gave rise to problems in policy implementation (Curtis, 1990). Different aspects of local authority work are related to a range of policy networks associated often with conflicting interests in different departments within central government. This fragmentation of interests was a factor of considerable note in the joint consultations between government departments and the interested bodies, which took place before CCT was implemented.

The debate on the nature of the fragmentation in government provided a partial understanding and explanation to the problematic nature of CCT policy production and implementation - a theme which again has been highlighted in the research design.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Throughout much of the industrialised age, leisure policy has been at the margins of political debate in Britain, before achieving an increasingly high profile in the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of drawing this section to a conclusion, it is possible to recognise a series of common themes which

analysts have identified as running through central government leisure policy, particularly since 1960. The common themes are summarised below:

- i) There was a broadening of central government interest in the 1980s to include leisure issues.
- ii) The ideology of Thatcherism laid the foundations for philosophical and political change at all levels of government.
- iii) A shift in central - local government relations led to a deterioration in the cultural environment between these two bodies.
- iv) Adversary politics became the *force majeure* at the interface between central and local government.
- v) Increased tensions were very evident as central government required local government to adopt new attitudes to service provision.
- vi) There was continued disengagement as central government imposed upon local government the requirement to expose the management of leisure facilities to competition but gave little guidance on implementation.
- vii) Pre- and post-CCT, central government's interest has continued to be of a fragmentary nature with a lack of coordination at central and local levels.

Analysis of the implications of these themes has provided relevant background material which has assisted in the design of empirical study.

It is apparent that CCT as a leisure policy initiative has become increasingly bound up with political philosophies of the time and Veal, writing in 1987, emphasised that it was an area in which central government was able to express how it would envisage and intend to determine the future. CCT was thus an important expression of political philosophy.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that the changing political, social, economic and cultural environments evident in society over the past seventy years in the economically advanced countries have had significant implications for the Public Sector as a whole and for local authority leisure services in particular. The nature of the changes at the structural level have fundamentally altered the institutional and operational approaches to Public Sector management and it against this background of strategic change that the individual leisure professional implemented CCT.

Analysis of the literature tracing the development of leisure policy since 1611 has provided a historical context for the changes mentioned above and demonstrated that there has been a very lengthy and extensive legacy for issues such the fragmentary structure of central government and a disengagement by central government in relation to the main arenas of policy implementation. CCT policy was fashioned by and reflected these and the other key issues.

There is much evidence to confirm that the strategic environments within which leisure professionals operated pre- and post-CCT demonstrated significant reconfiguration. The relevance for the individual leisure professional and implementation of CCT cannot be underestimated as it is within this changing structural context that CCT policy was conceived, modified and implemented, its outcomes evaluated and its impact ultimately assessed. The following chapter addresses the issue of this policy process and considers CCT within a synthesised policy framework.

CHAPTER 3: POLICY PROCESS AND CCT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the impact of CCT on the leisure professional. Its subject matter is therefore an example of the way in which central government policy has been operationalised and the consequences this has had for a particular set of actors in the policy process. So far, this literature review has focussed on the cultural and political strategic environments, but the phenomenon of CCT is also firmly rooted at the institutional and the individual levels where the policy was implemented. Section 3.2 of this chapter draws on the research approaches of academics in the field of policy process analysis and thus considers policy process at these levels.

The main purpose of this chapter is to identify a theoretical approach which will assist in gaining a greater understanding of the process of CCT policy implementation and its impact on the individual leisure professional. Policy process analysis is characterised by a series of complex themes which have been developed over the past thirty years by commentators such as Minogue (1993) and Younis (1993) and latterly by John (1998) and Sabatier (1999). From an analysis of the main themes, a framework for CCT policy analysis has been developed and the extent to which the approach adopted can usefully inform the current study is considered.

Section 3.3 of this chapter applies the adopted framework and provides an analysis of the phenomenon of the CCT policy process from a structural perspective. This is achieved through the consideration of a variety of perspectives given by academic writings, press reports of the time, the guidance documentation of professional bodies and central government publications. Underlying agendas are identified and these give a greater understanding of the

processes involved in CCT implementation within a framework of policy process.

Policy process analysis at the individual level is considered in Chapter 4 as part of the overall consideration of the impact of CCT at the agency level.

3.2 POLICY PROCESS ANALYSIS

3.2.1 Overview

There has been a marked increase in policy process analysis and research in the past thirty years. The areas under consideration have been extended and the depth of analysis has strengthened. The result has been the emergence of a body of knowledge which has increasingly acknowledged the importance of the role of implementation within the policy process. This has however been taken a stage further recently through the work of Sabatier (1999) and John (1998) who argued that multiple perspectives are important in policy process analysis and that there should be a synthesis of perspectives and approaches in analysis in any one given policy arena.

The origins of policy process analysis can be traced back to the 1970s through the work of analysts such as Hogwood and Gunn (1984) and Wildavsky (1979) who argued that policy process was a logical and reasoned series of actions. They emphasised that a 'rational' approach to policy analysis, in which policy input (formulation, design, preparation) and output (evaluation, monitoring) as an ordered sequence of events, would enable the very complex policy process to be divided into discrete stages for ease of analysis. Amongst American scholars this rational approach has been referred to as the "*stages heuristic*" or "*textbook approach*" (Sabatier, 1999, p6). As theoretical tools, 'stages heuristic' frameworks were a neat and structured method of policy process analysis but they gave little indication of the complexities of political life. Thus, these

frameworks are useful in clarifying basic concepts in policy process analysis but are limited as they give little recognition of the many different decision making systems and political processes which are inherent within the policy process.

Later writings in the field of policy analysis indicated a desire for a much greater and more profound understanding of the complexities of policy process as *"policy process rarely divides up into neat stages. Reality is messy"* (John, 1998, p196). Much fuller acknowledgement was given to the argument that policy processes are essentially political and that there is a strong political perspective within policy process analysis. The importance of factors such as power and influence and a corresponding heightened emphasis on the role of the individual is underlined by Hill (1997). He commented that he had been influenced in his research by a strong belief that people were important as participants in policy process as a result of

- trying to influence decisions
- being expected to implement policies
- having been affected by the decisions

As such, people needed to understand and be fully involved in the policy process.

In the 1970s with the work of Hargrove (1975), attention was given to the 'implementation' phase in the policy process. This previously had been given only cursory attention within other approaches. Effective implementation has been increasingly recognised as being critical and decisive in the successful achievement of policy outcomes. Minogue (1993) emphasised this when he commented that implementation was

"...the crucial business of translating decisions into events: of getting things done." (pp18-19)

More recent thinking has explored the respective roles of politicians, pressure groups and administrators within particular policy communities as they work together as 'advocacy coalitions' (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Acknowledgement by John (1998) has also been given to the importance of ideas and interests of these actors as it is *"impossible to imagine politics without ideas"* (p145).

The process of policy making involves a very complex set of interacting elements. The '*staggering complexity*' (Sabatier, 1999, p4) of this policy process requires further consideration if a suitable framework is to be identified for purposes of analysis of the CCT policy process and the impact of CCT on the individual.

3.2.2 Complexity of issues in policy analysis

An in-depth analysis of policy process literature shows it to be an area of competing theories and contradictory viewpoints as evidenced by the changing perspectives and different stances taken over the years. There are even ambiguities surrounding fundamental issues such as the definition of terms in general use. There seems to be, for instance, no definitive statement accepted by academics on the meaning of the term 'policy' itself. Different definitions of 'policy' provide contrasting emphases within the study of the policy process and as a result conceptual divergence has occurred. Policy is often discussed as the output of a political process, a product, a statement, an outcome, i.e.

"...a relatively durable element against which other premises and actions are supposed to be tested for consistency." (Gordon, Lewis and Young, 1993, p8)

Whereas, as Wildavsky (1979) pointed out

"Policy is a process as well as a product. It is used to refer to a process of decision-making and also to the product of that process." (as quoted in Ham and Hill, 1993, p14)

The implication of the definitional problem of the concept of policy according to Hill (1997) was that it is difficult to consider it as a concrete phenomenon. He asserted that the various attempts at definition imply that policy is sometimes very specific in terms of a decision, sometimes nebulous as it evolves over time. He emphasised that recognition must be given, however, to the fact that very complex decision networks are often involved in producing action.

Thus a number of commentators (Ham and Hill 1993, Hill 1997, John 1998, Minogue 1993) have emphasised that policy process is a complex and dynamic construct, evolving over time, influenced at all stages by the main actors, who in turn have themselves been affected by environmental, economic, social and cultural influences. Sabatier (1999) took this a stage further by offering several reasons for the intricate and dynamic nature of the policy process. He suggested that:

- i) *"Hundreds of actors" are involved from different levels of government, together with researchers and journalists and each has "potentially different values/interests, perceptions of the situation, and policy preferences".*
- ii) *The process evolves over time - often most policy cycles are of at least 10 years duration*
- iii) *In any given policy arena, multiple policy programmes are in operation which interrelate and involve many of the same actors.*
- iv) *Policy debates over technical issues between the main actors are not always fully appreciated.*
- v) *"Most disputes involve deeply held values/interests, large amounts of money and [] authoritative coercion." As a result most actors "...face enormous temptations to present evidence selectively, to misrepresent the position of their opponents, to coerce and discredit opponents, and [] to distort the situation to their advantage." (pp3-4)*

This type of explanation has significant implications for this thesis as it indicates that in order to understand policy process in a given arena one must acquire a knowledge of the goals and perceptions of actors and an understanding of the *"technical, scientific and legal issues over periods of a decade or more when most of those actors are actively seeking to propagate their specific 'spin' on events"* (p4).

Given the intricacies of the policy process, Anderson (1975) commented that

"...generally one should not permit oneself to be bound too rigidly or too dogmatically to a particular model." (p39)

Several aspects of the numerous models applied in policy process analysis are utilised to explain the problematic practice of CCT policy-making and implementation. Consideration of the most relevant aspects to be amalgamated into a framework is undertaken in the following sections, i.e. 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

3.2.3 Approaches to policy making

i) The 'top-bottom' approach

During the past thirty years policy analysis has been characterised by increasing flexibility in thinking and a more careful conceptualisation in overall approach. Initially, however, research in policy process analysis centred on a rational systems or what Younis (1993) referred to as a 'top-bottom' approach, in which it was assumed that policy was formulated at the 'top' and then translated through various stages and mechanisms for those at the 'bottom' to implement. This 'top-bottom' approach was seen essentially as providing an orderly, rational, logical series of constructs, which if implemented correctly would result in *"an ideal administrative system"* (Younis, 1993, p6). Several theorists (Gunn 1980, Hood 1976, Pressman and Wildavsky 1973), sought to find the definitive prescription for the perfect administrative system in order to produce perfect policy implementation. Gunn (1980) produced a checklist of questions

which was intended to identify the preconditions for achieving accurate and effective implementation of policy. In the identification of these ten preconditions he acknowledged the work of Hood, who had earlier described perfect administration as a

"...condition in which 'external' elements of resource availability and political acceptability combine with 'administration' to produce perfect policy implementation." (Hood, 1976, p6)

Gunn also acknowledged the work of other academics in this field notably Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), who had also been concerned with identifying the criteria for rational, effective implementation of public policies. In producing a checklist, the work of Gunn can be said therefore to broadly represent a range of work on the rational approach to policy analysis with respect to preconditions for effective policy. He emphasised that for policy to be implemented successfully, there must be:

- a) Adequate resources.
 - b) A single implementing agency with tasks set out in sequential order in accordance with agreed objectives.
 - c) Efficient communication across all agencies.
 - d) Complete control and obedience for those in authority.
 - e) No crippling external constraints.
 - f) An immediate and direct relationship between cause and effect.
- (Gunn, 1980)

The 'rational approach' was focused very much on the *"policy makers perspective"* (Barrett and Fudge, 1981, p12). This view was further supported by Younis (1993) who pointed out that

"...the issues raised...(by the 'rational' approach)...are largely concerned with the extent to which policy makers exercise

control over the environment in which policy is made; over the implementers of policy and the extent to which it is changed by them." (p8)

There have, however, been criticisms of the rational approach as it has been viewed as suffering

"...from the serious disadvantage of omitting the reality of policy modification or distortion at the hands of the policy implementers." (Younis, 1993, p12)

and as such, this policy-centred approach does not formulate a satisfactory resolution to the problems of public policy implementation. As Minogue pointed out in 1993, the rational approach failed to recognise the importance of both internal and external politics. Public administrative systems are inter-related within the wider political system and *"external politics cannot simply be left out"* (Minogue, 1993, p21).

Subsequent comment on this approach has supported the earlier concerns expressed by Minogue (1993). John (1998) emphasised that this approach was too simplistic as it was impossible to separate policy formulation from policy implementation and decision making should be seen as a continuous process.

As a simple model, the rational approach does not do justice to the complexity of objectives and achievements, aspirations, motivations and politics inherent in the policy system and as such may only have a limited use as a framework for application in such a complex policy arena as CCT.

As an alternative, several academics have suggested a much less rigid model of policy making and they have drawn attention to 'implementation' within the policy process. Gordon, Lewis and Young (1977) emphasised that policy making is a political activity in which *"the perceptions and interests of individual actors enter at all stages."* Implementation has been highlighted by

these commentators as a "*problematic activity*" with policy viewed as a "*bargained outcome*" in an environment which is in conflict with the process itself and characterised "*by diversity and constraint*" (as quoted in Levitt, 1980, p21).

ii) The 'bottom-top' approach

At its most radical, this political, 'bottom-top' approach took as its starting point, the individual in the organisation - the 'street level bureaucrat' as described by Lipsky (1980) i.e. the professional or 'semi-professional' workers who were at the service delivery point and who made decisions which rested on individual discretion. On this basis they were not only delivering policy but determining it. Lipsky (1980) referred particularly to those who worked in the public services and who had a considerable discretion over the allocation of public resources.

The 'political' approach gave greater recognition to the role of the individual within the policy process and questioned the power and role of the organisation in the policy process at the institutional level. Lipsky's work has drawn attention to the possible impact of comparatively low level actors as the real creators and determinants of policy as their decisions and

"...the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out."
(Lipsky, 1980, p.xii)

This approach to policy process analysis encouraged a shift in focus from administrative structures, processes and systems where power is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small group of policy makers (rational approach) to a very large stratum of workers who interface with the service consumers at the street level (political approach).

Hudson (1989), in a discussion of Lipsky's work, emphasised the importance of this shift and maintained that the power of the street level bureaucrats had not been given sufficient acknowledgement in the literature on public administration. He concluded that their power extended to control over service consumers and it also gave them autonomy from their employers. Ham and Hill (1993) provided a further angle on the power of the street level bureaucrat and suggested that the freedom given to make policy, was largely "*...used to provide a more manageable task and environment*" (p142). This perspective was echoed by Satyamurti's study of social workers (1981), in which she identified 'strategies of survival' by social workers under pressure. Different working regimes led to the dispensing of principles and the adoption of survival mechanisms.

Thus a fresh meaning has been given to policy process analysis through the ideas of Lipsky, as he brought to the fore for the first time a large class of people who hitherto had been regarded as unimportant in the analysis of policy implementation. Hudson (1989) commented that the relevance of the street level bureaucrat must be recognised if policy process is to be understood.

There has been much adverse comment on these two approaches, summarised by Younis (1993). He commented critically on the rational approach in that it suffered from the disadvantage of "*...omitting the reality of policy modification or distortion at the hands of policy implementers*" (p12). He also commented in a no less favourable way on the political approach that in his opinion did not formulate a "*satisfactory resolution*" to the problems of public policy implementation "*due to its complete rejection of the authority of policy makers*" (p21).

Both approaches have been shown to be flawed, as on the one hand they omit the realities of policy modification (the rational approach), or they reject the

authority of policy makers (the political approach). They have, however, represented an increasing recognition of the value of applying a conceptual approach to investigating problems in policy analysis and in turn they have stimulated a much more careful conceptualisation of the policy process. They have also reflected the complexities of policy process analysis in recent times. These two extremes of views have stimulated further, more complex policy process analysis and in a sense a compromise situation has subsequently been reached by academics who have taken elements from both approaches and who cite 'Implementation' (Hill 1997, John 1998, Sabatier 1999) as the most important element in the policy process.

iii) Implementation

This approach allows for the identification of all those stages through which issues pass; factors become influential; actors' roles are evaluated; inputs and outputs are determined and end results evaluated as an ongoing process. This is in line with Minogue's (1993) definition of Implementation which he described as the

"...translation into practice of policies that emerge from the complex process of decision making" [] "with the outcome being the results of decisions and implementation." (p19)

This compromise approach in a sense has supported a pluralistic view of policy analysis and it is a view which has identified and analysed a very wide range of functions, processes, actors and organisations, all of which are necessary if the actual processes by which the intentions and inputs of policy makers are to be identified.

Most recent literature (John 1998, Hill 1997, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993) has reflected the continued quest for improved frameworks and models of decision making across the various policy sectors. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith

(1993) emphasised the importance of 'advocacy coalitions' in their work. They maintained that the importance of an individual's role is subsumed by that of the policy community to which he or she belongs. 'Advocacy coalitions' are formed from people with a variety of roles who share a common belief system and who demonstrate a degree of co-ordinated activity. A criticism of this stance has been provided however by Hill (1997) who stated that this framework needed to be viewed with the context of the political culture from which it came i.e. the United States of America.

John (1998) added a further dimension to the debate on policy process through a recognition of the importance of 'ideas'. The term 'ideas' refers to a

"...range of ideational processes from knowledge, beliefs, norms and causal stories to world systems and ideologies." (p159)

Academics who have supported his ideas based approach in public policy analysis have argued that it is the ideas which the actors bring to the public arena which are the determinants of policy change and stability. However, John (1988) concluded on this and other approaches, that a *"synthetic approach"* (p194) would be the most appropriate way of explaining policy process, as methods which rely on one approach to explain policy decision making and implementation were too narrow.

Having considered the main arguments for the different approaches and following the recommendations of John (1998) it is felt that the most appropriate framework to be used in the analysis of CCT policy and its impact on the individual is one which utilises the most important insights from a number of approaches and as a result the range and intricacies of the practice of CCT policy process can be demonstrated.

3.2.4 Identification of a framework

In this final part of section 3.2, a framework based on the different approaches to policy process analysis is constructed to support a subsequent analysis of the CCT policy process and its impact on the individual (section 3.3). Despite criticisms levelled against several of these different approaches, particularly the 'stages model', it is felt that there are significant features in each of the approaches which can be utilised to aid analysis in complex policy areas such as CCT. The framework (see Figure 3.1 is drawn from:

i) The rational approach

This provides a structured method of analysis as it identifies inputs into the system, a conversion/decision process, policy output and policy outcomes (Jenkins, 1978).

ii) The political approach

This approach provides evidence of the way in which individuals (street level bureaucrats) and groups compete to control and manipulate the resources of a given organisation. The authority of the policy makers is rejected as policy making is allowed to be decentralised to the grass roots where the interaction of policy networks, communities, organisations, actors and events are of paramount importance (Lipsky, 1980).

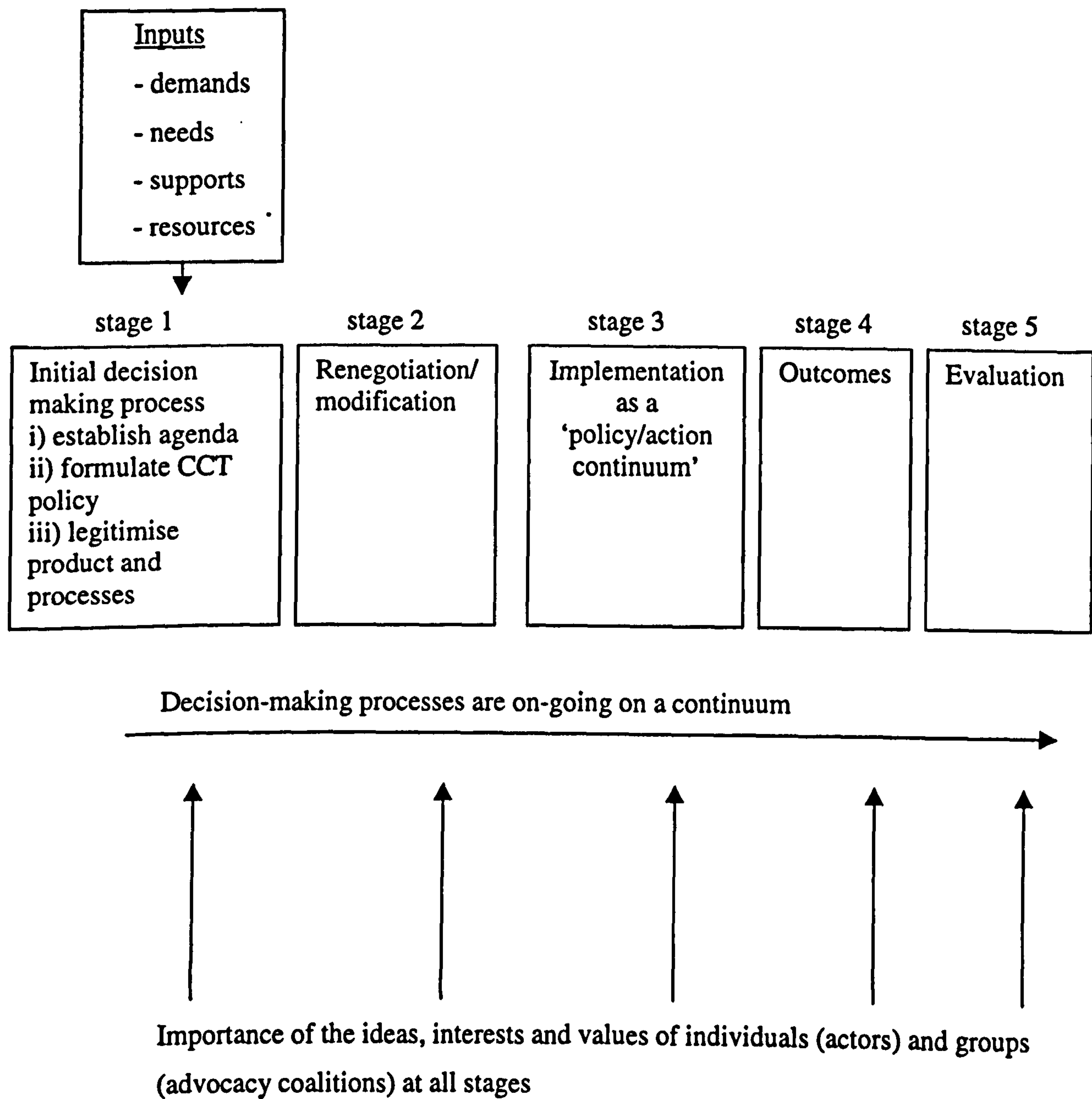
iii) Advocacy coalitions

This draws on the theories of Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) who emphasised the importance of coalitions of like-minded actors.

iv) Ideas

Consistent with advocacy coalition is the theory that political action is constituted by ideas as outlined by John (1998) where ideas equate with the interests, values and habits of the actions of the individual actors in the process.

Figure 3.1: Synthesised framework of policy process focusing on implementation stages



**Sources: Jenkins (1978), John (1998), Levitt (1980),
Lipsky (1980), Minogue (1993)**

v) Implementation theory

Further signposts are created through the application of Implementation Theory in spite of the apparent rigidity of such a method of analysis. The identification of stages of CCT policy process allows for the complexity of decision making to be made clear from structural, institutional and operational perspectives. It also assists in the provision of a chronological view of an extended policy continuum.

Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, it is argued that a synthesised framework based on the five approaches outlined above, is an appropriate construct with which to analyse the literature on the CCT policy process and the impact on the individual professional. However, to apply such a synthesised framework in its entirety within such a highly intricate policy arena is thought to be too complex as there are multiple perspectives in evidence at both the structural and agency level. Thus the material is considered in two separate chapters. Firstly, the context of CCT is addressed in this chapter through a discussion of the structures which had an influence on CCT implementation. Secondly, the following chapter considers CCT from an agency perspective with the ideas, interests and interrelationships of the actors to the fore.

Before undertaking this analysis, however, it may be useful to heed the advice given by Levitt (1980) concerning the use of frameworks to assist analysis. She emphasised that they can only provide an abbreviated insight

"...because a lot of detail cannot be accurately represented. The framework should therefore not be expected to do more than aid thought about a given policy area and system." (p159)

The framework produced in Figure 3.1 should be viewed as a material support to promote analysis but it has limitations in that it cannot fully represent the multiplicity of views, opinions and expressions inherent in policy process.

3.3 LEISURE MANAGEMENT CCT POLICY PROCESS AT THE STRUCTURAL LEVEL

3.3.1 Introduction

As outlined above, policy process analysis is complex and according to John (1998, p23) "*apparently chaotic*". He advised that a conceptual framework be imposed on policy process analysis to facilitate understanding. The synthesised conceptual framework (Figure 3.1), which has been produced to facilitate an understanding of leisure management CCT, distinguishes between the following stages:

- i) initial decision making
- ii) renegotiation / modification
- iii) implementation
- iv) outcome
- v) evaluation

There is often a considerable overlap between phases and the stages "*can (and often should) share information and procedures*" (de Leon in Sabatier, 1999, p21). Each of these stages merges with the next and even though each has a distinctive character it is problematic in such a complex policy arena as leisure management CCT to clearly distinguish where one stage finishes and the next starts.

However, guidance is given by John (1998) regarding the demarcation of content between the respective phases. 'Policy initiation' is the stage at which a policy is formulated. 'Renegotiation' concerns the translation of policy into an Act of Parliament. 'Implementation' is the process whereby the policy is translated into practice. 'Outcome' is viewed as the statistical measures of output (Lane, 1995) and 'evaluation' considers the implications of the policy based on outcomes.

This delineation of stages is partially supported by Hill (1997, p141) who maintained that the study of a government policy is likely to progress through the following procedures

- a) ideas are formulated in the policy manifesto
- b) policies are expressed in the Queen's speech
- c) consultation is undertaken on the implications of the policy
- d) a Bill is prepared and the legislation subsequently becomes law
- e) regulations are enacted
- f) circulars and other similar instructional documents are sent out to all relevant institutions
- g) detailed reports and accounts of the subsequent working practices are kept.

Hill (1997) commented that *"Implementation is conventionally seen as involving the last two or three items in this list"* (p141).

In reality, policy issues are often ongoing, continuous with the 'edges' of the phases blurred and even confused, with review and evaluation on an ongoing basis cutting across each phase. This policy/action continuum (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984) as applied to leisure management CCT, is considered in the following sections. Figure 3.2 provides a summary of the most important dates in each stage.

Figure 3.2: Chronology of Leisure Management CCT Policy

STAGE	CHRONOLOGY OF COMPULSORY COMPETITIVE TENDERING POLICY
1. Initial decision making stage (1976 to 1988)	<p>1976 Ministry of Housing Green Paper. CCT proposed as solution for inefficient DSOs.</p> <p>1978 Department of Environment statement. Future legislation would require local authority service provision to be comparable to external contractors. DOE/District Audit/local authority working party made recommendations on the use of competition.</p> <p>1979 Conservative Government returned to power.</p> <p>1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act introduced the concept of CCT into local authority service provision.</p> <p>Mid 1980s Departmental publications on CCT e.g. 1986 Treasury Document stated the Government's intention to extend CCT.</p> <p>1986 Erewash Borough Council submitted the Albion Leisure Centre to voluntary competitive tender.</p> <p>1986 Queens Speech – stated the Government's formal intention to introduce further legislation on CCT.</p> <p>1987 Government announced deferral of CCT in local authority sports and leisure management.</p> <p>General Election with Conservative Government returned to power. Introduced the Local Government Bill into the House, but sport and leisure management omitted.</p> <p>Department of Environment issued a consultation paper on CCT in the management of local authority sports and leisure facilities.</p> <p>Adverse comments and criticisms of leisure management CCT viewed in many quarters as privatisation which the government strongly refuted. Some support however from the professional bodies.</p> <p>1988 Draft Parliamentary Order on CCT in sport and leisure management published with the intention of clarifying queries.</p>
2. Renegotiations/modifications (1988-1989)	<p>1988 Local Government Act passed – introduced the concept of CCT into a range of local authority services but not sport and leisure management.</p> <p>1989 The order extending the provisions of the 1988 Act to sport and leisure management passed</p>
3. Implementation (1988 to present)	<p>Clarification on operationalisation of CCT</p> <p>1991 DOE/DES Circular giving further guidance on implementation</p>
4. Outcomes (1992-2000)	<p>Various surveys undertaken on the impact of CCT. CLR (1993), CELTS (1993), INLOGOV (1991), IPF (1992), FISH (1994), IPF (2000)</p>
5. Evaluation (1992-2000)	<p>Major impact on processes and procedures, minor impact on outcomes.</p>

Sources: Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993), CELTS (1993), CLR (1993), Fish (1994), Henry (1993), IPF (1992), IPF (2000), Walsh and Davies (1993)

3.3.2 Initial decision making process

Goggin et al (1990) in consideration of the 'stages' model emphasised that each 'segment' is distinguished by different actions and purposes. With regard to leisure management CCT policy development the focus of actions and purposes at the structural level was on

- i) the establishment of an acceptable political agenda within a supportive environment for CCT.
- ii) the formulation of CCT policy.
- iii) the legitimisation of the product and processes of CCT policy.

- i) the establishment of an acceptable political agenda

According to Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993), local authorities pre-CCT were paternalistic, municipal, bureaucracies and had, from the late 1800s, very significant responsibilities towards their local communities both in a democratic sense and also in terms of employment. In recent years local authorities have been significant employers in terms of the size of the workforce particularly in areas of manual work i.e. refuse collection, grounds maintenance, parks security and swimming pool operation.

However, during the 1970s the role of local authorities as direct employers with their own labour force came under attack from the Labour Government of 1974-79 and Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993) maintained that this established the initial agenda for the introduction of CCT in general terms. The main triggering events for this change of direction were evidenced in the actions of the Labour Government in various publications and statements.

Firstly a Green Paper was issued in 1976 by the Minister of Housing which criticised the inefficient practices and lack of accountability of DLOs across a range of services. The intention was to deal with the problem through a

reformation of local authorities' DLOs with Compulsory Competitive Tendering as a proposed solution.

Secondly in 1978 the Department of the Environment (quoted in Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes, 1993, p27), stated that future legislation on DLOs would be designed to improve accountability and create conditions in which they could become comparable with external contractors. Legislation would provide controls to ensure that consistently inefficient DLOs were not tolerated.

Finally also in 1978 a working party of Local Authority, District Audit and Department of the Environment representatives produced recommendations on the use of competition (quoted in Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes, 1993, p27).

According to Hill (1997, p141) a characteristic of the initial policy formulation stage was a "*general commitment to action*" and this was certainly the case with regard to the Labour Government as evidenced above. However, the commitment to action was not translated into practice by the Labour Government as the May 1979 election returned a new Conservative Government to power who immediately issued a consultation paper outlining their own proposals on CCT across a range of functional areas.

Such an argument on the rationale for the introduction of CCT did not allow for the much broader, ideological stance as taken by Ascher (1987). Harrison and Gretton (1987), Parkinson (1987) and Whitehead (1988). They emphasised that the decision to introduce competition into local authority service provision *per se* lay with later Conservative Governments as part of a desire to reform local government as the Conservatives saw the Public Sector as expensive,

inefficient, insensitive, bureaucratic, remote from the consumer, lacking in accountability to its citizens, lacking in competition, over protective of its labour force and driven by a 'producer-led' philosophy.

Increasing "*concretisation of ideas*" (Hill, 1997, p141) is a characteristic of this phase in the policy process and this was evidenced in the first piece of legislation which introduced the principle of CCT into local government service provision. The Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980 required local authorities to compete for building and highways construction and maintenance. According to Walsh (1993), however,

"...the initial impact of the legislation was limited by the fact that various exemptions were granted." (p108)

and a number of authorities were able to modify the legislation. The impact was also limited as building and highways work made up only a small percentage of local authority work in any case. The majority of the work of local authorities in terms of service delivery and central support services continued to be undertaken by local authorities through their own employees and

"...the Government was slow to extend competition beyond the services covered in the 1980 Act." (Harrison, 1993, p108)

It was not until after the 1987 election that other services were subjected to competitive tendering and the Government in this period (between 1980 and 1988), instead chose to reshape the Public Sector in other ways and it concentrated on aspects of local government reform which would provide a tighter administrative and financial framework within which CCT would be implemented. This period of relative inactivity in legislative terms with particular reference to leisure management CCT, according to Henry (1993) was due to the Government's endeavour to pass legislation on local authority finance before the 1987 election. Leisure management CCT was 'on the books'

for 1986/87, but there was insufficient time for the Government to initiate legislation in this policy area. The reforming zeal of the Thatcher Government in other areas of local government and the substantial volume of other legislation was an important dimension in the deferral of further legislation on competition and it also gave the Government time to consider fully the requirements of CCT legislation.

A strong ideological stance was taken by the Conservative Government at this time and Parkinson (1987), succinctly summarised the reforming zeal of this government who intended to regenerate Britain's

"... ailing economy by reviving the enterprise culture" (in pursuit of their desire to) "...roll back the frontiers of the State and increase incentives for individual activity." (p2)

Parkinson (1987) showed that government policies entailed a reduction in welfare provision; a reduction in public spending, taxation and employment; the substitution of private for public provision; an increase in individual choice in service provision and consumption and the charging of full economic price for services. It was within this raft of policies that leisure management CCT sat very comfortably.

However, the actual extent of the *"rolling back the frontiers of the State"* in the 1980s has been questioned. Harrison (1993, p1) commented that the *"extent of the transformation can be easily exaggerated"*. He argued that in many services significant responsibility remained with the Public Sector, such as control over prices. Most of the structures, hierarchies and large vertically integrated Public Sector organisations were still in place by the end of the 1980s. Very significant Public Sector expenditure programmes were also still in existence.

However, whether it be as part of a political and economic agenda as proposed by Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993) or a much broader ideological agenda as suggested by Parkinson (1987), CCT across a range of functional areas was an important facet in the Labour Government of the 1970s and Conservative Government political agenda of the 1980s.

ii) The formulation of CCT policy

The Conservative Governments in the early 1980s pursued a very clear political agenda for the formulation of CCT policy and its subsequent implementation by the end of the 1980s. An insight is provided into the agenda for leisure management through an analysis of the recommendations of the Audit Commission in a series of reports on local government matters (1988, 1989, 1990). The governing body of this agency is appointed by the Government and Stoker (1988) suggested that although it was, in theory, an independent consumer watchdog for local government, it has concentrated on investigating issues such as economy and effectiveness in service delivery in the Public Sector and it has clearly supported the Government's ideological stances on economy and waste in local government. Thus it can be argued that the Audit Commission provided a clear indication of the way in which central government policy was initiated, modified and implemented.

The Audit Commission (1988) maintained that local authorities were no longer the only or most effective providers of traditional services and new methods should be considered. Thus it reflected the Government's thinking in strongly advocating CCT in a range of local authority services. It suggested that new tensions had been created within local authorities as national and local policies became adversarial. It reported that the Government had formulated a strategy to increase flexibility in local government and introduce more adaptable, responsive structures at the local level. This would be achieved by taking a strong lead in the formulation of policy at the local level through various

initiatives such as the imposition of limits on local authority powers to raise and spend money, the implementation of privatisation, competition, or deregulation of services and the opening up of local authority's operations by auditing them more closely.

The formulation of CCT policy in general terms thus had a strong ideological and political content, but considerable emphasis was also placed by the Government at this stage on the operationalisation of policy. Harrison (1993), for instance, cited the Government's intention to introduce a

"...division between responsibility for provision and provision itself."
(p20)

This was a reference to the requirement placed on local authorities to effect a split between the client (responsible for provision of physical facilities) and the contractor (responsible for management of services) at the operational level. Harrison (1993) emphasised that the imposition of a division of responsibilities challenged the principle of hierarchical organisations which had been typical of Public Sector structures and it changed the emphasis to one of contractual relationships.

In the formulation of CCT policy the Government was thus intent on not only an ideological transformation of local government but also major procedural changes within its structures.

iii) The legitimisation of the product and processes of CCT policy
Hill (1997) used the term 'the legitimisation of the policy' to describe the process of justification of a policy with the intended recipients within the various policy communities. This study utilises the notion that the instruments of legitimisation encompassed the ideas and interests of government as

promoted in political manifestos, the Queen's speech, Green and White papers and parliamentary debates. This was the physical evidence of a policy legitimisation process in the sense of "*making legitimate by decree or enactment*" (Oxford Dictionary).

The period between 1986 to 1988 can be viewed as a period of 'twists and turns of decisions' which were very much part of the legitimisation process of CCT policy. There was an extensive discourse between the Government and all those with an interest in local authority services delivery i.e. local authority politicians and officers, professional bodies, trade unions, governing bodies and the Sports Council with regard to the extension of competition to leisure management. There was no evidence in the literature to suggest that this conjecture extended any further than these policy advocacy coalitions into a wider public domain. There was little mobilisation of users, probably because as Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993) suggest, the Government had made it very clear from the outset that facilities would remain in the ownership of local authorities and programmes would be enhanced through the introduction of new management regimes which would be more allied to the requirements of the market. Policy content, direction and timescales were the subject of much conjecture within these service delivery policy advocacy coalitions and this represented a legitimisation process for CCT.

As a result of the dialogue between these various coalitions it became increasingly clear to the Government in the 1980s that local authorities would not voluntarily adopt leisure management CCT. Evidence of the Government's efforts to justify CCT is provided in a series of Departmental publications such as the Treasury document, *Using Private Enterprise in Government* (1986), which stated very clearly that the Government's plans to extend CCT implementation would be sound management practice and would result in value

for money. The rationale given for the contractualisation of work was that it would

- "a) reduce the size of the civil service*
- b) save money*
- c) increase the share of the economy in which market forces can operate" (p5)*

but perhaps the most important aspect is the recognition given in this Treasury document to the possibility of subjecting other areas to competitive tendering, i.e.

"In our (the Government's) opinion these principles (of CCT), adjusted as necessary to suit their different circumstances, could be applied also in the National Health Service, in local government and in non-departmental public bodies." (p12)

This document was representative of the style and manner of the Government's justification for the principles of CCT in general and was a recognition that it could be applied across a broad spectrum of service areas as a policy initiative. In fact the principles of CCT were allowed by the Government to be applied to leisure management in advance of the legislative requirement to do so. A handful of authorities were keen to follow the lead given by the Government and adopt sound management practices and achieve value for money through voluntarily submitting their leisure facilities to competitive tender in advance of legislation. Erewash Borough Council in 1986, through a voluntary competitive tender situation appointed Crossland Leisure to manage the Albion Leisure Centre, despite having an existing Recreation Division which directly managed leisure facilities.

However, the resultant consequences in Erewash justified John's argument that policy implementation is characterised at times by *"quixotic failures and...surprises"* (1998, p25) as Crossland Leisure went into insolvency in 1991

and the local authority resumed management of a run down facility and was forced to undertake extensive expenditure to upgrade to its pre-contract state.

An important constitutional instrument which advanced the legitimisation of CCT implementation was the statement in the Queen's speech in November 1986 which gave a formal expression of the Government's intention to introduce further legislation on competition. By this time, the list of local authority activities included in the proposed legislation had been extended to computing, waste disposal, transport, printing, architectural services and sports and leisure management. The legislation would be worded such that other council services could be added later without the requirement for additional legislation. Thus the Government took an important step forward to ensure that CCT would become legislation within that Parliamentary session.

However within four months, there was a reversal of intentions as the timescales for the implementation of CCT were suddenly extended. The Government announced that its proposals for the implementation of CCT in sports and leisure management would not be introduced into the current Parliamentary session under the provisions of the Local Government Bill. This reversal of intentions was an indication of difficulties which are sometimes experienced with policy legitimisation and according to Hill (1997) a hallmark of the messiness of policy making.

The deferral in drafting the CCT policy was due to technical problems and difficulties with the mechanics of competition (Walsh and Davies, 1993). There were problems with the drafting of competition policy as it was a technically complex area of local authority operation. It was the first managerial function to be exposed to CCT, as previous areas to be exposed to the market had encompassed the manual skills of building and building maintenance work which were much more easily quantifiable.

The General Election of May 1987 returned a Conservative Government for the third successive occasion and the Government announced its intention to further extend CCT at the earliest opportunity, despite difficulties with the translation of political ideology into a workable legislative instrument. In June 1987 a Bill was introduced into the House outlining the statutory requirements to expose certain local authority services to competitive tender. It was significant that the Government had omitted the management of leisure facilities from this Bill. This was further recognition of the difficulties of prescribing for such a complex policy initiative as CCT in leisure management.

Brewer referred to the importance of "*estimation and selection*" in advance of successful implementation (quoted in Sabatier, 1999, p21). The selection of appropriate texts, the drafting of meaningful, workable practices and the translation of this policy into a legislative instrument is of paramount importance in the legitimisation of policy. However, the selection of appropriate texts and the preparation of legislative devices in the preparation of CCT policy for leisure management continued to be a very problematic area.

In September 1987 the Department of the Environment issued a consultation paper (Competition in the management of local authority sport and leisure facilities) which invited recipients to comment, criticise and suggest alternatives with regard to extending the provisions of the Local Government Bill to include the management of local authority sport and leisure facilities. This paper was the first overt, written reflection of the Government's detailed intentions with regard to the introduction of CCT into local authority leisure management and as such a relevant instrument of legitimisation.

Walsh and Davies (1993, pp40-42) provided a useful summary of this consultation paper. This document gave a list of the activities which sport and leisure services encompassed, i.e.

- *"sports centres*
- *leisure centres*
- *swimming pools*
- *golf courses*
- *bowling greens*
- *putting greens*
- *tennis courts*
- *athletic tracks*
- *pitches for team and other games*
- *cycle tracks*
- *water sports facilities*
- *artificial ski slopes*
- *skating rinks*
- *indoor bowling greens*
- *beaches"*

The management of these activities included the following functions:

- *"taking bookings*
- *collection of and accounting for fees and charges*
- *cleaning and maintaining buildings, grounds, sports surfaces, plant and equipment*
- *supervising activities e.g. lifeguards at swimming pools*
- *providing instruction in the sport and recreation activities offered*
- *catering and the provision of refreshments*
- *provision and hire of sports and other equipment*
- *paying for heating, lighting and other service charged*
- *securing the premises "*

The consultation document gave two alternatives for dealing with pricing, admissions and opening hours. Either the local authority could retain control with the ability to delegate the responsibility to the contractor if so desired, or it could pass on to the Private Sector managers the freedom to set prices, determine policies for admission and set opening hours. If so desired the local authorities could retain an involvement with the determination of policies concerning certain disadvantaged groups.

Leisure facilities which were part of educational establishments were also included in the consultation paper. Sports and leisure facilities which were integral to the educational establishments and were provided primarily for the use of pupils were to be exempt under the proposed legislation.

Several queries were raised by a number of advocacy coalitions, particularly with regard to the list of functional areas and the definition of managerial responsibilities. On the basis of the problematic nature of the proposals and the difficulties of preparing the legislation, leisure management was excluded from the provisions of the Local Government Bill.

A number of the advocacy coalitions were sports governing bodies and they perceived the proposals for the implementation of CCT in the management of sport and leisure facilities as 'privatisation' and they felt that this move would have an adverse effect on sport in the UK. The ASA was reported to be concerned as its members envisaged that there would be

"... a tendency to close down traditional pools in favour of more leisure-oriented facilities which... would be good for family fun but not for teaching and training of swimming."

(as reported in The Times 3rd December 1987, p38. "Vulnerable swimmers close ranks" - Ian Stafford)

CCT as 'privatisation' was not the way the Government wished this process to be viewed by the public. The Government felt that it had not been made clear that local authorities would have the responsibility for specifying the service, preparing the documentation and monitoring the contract whilst retaining the ownership of the facility. To rectify this the Department of the Environment made a public statement that it

"...has always stressed that it is not privatisation of facilities. Instead it is competition in the management of local authorities' sports facilities."

(as reported in The Times 4th December 1987 John Goodbody)

However, there is contradictory evidence which suggested that other advocacy coalitions did fully appreciate the implications of CCT from an early stage and they made strenuous efforts to communicate a more balanced interpretation of CCT and thus support the Government. The professional bodies of ILAM and IBRM produced a series of papers for its members on the subject of CCT. One such (IBRM) briefing paper, written in January 1988, by Carl Evans-Platt (Assistant Director, Recreation, Stoke-on-Trent City Council) and John Martin (Assistant Director of Recreation and Amenities, Newcastle-under-Lyme) emphasised that

"...responses to the proposals (to introduce CCT) have been in many cases emotional in nature and include frequent remarks like 'we won't let it happen'; 'it won't work'; 'we will fight it'; 'the Government don't know what it is all about'; and 'where is this Private Sector?'...the fact is it can be done...such remarks are made by the ill-informed for the benefit of the ill-informed and could ensure Rome burns while they give speeches. IT IS NOW TIME TO GET DOWN TO WORK." (quoted in ILAM, CCT Red Book, 1989, App 1/27)

The authors continued with this 'call to arms'

"There is ample need to motivate yourself when change is all around you...The authors believe that the proposed legislation presents both threats and opportunities which need to be exploited to the full. Just how this will be done requires a strategy which may be unique to your particular situation. Having stated this, if you're short on ideas watch this space for some thoughts." (quoted in ILAM, CCT Red Book, 1989, App1/23)

The Government eventually published a draft Parliamentary order in November 1988 which clarified many of the queries which had been raised in the consultation exercises and the order to extend competition to sports and leisure management was eventually passed in October 1989.

In conclusion, the initial decision making stage of leisure management CCT implementation has been shown to span the period 1980 to 1989, although much of the early discussion concerned the implementation of CCT across a range of services and the processes which the Government went through in this period demonstrated the requirement to establish an acceptable political agenda, formulate and legitimise the policy. The relatively lengthy process has been accounted for by the requirement in this period for the Government to undertake the more urgent task of introducing stricter financial and administrative controls into local authority management. Thus there was an extended period of relative inactivity as CCT took a back seat. The Government had hoped that authorities would introduce CCT on a voluntary basis but this did not prove to be the case. Detailed consultation and negotiations concerning CCT in leisure management did not commence until relatively late in this period i.e. September 1987 with the order published in 1989.

3.3.3 Renegotiations/modifications

Following initial decision making and formulation, according to John (1998, p23), *"the policy is modified by law-making"*. In policy process terms, modifications to policy came about through enactment by the Local Government Act 1988 (Competition in sports and leisure facilities) order 1989 (Statutory instrument No. 2488:1989). The Act required 'defined authorities' i.e. local authorities and other public bodies in Britain (but not Northern Ireland) to invite tenders for 'functional work' in the provision of services in certain areas i.e. refuse collection, cleaning of buildings, catering for schools and welfare, other catering, grounds maintenance, vehicle repair and maintenance.

The Local Government Act 1988 provided for a phased introduction of CCT in those areas outlined above. For most services, local authorities were grouped and different groups had different timetables with regard to which services the

authority had to expose to competition by a certain date. The phased introduction was adopted in order to give authorities time to prepare for the new procedures and time for the Private Sector to develop sufficient capacity to bid for the work.

After further consultation following the publication of the Act, it was determined that contract periods should be for a minimum of 3, 4 or 5 years, with a maximum of 4, 5, 6 or 7 years.

The Act emphasised that authorities were not to act in a manner which would be anti-competitive in any way. Anti-competitive behaviour was primarily concerned with the prevention of authorities from taking non-commercial matters into account. These included terms and conditions of employment, composition of the workforce, training policies etc. The authority was not required to accept the lowest tender, but the authority must have had demonstrably sound reasons for rejecting a contractor's bid in favour of a higher one. This again was to prevent a distortion of competition.

Finally the Secretary of State specified that authorities carrying out defined activities were required to achieve a 5% rate of return on current valued net assets. There were exemptions from this i.e. any activity where the capital employed by the authority would be made available to whoever was awarded the work.

The policy to introduce CCT into local authority leisure services, enacted by the order, was modified following the initial publication in the consultation document of September 1987 as demonstrated by the addition of the following facilities:

- gymnasias
- badminton courts

- centres for bicycles (whether motorised or not)
- bowling alleys
- centres for horse racing

Clarification was also given to the definition and the use of leisure facilities which were part of educational establishments. Leisure facilities were exempt from CCT if they were:

- on premises not predominantly used for sport or physical recreation
- on premises occupied by educational institutions
- under powers derived from the Education Act and where educational institutions have used either a single facility exclusively for more than 600 hours in the immediately preceding financial year or, in the case of a complex of two or more facilities, where at least half of the facilities have been used exclusively for more than 600 hours.

In the news release accompanying the order, the Department of the Environment announced a phased implementation which again was a modification to the original intention of the Government. CCT in leisure management would be implemented in stages during 1992 with 35% of sport and leisure facilities to be submitted to competition by 1st January 1992, 70% by 1st August 1992 and 100% by 1st January 1993.

The Government's intentions were thus published and the focus was now on the leisure professional to achieve implementation within the recommended guidelines.

3.3.4 Implementation

The implementation stage of the policy process is *"the translation of intentions into reality"* (John, 1998, p27). This view was supported by Hill (1997) who described this stage as covering aspects such as the circulation of instructions, the enactment of the regulations and the preparation of follow up reports and accounts of working practices. With regard to CCT implementation, an

important aspect of this translation was the negotiation undertaken between the Government and the advocacy coalitions following the enactment of the legislation. In fact extensive clarifications were sought by various communities and the Government published a joint circular through the Department of the Environment and The Department of Education and Science in May 1991 as a further guideline to the modifications in the order.

These clarifications concerned aspects such as defined authorities, defined activities, exemptions, timetable and were aimed at clarifying the rules and regulations as an aid to implementation. Despite these clarifications, implementation was problematic. John (1998) referred to difficulties in general terms at this stage as policy process is often characterised by

"...a complex matrix of public, quasi-public and private decision making bodies involved with their own interests and values." (p27)

The Government endeavoured to take full account of the decision making bodies in the process, but despite the consultation processes described above, a number of aspects of CCT policy were criticised by local authorities following implementation. It was felt for instance, that the policy to introduce competitive tendering should not have been compulsory and the tendering process was regarded as a significant use of resources for a relatively small impact (CELTS, 1993).

In conclusion, conflicting messages were communicated concerning the interpretation and meaning given to CCT at the time of its implementation. On the one hand the national and local press were critical in their response and equated CCT with privatisation and redundancy. Other policy advocacy coalitions were more pragmatic in approach as demonstrated by the views of the professional bodies. As reported above, ILAM and IBRM recognised that CCT would be introduced and successful operationalisation of CCT would be the

best alternative if redundancies were to be avoided in the leisure management profession.

3.3.5 Outcomes

As outlined above, there is often a considerable overlap in the information and processes between the various stages in a sequential policy process framework, such as the one utilised for the analysis of CCT. This argument has significant implications particularly for the last two stages in the model where the outcomes are analysed and evaluated. However, Sabatier (1999) emphasised that

“Although they (stages) certainly can merge with one another, each does have a distinctive characteristic.” (p21)

In terms of differentiation between outcomes and evaluation of CCT, this study has based the discussion on ‘outcomes’ on the results of various surveys (Fish 1994, IPF 1992, IPF 2000). Younis (1990) gave a broad definition of the term ‘outcome’ as he maintained that outcomes are what actually happens in the real world after government’s agents have put into effect the policy intentions of government. ‘Outcome’ is thus the social reality of policy implementation. Lane (1995) emphasised that this reality is measurable in statistical terms and adopted a managerialist view that outcomes should be viewed as measures of efficiency in the Public Sector. This section follows this definition and concentrates on outcomes as statistical measures of efficiency. The evaluation in Section 3.3.6 considers the implications of these statistics in terms of the influence and effect of the implementation of CCT on the role of the leisure professional.

Empirical work on the effects of the implementation of CCT has been of a statistical nature. The timescale of this work has a relevance to this study. The first round of CCT contracts were awarded in the period between 1st January 1992 and 1st January 1993 for a period of between four and seven years. Many contracts were let for a second round and in fact IPF (2000) identified that 195

contracts (129 DSO and 64 private contractor) will terminate in the period between 2000 and 2004 onwards. Therefore, it is likely that a true picture of the effects of the exercise will not be available until well into the twenty first century and not just the end of the twentieth century as suggested by Cooke (1993) and Houlihan (1997).

The period 1992 to 1993 saw the publication of several statistical surveys which reported on the first round of competition (CELTS 1993, CLR 1993, IPF 1992) and these generated considerable debate and discussion on the impact of CCT (Bailey and Reid 1994, Coalter 1995, Nichols 1995, Nichols and Taylor 1995, Robbie and Wright 1996, Snape 1995). There has been, however, a lack of follow up research and analysis on the same scale in recent years as the second round of CCT commenced and 'Best Value' came to the fore in 1997. However several pieces of work published within the past three years have shed further light on the impact of CCT (Collins 1997, IPF 2000 and Robinson 1999).

This section concentrates on the statistical outcomes of CCT as reported in the first round of analysis, but also draws upon the findings of the IPF (2000) survey as an update.

Early surveys (CELTS 1993, IPF1992) showed that there was a

“...disappointing lack of interest in leisure contracts on the part of private operators, with most DSOs unopposed” (IPF, p56)

in the first round. IPF (1992) surveyed 206 local authorities and identified 223 leisure management contracts awarded under CCT. The results are reported in Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

Table 3.1: The Percentage of Sports and Leisure Management Contracts Awarded in the First Round

Organisations	Percentage
In-house DSOs	80.7%
Private	11.7%
Management buy outs	7.2%
External DSOs	0.4%

(IPF, 1992, p58)

Over 80% of contracts remained in-house with the authorities' own DSOs. This was in line with the INLOGOV Survey (1991), as reported by the Audit Commission, that 82% of total contracts (in terms of number of contracts) had been won by DSOs in the first round (Audit Commission, 1993). These figures take into account the fact that 22 out of the 59 contracts awarded to the Private Sector up to October 1st 1991 had failed due to bankruptcy or poor performance (the majority of these contracts had been awarded to Crossland Leisure and Clifford Barnett) (IPF, 1992).

Table 3.2: Contracts Awarded by Region (based on number of contracts)

Region	TOTAL			
	DSO	%	Private	%
North	13	100	-	0
Yorkshire and Humberside	13	100	-	0
North West	11	92	1	8
West Midlands	12	86	2	14
E Midlands	19	76	6	24
E Anglia	12	92	1	8
S East	40	68	19	32
S West	15	83	3	17
Scotland	18	100	-	0
Wales	7	100	-	0
London	21	68	10	32

(IPF, 1992, p58)

The Private Sector performed particularly well in London and the South East with over 30% each of the total awarded contracts. East Midlands (24%) and South West (17%) also demonstrated a relatively strong foothold for the Private Sector.

This, however, contradicted research work undertaken by Fish (1994) who undertook a survey in 1993 on 41 local authorities in the East Midlands. He found only a 'muted impact' of CCT with two of the authorities he surveyed awarding contracts externally in the first round, i.e. 4.8% of total contracts in this region. This relatively low uptake was confirmed in 1999 (IPF, 2000). These are not directly comparable, however, as they are the result of research following different rounds of CCT but they do indicate a relatively low uptake by the Private Sector as only 8% of contracts in the East Midlands had been awarded to the Private Sector in 1999.

The results of the IFP survey (1992) also demonstrated the spread of contracts awarded between the 16 private contractors (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Breakdown of Contracts

Contractor	Number of Contracts Won	Percentage of Contracts Won
DSOs		
In-house DSOs	180	80.7
Other DSOs	1	0.4
Management Buy Out		
Alban Leisure	2	0.9
Circa Leisure	5	2.2
City Centre Leisure	6	2.7
S.L.M.	3	1.3
TOTAL	16	7.2
Private Contractors		
Civic Leisure	4	1.8
Contemporary Leisure	5	2.2
D C Leisure	2	0.9
Halton Hotels Leisure	1	0.4
Leisure Management Services	2	0.9
Serco Leisure	6	2.7
Whitewater Leisure	1	0.4
Others	5	2.2
TOTAL	26	11.7
All contracts	223	100.0

(IPF, 1992, p58)

The leading five contractors (City Centre Leisure, Serco, Circa Leisure, Civic Leisure and Contemporary Leisure) had gained 62% of the Private Sector with 26 contracts. This was a '*disjointed response*' (IPF, 1992, p56) from the Public Sector, particularly as most DSOs had been unopposed.

According to the Audit Commission (4/93) the value of sport and leisure management work under contract at 1st August 1992, was £140 million, out of a total £2 billion (this figure included catering, other catering, refuse collection, vehicle maintenance, building cleaning, other cleaning and grounds'

maintenance). Further statistical analysis of the first round was undertaken by Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993), who identified that the average period for contracts awarded was 4.6 years and the average and maximum annual value of contracts were £630,000 and £6.8 million respectively (calculations based on LGMB survey, 1991).

The ways in which the sports and leisure management contracts were packaged was the subject of research by CLR (1993), who determined that 57% of all English contracts and 73% of Scottish contracts contained more than one facility type; some authorities packaged a wide variety of facilities (golf course, sports halls, pitches, pools etc) as reported by Coalter (1995).

As highlighted above, follow up research has recently been undertaken into the outcomes of CCT following the awarding of contracts in the second round (IPF, 2000). This showed that

- 1) 69% of all contracts have been awarded to DSOs.
- 2) 8% of East Midlands contracts have been awarded to the Private Sector.
- 3) Of the main contractors operating in 1992, Circa Leisure, City Centre Leisure, Serco Leisure and D C Leisure were listed as the main contractors in 1999, with Relaxion Ltd, Glendale Industries Ltd, and Canons Leisure and Fitness Ltd as 'new entrants' into the field.
- 4) The value of work under contract in 1999 was £27,018,000.
- 5) The average value of contracts was approximately £0.5M.
- 6) The maximum value of one contract was £12,862,000.
- 7) The average length of a contract was 5.2 years.

(IPF, 2000)

In conclusion a modest impact only has been achieved in terms of number and size of external contractors involved with sport and leisure management. As

highlighted in the findings of the various surveys, the majority of contracts in the first and second rounds have been won by DSOs. This supported the view that the major impact of CCT was not based on outcome.

3.3.6 Evaluation

'Evaluation' is equated with 'impact' by Ham and Hill (1993) who described this stage of the policy process as the point at which an analysis is made of '*the impact policies have made on the population*' (p10). The implementation of CCT had a very significant impact, not necessarily in terms of outcomes (as discussed in the previous section) but in terms of the processes and structures imposed on various interest groups within the population. Its impact on the role of the individual leisure professional is considered in Chapter 4 - the evaluation in this section, as part of the policy process, considers broader issues at the operational level.

The impact of the implementation of CCT was the subject of much discussion and debate in the first half of the 1990s as a result of the publication of the surveys referred to above. The change of political power in May 1997, however, shifted the emphasis from compulsory competitive tendering to voluntary competitive tendering as the new Labour Government introduced the concept of 'Best Value'. The analysis in the literature has reflected this shift. However, Houlihan (1997, p135) commented that CCT was in its early policy days and that only "*tentative conclusions*" could be drawn on its impact on provision. Policy cycles may take over 10 years before the continuum is complete, thus evaluation can only be partial during a sequential framework of analysis over the given time span of a policy initiative. Despite these 'disclaimers' concerning the validity of evaluating a policy which has been in place in most authorities for less than 10 years, it has been possible to evaluate the outcome of CCT from the analysis already undertaken on the phenomenon.

It is useful at the outset of such an evaluation to consider the conjecture on the possible outcomes of CCT, as there was a spectrum of attitude and opinion expressed in advance of CCT implementation (Collins 1997). In 1991 Cooper, an ex-local government officer, in a conference paper reflected the views of many in the profession that CCT would result in financial savings, increased investment, closer monitoring of standards, sharper definition of roles and services, introduction of quality management systems, reduction in inefficiencies, introduction of improved management systems, implementation of performance related pay for senior managers and an opportunity to

"...take a fresh look at the local delivery of service and to question old assumptions and standards." (p9)

As an evaluation of the impact of CCT, the main issues he raised are addressed on a retrospective basis under the following headings

- i) Cultural and structural change
- ii) Contract specifications - effect on provision
- iii) Employment practices
- iv) Financial considerations
- v) Management information systems

i) Cultural and structural change

A complete cultural change within local authority leisure services was brought about by CCT (Collins 1997). He argued that there was an increased emphasis on commercialisation as evidenced in the change in the rationale for service provision from that of social provision to that based on financial grounds. This change to a market oriented entrepreneurial culture changed the whole ethos of leisure service management and provision. This was supported by Robinson (1999) who concluded that CCT introduced market competitiveness as evidenced in the implementation of programmes such as quality management

aimed at giving the DSO a commercial edge. Cooper (1991) also commented on early evidence of a change in culture with the newly found power of the client in grounds maintenance contract monitoring. He drew here on Walsh's concept (1991) of 'macho-clientism' which referred to the tendency of client officers to extend their control and power through over-complicated specifications; the requirement for higher standards than previously enjoyed pre-CCT and the imposition of penalties for non-compliance.

Fish (1994) argued that the cultural "*shift from hierarchy to market*" (p16) resulted in instability in management situations as differing perceptions, motivations and cultures clashed. Snape (1995) supported this argument with particular reference to the compulsion requirement which she maintained often produced a hostile client/contractor relationship and Collins (1997) reported a clash of cultures as evidenced in "*conflict and rivalry*" (p213) resulting from one unit being led by financial objectives and the other by the needs of the community.

The division into client/contractor was envisaged by Cooper in 1991 and he forecast that it would produce a "*major structural change to long established management organisations*" (p3). Despite the fact that there has been minimal examination of the effect of the structural changes resulting from CCT (Collins 1997) there is some evidence which supports this supposition. Collins (1997) argued that structural changes were in evidence, not just in the split between client and contractor but in the control systems within local authorities with a move from professional bureaucracy with an extended chain of command and hierarchical decision making to a flatter structure with greater decentralisation of decision making.

ii) Contract specifications - effect on provision

Following Audit Commission guidance (1989) all authorities were recommended to consider the standards of service they would require from a contractor and make explicit statements within the specification, on these required standards.

Writing in 1991, Cooper suggested that the implementation of CCT could be seen as an opportunity by the client to actively encourage contractors to introduce quality management systems such as BS5750 through highlighting this qualification as a pre-requisite to tendering. In a subsequent evaluation, the Audit Commission (4/93) reported that this had been the case as there had been a clarification of "*intended quality*" (p10) and a monitoring of quality achievement following improved definitions of the service levels contained in the specifications of many contracts. Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes (1993) demonstrated that CCT resulted in a growing interest in quality assessment and management systems as local authorities had been encouraged to take quality more seriously. This is supported in recent research by Robinson (1999). She emphasised that CCT was a significant factor in the decision to introduce quality programmes and DSOs led the way in the introduction of quality systems in order to improve their competitiveness in the leisure market place. It was felt that it would provide them with a commercial edge and that it might act as a deterrent to external contractors if a Quality Management System was included in the specifications as a pre-requisite to bidding.

A further dimension is considered with respect to the quality and range of services provided following CCT in an evaluation of CCT by Houlihan (1997). He highlighted particular problems with provision for priority groups within contract specifications. Pre-CCT, provision had been made in leisure centres for disadvantaged groups to receive beneficial rates and access to facilities at peak times. These groups, following CCT, have been "*substantially ignored*

even by DSOs" (p135) with the result that they and the sports development programmes have been marginalised. He attributed this firstly to the failure of the client to translate fully the requirements of the strategic plan into the specifications and secondly to monitor the operation of this area of the contractor's work.

iii) Employment practices

According to Cooper (1991), CCT would result in:

- a reduction in the number of employees
- a modification of employment terms and conditions
- extended working weeks
- longer shifts
- deterioration in employment benefits.

His fears have been borne out as evidenced by reports of overall reductions in staffing levels in leisure centres and a reduction in the numbers of full time and the increase in the numbers of part time staff in order to make savings (Collins 1997, Fish 1994, Nichols and Taylor 1995). Redundancies and job cuts have resulted in a loss of "*total security of employment*" (Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes, 1993, p85). Studd (1996) reflected on these changes and emphasised that the new roles of client and contractor would necessitate the development of different employment skills and techniques with the client requiring knowledge of strategic planning and contract management skills and the contractor needing to develop business planning techniques and entrepreneurial skills. Thus new skills would be needed from the same people. Studd (1996) also emphasised the increasing pressure on leisure professionals as a result of CCT with the demands to maximise income, reduce costs and improve service quality. On a positive note, however, he recognised that there would be opportunities for career development. He concluded with the following statement regarding the education, training and provision of national standards for leisure professionals

"It is important that needs of employees in the rapidly changing local authority environment are taken into account." (p16)

iv) Financial considerations

The Audit Commission (4/93) announced that there was evidence of a *"significant increase in productivity"* (p9) and an overall reduction in costs of service provision as a result of CCT implementation. This was further supported by Nichols and Taylor (1995) and more recently by Collins (1997) in his research into the effects of CCT implementation in twelve Midlands local authorities.

The Audit Commission (4/93) however argued that there could be further reductions in the client function costs as there would be less need for an employed client function, as direct contact between leisure managers and the public was already in existence. There is little evidence in subsequent analysis of CCT literature to support this proposition.

v) Management information systems

CCT resulted in major changes in the implementation and use of management information systems particularly by the DSO. Fish (1994) reported that the majority of the centres in his study had confirmed an increased use of statistical data on a weekly/monthly basis following CCT implementation. Nichols and Taylor (1995) underlined this as a significant outcome of CCT and ventured to say that it was

"...a catalyst for the generation of greater information on the costs of the service, levels of demand and requirements of users." (p620)

This changed the way managers analysed performance and a commercial, entrepreneurial style of management was introduced with DSO managers becoming *"skilled financial managers"* (Fish, 1994, p7) working with accurate

data which enabled them to respond immediately to market changes or underachievement of income before the contract budget was affected.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The policy process in the modern state has been the subject of many different and complex approaches of analysis (Hill, 1997). He maintained that these approaches have been closely connected to the study at the structural level, of the nature of democratic processes in government and the exertion of power in society. There has also been an overriding concern to identify the most appropriate conditions for the successful implementation of policy in a democratic political system. Within this multiplicity of approaches for the purposes of this study, a framework has been synthesised based on 'heuristic stages' (Sabatier, 1999) and this has provided a systematic approach to analysis in a policy arena of great complexity. As has been demonstrated by the application of this framework at the structural level, there were advantages of using such a model i.e. It enabled the chronology and stages of CCT implementation to be identified. It also allowed for a clarification in the role of central government in policy process at the structural level and the role of the local authority at the institutional and operational levels in CCT policy process.

The framework has highlighted several important issues concerning leisure management CCT policy i.e.

- 1) The policy was complex and multifaceted. A range of policy advocacy coalitions each with their own interests, views and aspirations were involved in the process and this contributed to this complexity.
- 2) The initial decision making phase was protracted and spanned a period of 12 years. CCT was a common theme running through the ideology of two

different political parties and it bridged the work of four successive governments.

- 3) The rationale for CCT was ideological, political and economic and as such was the first major leisure policy to be firmly embedded in the political fabric of central government.

From the CCT policy process analysis undertaken so far, it has been shown that the individual leisure professional had a significant input into the process in his/her role as the local authority's technical and managerial expert on leisure management. S/he was involved in the early stages i.e. the initial decision making stage through an involvement in the various consultation exercises. At the re-negotiation/modification stage s/he was often engaged in the consultation process. During implementation s/he had a significant role in translating the policy requirements into action (the writing of the specifications, managing the tendering procedures etc). At the output stage s/he managed either the facility (as the DSO) or the contract (as the client) and finally at the evaluation stage s/he had a role in making recommendations on service enhancement. The role of the leisure professional and the impact of the legislation is addressed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF THE LEISURE PROFESSIONAL IN THE CCT POLICY PROCESS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It is with the individual leisure professional that this thesis is most concerned and the focus of this chapter is on an analysis of the involvement of the leisure professional in the CCT policy process at the street level. In order to achieve a full understanding of the dominant issues, Figure 4.1 as part of the synthesised policy process framework, is used to analyse the importance of the role of the actors. This model examines the main stances taken concerning the importance of individual and corporate actors in the policy process.

This chapter thus focuses particularly on:

- i) the importance of the lower-level official in the policy process.
- ii) the significant contribution which the conceptions, attitudes, values, interests and ideas of these lower level officials made to the policy process.
- iii) the sharing of these core values and beliefs by groups of actors which resulted in the formulation of policy advocacy coalitions.

Sabatier (1988) defined a policy advocacy coalition (PAC) as a group of people

“...from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who (1) share a particular belief system – i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions – and who (2) show a non-trivial degree of co-ordinated activity over time.” (p139)

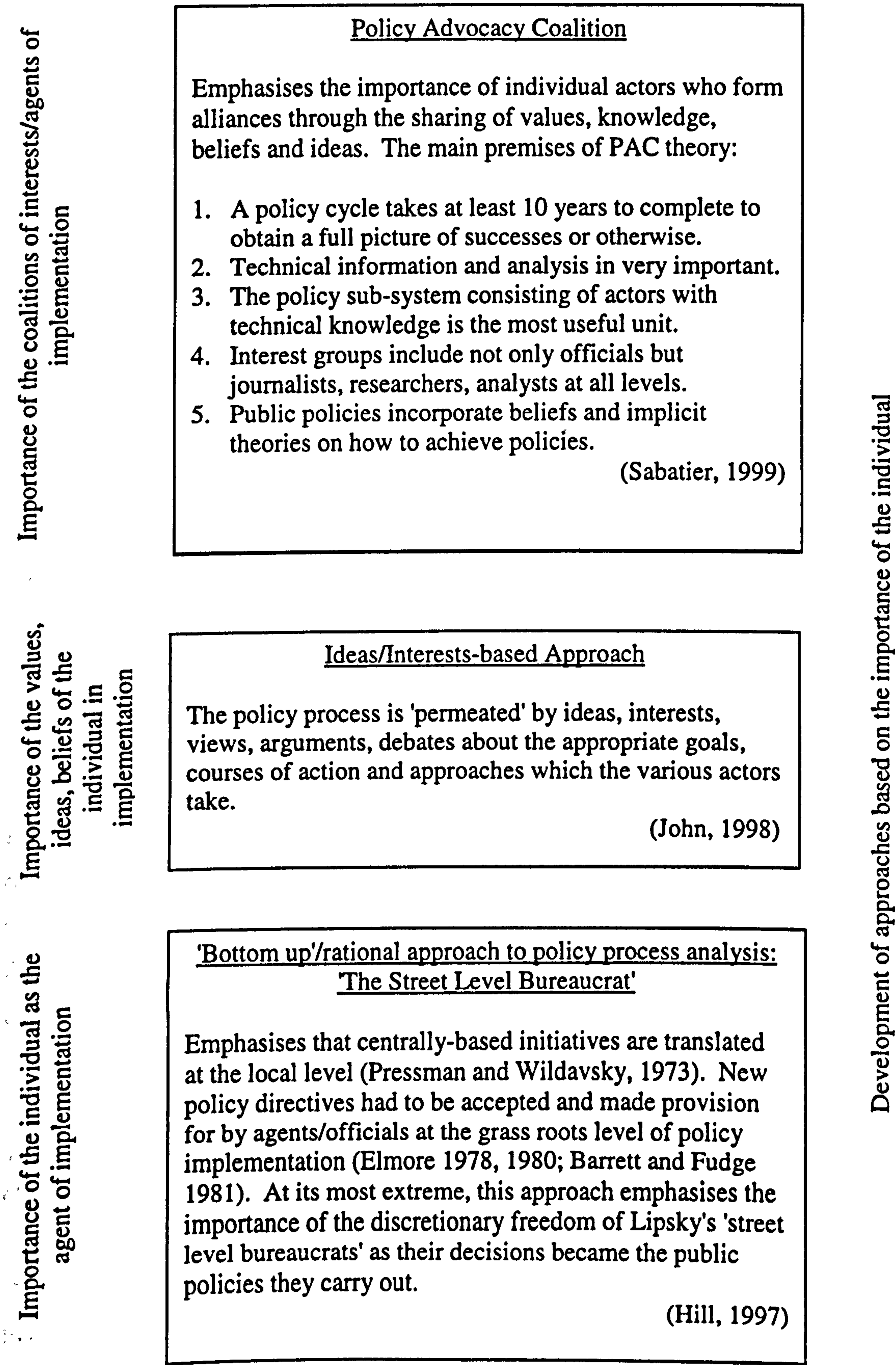
An examination of the role of the leisure professional not only in isolation, but also in relation to his/her peers as part of policy advocacy coalitions in the policy process sheds further light on the importance of his/her role in implementation.

The focus on the importance of the leisure professional is undertaken against the background of the introduction of New Managerialism and the professionalisation of the leisure management profession. These overarching factors have considerable relevance

as an understanding of these factors provides an understanding of the nature of the leisure professional's role in the CCT process.

Section 4.2 considers the heightened importance of the role of the individual in the CCT policy process within the context of New Managerialism. The notion of change in management culture and management styles is emphasised through the examination of new managerial concepts such as 'New Think' management (Wilson and Game, 1994) and 'New Wave Management' (Stewart & Stoker, 1989), and highlights the debate by academics such as Lane (1995) concerning the nature, characteristics and implications of these new concepts on the role of the professional in the changing local government environment.

Figure 4.1: The synthesised policy process framework - focusing on the approaches based on the importance of the individual



Section 4.3 considers the newly emerging profession of leisure management as a policy advocacy coalition and also the role of the various professional bodies in this coalition. The purpose is to identify the status of leisure management professional bodies and assess the nature of support given by professional bodies to their constituent members in their role as street level bureaucrats during the CCT policy process.

4.2 THE LEISURE PROFESSIONAL AS THE STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRAT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NEW MANAGERIALISM

4.2.1 Introduction

New Managerialism was the adopted managerial and operational culture within which the leisure professional operated post-CCT. A systematic introduction of New Managerialism into local authority management had been achieved by the Thatcher Governments of the 1980s through the imposition of initiatives such as CCT which stimulated the use of Private Sector management techniques in the Public Sector. (Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett 1994, Lawton and Rose 1994). It is difficult to identify succinctly the characteristics of New Managerialism, as Cutler and Waine (1994) emphasised that

“...the phenomenon is diverse and the sources varied.” (p2)

However, the main ideas associated New Managerialism and the more traditional style management of Public Administration are summarised in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. A number of sources are drawn upon and the range of principles, interests and actions described in the figures, support the notion that it is the many varied concepts, themes and ideas which policy actors (both corporate and individual) bring to the public arena which stimulate action (John, 1998).

The first section of Figure 4.2 describes the transition from Rule Governance to Goal Governance, modernism to postmodernism and Fordism to Post-Fordism. These have been addressed earlier in this study as a social phenomenon (Chapter 2). In this chapter, at the micro level, they are considered as a management phenomenon. It is important, however, to recall that the introduction of managerialism at the micro level should not

Figure 4.2: Summary of the Main Characteristics of
a) Bureaucratic and
b) Managerial Systems of Government

a) Bureaucratic	b) Managerial
<p>1) Public Administration Model (Lane, 1995)</p> <p>Rule Governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- bureaucratic devotion to public interest- relatively low salary but tenure- rules per se- clear rules on promotion- hierarchical structure- high degree of division of labour- narrow functional areas of work- concepts of responsibility and duty strong- executing decisions made by politicians- emphasis on administrative action, formal decision making and implementation according to formal procedures- secrecy (to protect information)- leadership style – administrative, predictable, less sensitive to environmental change- due process- formalism- legality- vocation- public interest	<p>1) Public Management (Lane, 1995)</p> <p>Goal Governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- allied to Private Sector attitudes, values- fulfil goals which are vital for citizens' welfare- market values of consumer sovereignty, efficiency, productivity, variety in supply- openness of procedure, information- rules do not carry weight- decentralisation of decision making- leadership style – emphasis on innovation, entrepreneurialism- measure output and outcomes- adaptation- direction- self-interests- profit
<p>2) Modernism (Harvey, 1989)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- rational planning- standardisation of knowledge and production- totality- state welfarism- Keynesian economic management- control over wage relations- mass production/consumption- rigid Fordism	<p>2) Postmodernism (Harvey, 1989)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- emphasise fragmentation- indeterminacy- pluralism- variety- concern for differences- individualism- entrepreneurialism- commercialism- 'flexible' regime of accumulation- flexibility of labour processes, labour markets, production, patterns of consumption- a competitive individualism
<p>3) Fordism (Stewart and Stoker, 1995)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- mass workforce- mass production- widespread ownership of commodities- authoritarian management- state intervention in the economy to manage and sustain demand- provide stability through strong role in education, health, housing etc- functionalism- uniformity- hierarchy	<p>3) Post-Fordism (Harvey, 1989)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- flexible production (small batch)- dependence on marketing- changes in corporate size- decentralisation- franchising- sub-contracting- polarisation of workforce (core/specialist support)

Figure 4.3: Summary of the Main Characteristics of
a) Professional Style Management and
b) Managerial Style Management

a) Professional Style Management	b) Managerial Style Management
<p>4) 'Old Think' (Wilson and Game, 1994)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- provider/producer driven- expanding and stable revenues- municipalism- establishments and vacancies- slow rhythm of change	<p>4) 'New Think' (Wilson and Game, 1994)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- consumer driven- declining revenue- CCT/buy in- cash limited- fast rhythm of change
<p>5) 'Traditional Bureaucratic' Authority (Leach et al, 1994)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- values of self sufficiency- uniformity- direct provision- professionalism- departmentalism- central control- integration of functions- specialisation- high formalisation- 'free standing' departments	<p>5) 'New Wave Management' (Stewart and Stoker, 1995)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- tight centre- broad, flat periphery- decentralised- performance targets- cost centres, tasks and teams- internal markets/trading- 'hands off' control- small core- flexible, large periphery- localised bargaining- flexible management- measuring output- managerial- customer-oriented- quality in service delivery

be viewed in isolation but within the 'supra-national' context where changing social, economic and political circumstances created an environment for political reform, ideological renewal and managerial transformation in the Public Sector (Lane, 1995). With particular reference to the national context within the UK, Thatcherism and the New Right took on the aspirations and attitudes of postmodernism and through the introduction of an entrepreneurial culture endeavoured to remove the Fordist organisational and administrative structures which were inherent in the Public Sector. Local authorities were seen as the pillars of the Fordist/Welfare State and as such were a major obstacle to Thatcher and her vision of a Post-Fordist Britain (Wilson and Game, 1994). Central government thus endeavoured to change the structures and responsibilities of local government and

"...to transform the production process, the pattern of consumption and arrangements for political management associated with local government".
(Wilson and Game, 1994, p158)

In this process the priority was the adoption of Private Sector management practices and regimes such as the requirement to measure performance; the need to tighten financial controls and reduce spending and the requirement for local authorities to expose services to competition. Figure 4.3 describes in detail the characteristics of Private Sector management.

4.2.2 Characteristics of local government employment

The most relevant unit of analysis in policy process is the 'policy subsystem' and this consists of actors from the Public and Private Sectors who are actively involved with and seek to influence policy issues (Sabatier, 1999). The leisure professional operated within such a subsystem, which both from a corporate and from an individual actor's viewpoint demonstrated a number of common themes particularly from an employment perspective. Leach et al (1994) argued that in the policy subsystem of local government, employment could be described as having the following characteristics:

- i) It is labour intensive in operation.

- ii) The labour is very much part of the service being provided. The caring, responsive, human aspect of the delivery is as important as the actual service being delivered.
- iii) The labour force is diverse in terms of occupations and professionals. Levels range from unskilled to senior managerial.
- iv) The labour force is diverse in terms of the range of working regimes with full time, part time, seasonal and shift working.
- v) Local authorities are very large employers in terms of numbers. In the mid-1980s 10% of the total workforce was employed by local authorities.
- vi) Local authority workers tend to be disparate in geographical terms, with places of work often in different sites across the borough.
- vii) The management of the local authority organisation is on a professional basis with staff committed in cultural and motivational terms to their profession and to the local authority which they serve.
- viii) Staff in local authorities have considerable discretion with regard to how they deliver the service to the customer.

There is a dearth of research into local authority leisure employment in qualitative terms in the 1980s and 1990s, and as such the discussions and findings of a more general nature are drawn upon as there are significant similarities between the generalities as described above and the specifics of leisure management employment. However, some specific points have been made on leisure management employment by Collins (1997), Henry (1993) , and Walsh and Davies (1993) and these are drawn upon in the following discussion on the characteristics of employment.

i) Labour intensive:

According to Cooke (1994, p243) labour intensive work “*uses large quantities of labour relative to capital inputs*”. This was very much the case pre-CCT with large staff corps in fixed, permanent posts (Stoker, 1988) within large hierarchical bureaucracies. The street level bureaucrat was firmly placed within a hierarchical structure, responsible for a narrow functional area of work with an emphasis on the execution of decisions made by politicians and senior officers. Due process, formality and rigidity were the characteristics of a labour intensive

world of employment with a high degree of division of labour (Lane, 1995). Post-CCT, with the introduction of New Managerialism, the nature of the work changed for both managers and manual staff as new employment practices were introduced. A reduction in the numbers of employees and an increase in the nature, range and volume of work, ensured greater labour efficiency. A small core of staff with a flexible, large periphery (Stewart and Stoker, 1995) ensured that organisations became smaller and more efficient. It can be argued that there was a much tighter coalition of employees post-CCT with the reduction in numbers and the formation of strong alliances as evidenced in the DSO and client units in leisure management.

ii) A caring, responsive, human labour force:

Leach et al (1994), emphasised that the caring nature of local authority service was as important as the service itself. Pre-CCT the emphasis was on paternal municipalism (Wilson and Game, 1994). The paternalism of the local authority as a provider/producer of services for the benefit of the local community was very much to the fore, with an emphasis on vocational responsiveness by the employees. The individual professional viewed the service of the community as a vocation and decisions were implemented based on the best interests of the public (Lane, 1995). The beliefs and norms of the actors as street level bureaucrats became an essential part of the policy process (Sabatier, 1999). Post-CCT the emphasis shifted from paternal municipalism to commercialism (Harvey, 1989). The focus was still very much on the customer but from a commercial perspective and not out of a sense of duty and responsibility (Lane 1995).

iii) Divisions in the labour force:

Local government employment regimes pre-CCT demonstrated a considerable degree of division of labour and a narrow allegiance to a particular professional or technical area (Lane, 1995). In leisure management particularly, up to the 1970s, technically based training and qualification were the entry requirements to a career in leisure management, with two main strands i.e. baths or parks. This was demonstrated by the large number of technically based professional

bodies in existence in the pre-CCT era. (This is discussed in more detail in Section 4.3.) From the mid 1970s, however, with the newly formed integrated leisure departments, the distinction between parks and baths featured less as generic leisure managers began to emerge from universities with graduate leisure management qualifications. However, the 1980s was a period of transition as the 'older' cohort of technical managers began to be superseded by the 'younger' cohort of generic managers. Leisure management in the 1980s was thus a 'melting pot' of leisure professionals from different generations, contrasting cultures and varied technical and professional backgrounds. The sample cohort used in this research study is of the 'younger' generation of generic managers who experienced this 'melding' of leisure cultures.

In general employment terms, the relevance for the individual actor was that pre-CCT s/he was more of a technically oriented professional. Post-CCT this was to change for both the management and manual workers with less emphasis on functional specialisms and this led to a greater sense of fluidity and flexibility within the manual workforce. The different application of skills and the transfer of staff from one functional area to another, gave a much greater sense of adaptability/flexibility in the workforce and a broadening of allegiances. Sabatier (1999) confirmed that specialist technical knowledge and expertise had a very important role to play in the policy process as actors needed to specialise if they were to have any influence over the policy making process. This was demonstrated in the very important role leisure professionals had in providing the technical input in the contract documentation and in the subsequent monitoring of the contracts (ILAM, 1989).

iv) Diversity in working regimes:

Pre-CCT there was a significant diversity in working regimes which was inherent in the nature of the service to the public, with extended opening hours of leisure facilities. In general terms decentralisation, franchising, sub-contracting, polarisation of the workforce into core/specialist support and contractor, CCT, the buying in of services were initiatives which significantly changed the working patterns of and relationships between local authority

employees and it resulted in greater diversity (Harvey 1989, Wilson and Game 1994). It can be argued that post-CCT there was an even greater diversity in working regimes in local authority leisure management.

Gyford (1991) took this situation to its extreme and suggested that there could be an entirely new breed of local government officer following the introduction of CCT, no longer with his/her main focus being a professional or technical specialism, but with primary skills in the areas of contract specification and quality control as the client.

Leach et al (1994) put these new employment regimes into the context of the organisation as post-CCT he identified four 'policy sub-units' in the local authority 'policy subsystem' i.e.

- a) a central core of administrators
- b) a client section
- c) the DSO
- d) private contractors

This supported the notion that there was a move away from traditional administrative uniformity in employment and an increase in diversity as suggested by Lane (1995).

For the street level bureaucrat working in leisure management post-CCT, this gave the opportunity for new roles, regimes, terms and conditions of employment.

v) Local authorities as large employers:

A Treasury Report in 1986 reported on the initial impact of CCT on the local authority labour force as a result of the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act and provided evidence of cuts in jobs, cuts in the numbers of hours worked, a reduction in pay and bonus payments, a reduction in holiday entitlement, a tightening of the time allocation for manual tasks, implicit threats of redundancy and increased part-time working.

The report also noted that contractors were able to win contracts as a result of making savings through tougher employment regimes and not necessarily through technological superiority. These findings were supported by Leach et al (1994) and (Collins 1997), who reported that the effects of the CCT process in leisure management were:-

- the reduction in numbers of staff employed, either by redeployment, premature retirement, temporary contract or redundancy (voluntary or compulsory).
- the erosion of pay and conditions through a reduction in the basic rate, in overtime, in payments for unsociable hours, in holiday entitlements and sick pay.
- a change in work patterns to improve productivity that often resulted in manual staff having to work harder and longer. Bonus schemes which had often been complex, were revised to be much simpler and more related to output – with advantages to both managers and manual staff as the pace of work increased.

The impact of New Managerialism was highly significant and extremely influential in changing the employment terms and conditions of local authority workers and of leisure professionals in particular. CCT brought this new regime to the fore as the reduction of benefits and resultant savings was one of the main mechanisms adopted by managers to gain a competitive edge. In terms of the manner with which the street level bureaucrats themselves dealt with these changes, Hill (1997) commented that

“...the devices they (street level bureaucrats) invented to cope with uncertainties and work pressures effectively became the public policies they carried out” (p201)

as a result of the autonomy they enjoyed at the street level.

vi) Disparate work patterns in geographical terms:

Local authority work tended to be geographically disparate in terms of the range and number of sites within which leisure professionals operated. This was the case in the 1980s and continued to be so post-CCT as local authorities retained the ownership of their leisure facilities and provided much of the workforce. (82% of all leisure contracts in the first round of competition were won by local

authority DSOs).

This could be seen to strengthen the role of the street level bureaucrat as decision making post-CCT was decentralised to contract units and this enabled officials to implement some rules whilst disregarding others. (Hill, 1997)

vii) The basis of management:

Pre-CCT the characteristics of a professional as a manager in local government was of a bureaucrat on a relatively low salary but with security of tenure, executing decisions made by politicians with an emphasis on administrative action, formal decision making and implementation according to set procedures. The leadership style was one which was predictable and administrative (Lane, 1995). Managers worked within hierarchical structures and operated in their own professional area with a 'hands on' control. Their authority was exercised through multiple tiers and was centralised (Stewart and Stoker, 1995).

Leach et al (1994) on the same theme referred to the safe, unadventurous nature of management in local authorities and to the professional, isolationist culture of Departments before the new managerial regimes of the 1980s. This description of work in a local authority pre-1980s succinctly captured the feeling of security, certainty and substance which pervaded the culture of these often large, monolithic, static bureaucracies pre-CCT.

The shift in the late 1980s to New Managerialism away from the administrative bureaucracy of the 1960s and 1970s, according to Farnham and Horton (1993) resulted in fundamental changes in attitude and culture in management. A much harder, more aggressive style of management developed and this fitted more comfortably with the new entrepreneurial culture. This shift also recognised the increasing discretion and autonomy of the street level bureaucrat who according to Hill (1997) was able to produce short cuts in procedures in the "*rule bound systems, cost controls and staff savings required by the New Public Management*" (pp224-5).

The new entrepreneurial culture within local authorities resulted in managers adopting attitudes and practices much more closely allied to the Private Sector, i.e. innovation, entrepreneurialism, commercialism, competitive individualism with 'hands off' control (Harvey 1989, Lane 1995, Stewart and Stoker 1995). These new managers developed skills and techniques which were not allied to their initial technical expertise. They developed generic managerial skills such as the ability to plan strategically, control finances and deploy staff appropriately. This was to be highly significant in the implementation of CCT in leisure management.

In the latter part of the 1980s an increasing emphasis on planning as part of the development of strategic management had significant implications for local authority managers and particularly leisure professionals. This was evidenced by the recommendations made by the Audit Commission (1989), whereby each authority, in advance of the implementation of CCT, was advised to produce a strategy outlining the existing standards, level of service and future expectations in these service areas. This was intended to give a strategic direction in the preparation of CCT. This had a considerable impact on the role of the leisure professional as it resulted in a higher profile for the individual as s/he was encouraged to become a participant in the CCT policy process at this stage. John (1998) highlighted the significance of the street level bureaucrat as he maintained that it was the ideas which actors brought to the public sphere which gave policy its stability, strategic substance, and directional change.

This was supported by Farnham and Horton (1993) who emphasised that the increased emphasis on strategic planning gave a greater sense of direction and enabled a more balanced allocation of resources.

"Public managers are increasingly seen by the political policy makers as the agents of resource efficiency, enterprise initiatives and 'business' effectiveness." (p51)

The introduction of Private Sector attitudes and management techniques was also evidenced in the increasing importance of financial priorities and financial objectives in the decision making process. This was accompanied by a

devolution of responsibility as managers became budget holders with clear directives to achieve targets. Functional areas became cost centres and in some circumstances trading organisations. Declining revenue and cash limited budgets were the hallmarks of this 'New Think' management with decisions increasingly being made on financial grounds and not on the grounds of professional or technical expediency (Wilson and Game, 1994).

Thus New Managerialism equipped leisure professionals with an array of tools and skills which would enable him/her to face the demands of a service being exposed to competition. Robinson (1999) made the point that CCT in fact accelerated the introduction of New Managerial techniques and, as a result, a more professional culture began to pervade leisure management.

Under New Managerialism, the labour market became established within a completely different context. It was far moved from the welfare centred approach of the 1970s as a much harder market centred approach developed. This was clearly defined by Farnham and Horton (1993) in their consideration of the deployment of human resources in local authorities in the 1970s - 1990s. They argued that the local authority manager's role was strengthened as a result of the changing perspective on labour as a human resource, as

"...public service managers became less restrained in implementing their personnel policies and practices than in the past." (pp109-110)

Line managers came to the fore in the employer-led employment practices of the 1980s as New Managerialism "*strengthened the right to manage*" (Farnham and Horton, 1993, p100). This was certainly the case for DSO managers with direct responsibility for labour. Localised bargaining, decentralisation of decision making on issues such as pay and conditions resulted in the weakening of collectivist approaches, particularly as a result of the increasing utilisation of part-time/casual staff (Stewart and Stoker, 1995). As part of this process, the role of the Trade Union changed.

As a policy advocacy coalition, Trade Unions became marginalised as they lost members and status. John (1998) emphasised that actors in the policy process to be influential required not only power and influence but also the ability to debate and argue. The Unions lost this ability as their bargaining power became dissipated through the move to locally negotiated pay agreements. Farnham and Horton (1993) emphasised this changing perspective as being characterised by a movement away from comparability of pay to employer affordability. This again enhanced the role of the leisure professional in the CCT process. It, however, had implications for the relationship between management and staff.

A fundamental change in attitude between management and manual staff was much in evidence post-CCT as the loyalty which the managers felt towards their staff was eroded away as their first priority became the need to keep labour costs low. Staff came to be seen as a resource and management had the responsibility for the most efficient and effective deployment of these and other resources. This resulted in differentiated coalitions (Sabatier, 1999) i.e. a separation of interest groups based on different approaches and attitudes to a common problem or issue. Management and staff came to distrust each other as coalitions developed in terms of client/contractor and management/manual staff.

By the 1980s local authorities had developed policies to enable their managers to be more flexible and responsive to the market and have a greater measure of control in the management of human resources. The protected nature of local authority employment was eroded away - particularly for manual staff, whilst professionals were in some ways more protected as there were skill shortages in certain areas. This was confirmed by Leach et al (1994) who identified the emergence of a multiple labour market.

“The conflicting pressures of staff shortages and the need to reduce staff numbers has contributed to the development of multiple labour markets, in which different groups of staff face different employment regimes within the local authority.” (p191)

Again this was particularly the case for leisure professionals with the convergence of Public and Private Sector employment practices - at both the managerial and manual levels; the overriding employment culture being that of the Private Sector, which was employer-led. The role of the leisure professional post-CCT was further strengthened, as within New Managerialism

"...the emphasis is less upon direct control than on informal control through targets and sanctions." (Leach et al, 1994, p208)

This provided a higher degree of autonomy and decision making in general terms for managers and again this was an 'enabling device' for a radical transformation in management.

The fundamental transformation to a multi-sector, multi-agency system of local government (Walsh 1995), resulted, however, in high conflict situations as differentiated coalitions formed as a result of CCT implementation in leisure management, through the client/contractor split. Sabatier (1999) discussed the implications of high conflict situations in the workplace and concluded that each coalition viewed the other coalition as *"more evil and more powerful than they are"* (p132). There is a tendency to remember the lost battles as opposed to the victories in such warfare. Snape (1995) emphasised that leisure management CCT because of the compulsion element, poor client/contractor relations could result in a considerable degree of hostility. Conflictual situations forced managers to revise their methods and develop mechanisms to cope with these pressures. These are the coping strategies of the street level bureaucrat as described by Lipsky (1980).

In conclusion, local authorities had been

"...co-ordinated by generalist administrators or profession specialists" (who focused on) "free services based on need, equality and fairness pre-CCT." (Farnham and Horton, 1993, p241)

Post-CCT the technical specialists were replaced by a new breed of managers who produced mission statements, business plans, and specifications and who were introducing and supporting customer awareness campaigns.

These were the new leisure professionals equipped with New Managerialist skills and techniques capable of taking a highly significant role in the implementation of CCT.

viii) Delivery of services to the customer:

So far the discussion has centred on the changing stresses and pressures as a result of the requirement to adopt New Managerial approaches concentrating on factors internal to the organisation. Tensions, however, were also imposed from external forces i.e. the public. The new management culture imposed by central government required that service delivery commenced with the public at the point of service delivery. New pressures were exerted on managers as a result of this complete reappraisal of the nature of the relationship between local government and the public, in both conceptual and operational terms.

Gyford (1991) gave a very good account of this reappraisal and the resultant realignment as

"...established professional and bureaucratic models of service delivery have been called in to question for falling short of rising public expectations on accountability, responsiveness and accessibility." (p21)

The pressures on the street level bureaucrat to participate, consult, inform, advise and provide access to information for the public were very considerable in the post-CCT era. The ideas, interests and views of the public were increasingly absorbed into the core beliefs of policy formulation and this supported Sabatier (1999) in his premise that interest policy groups could be extended from agency officials to include journalists, researchers, analysts and other people external to the organisation. This had significant implications for the leisure professional as s/he was encouraged to consult with the public throughout the implementation of CCT.

Lane (1995) described this new inclusive and open style of management as being dominated by 'Goal Governance' with the aim of the Public Sector manager being to *"fulfil goals which are vital for citizens' welfare"* (p165). This was supported by Stewart and Stoker (1995) who emphasised the new

customer oriented approach within New Managerialism with quality in service delivery as of paramount importance.

4.2.3 Summary

It is very evident from the literature that the introduction of New Managerialism into the management to local authority leisure services was an extremely influential factor in determining the role of the leisure professional. The study of the various issues, systems and procedures of New Managerialism, as put forward by a number of commentators (Lane 1995, Harvey 1989, Leach et al 1994, Stewart and Stoker 1995, Wilson and Game 1994) provided an insight into the context within which the leisure professionals implemented CCT and it has assisted in providing an understanding of the role that the leisure professional played in the policy process. The culture and techniques of New Managerialism enhanced the role of the leisure professional as they enabled him/her to take managerial control of CCT policy at the street level and implement CCT.

4.3 THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF LEISURE MANAGEMENT

4.3.1 Introduction

A second vital factor relevant in gaining an understanding of the role of the leisure professional in the implementation of CCT, is the extent of the professionalisation of leisure management at the time of implementation. Initial empirical work was undertaken by the author in advance of the main study to determine the status of leisure management as a profession in the 1990s and the extent to which it could be viewed as a true profession. Work has also been undertaken in this field by Robinson (1999) who identified that through the application of New Managerial techniques, the introduction of Quality Management Programmes and the need to compete for service provision, leisure management as a profession in the 1990s displayed elements of increasing professionalisation. The extent of the professionalisation of leisure management is an important consideration in this study as it was an overarching influence on the leisure professional, as a street level bureaucrat involved in CCT policy implementation.

4.3.2 The development of leisure management as a profession

The concept of the leisure management profession as a policy advocacy coalition in its own right, can be said to have emerged in the 1960s as a result of an extensive development programme of sports centres and other leisure-related facilities and the necessity to appoint professional managers to operate these facilities. The movement gained added momentum in the 1970s as a result of local government reorganisation, when a number of authorities established leisure departments under chief officers resulting in leisure officers gaining enhanced status and credibility within the local authority management hierarchy (Laffin, 1985, 1986). Sabatier (1999) was anxious to emphasise that policy advocacy coalitions were made up not only of actors at all levels of government but also a wider collection of people such as journalists, researchers, analysts and economists who all shared the core beliefs. Parallels can be drawn with the development of an advocacy for leisure management to be recognised as a profession in its own right. In the 1980s this advocacy was enhanced by analysts and researchers who developed a body of academic literature on leisure policy and gained an increasingly higher profile in the press and media for sports and leisure related policy issues.

Leisure management is extremely diverse and ranges from the 'hard' technical discipline of swimming pool plant operation, to the 'softer' technical area of landscape design and this is reflected in the range and number of professional bodies which exist which have an interest and an involvement in leisure management.

The following figure highlights the main professional bodies which have been established to represent various interest in leisure management.

Figure 4.4: Date of formation of 'leisure management' related professional bodies

Date	Name	Area of interest
1877	Library Association	Library management
1894	Theatre Management Association	Dramatic arts
1921	Institute of Baths and Recreation Management (IBRM) renamed Institute of Sport and Recreation Management (ISRM)	Pools and indoor sports centres
1947	Institute of Municipal Entertainment (IME)	Entertainment services
1956	Recreation Managers Association (RMA)	Commercial sports clubs
1958	Association of Playing Fields Officers (APFO)	Playing fields
1983	Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM) Formed out of: (a) Institute of Parks and Recreation Administration (IPRA) (b) Institute of Municipal Entertainment (IME) (c) Association of Recreation Managers (ARM) (d) Institute of Recreation Management (IRM)	All areas of leisure management

There are many other associations at the national level with an interest in entertainment, arts, cultural services, with a multiplicity of interests in the field of leisure management and according to Waters (1989), it is impossible to refer to them all by name.

There are, however, four main bodies representing the interests of leisure managers i.e. ISRM, RMA, APFO and ILAM, and these demonstrate an overlap of functions with a considerable degree of competition between the associations for members. ILAM is the largest of these organisations and was created on the 1st January 1983, being the result of the amalgamation of four organisations: IPRA, IME, ARM and IRM.

The principle aims of the ILAM are to:

- i) Further the knowledge of practising managers within the leisure profession.
- ii) Provide a co-ordinating and central organisation for the exchange of information.
- iii) Promote educational opportunities for members and students.
- iv) Represent and promote the interests of all members on professional grounds.

- v) Develop and maintain relations with other organisations in related fields.
- vi) Encourage the production of literature and research relating to leisure management.
- vii) Promote, support or oppose legislative and other measures related to the practising recreation manager.
- viii) Strive overall for the highest standards in the profession.

It has its own qualifications system, which provides a measure of professional credibility.

4.3.3 The status of leisure management as a profession

There is considerable debate between academics, as to what actually constitutes and delineates a 'profession'. Gould and Kolb (1964) provided a dictionary definition of a 'profession' as

"...occupations which demand a highly specialised knowledge and skill acquired at least in part, by courses of more or less theoretical nature and not by practice alone, tested by some form of exam either at university or some other unauthorised institution and conveying to the persons who possess them considerable authority in relation to clients...such authority is carefully maintained by a guild-like association of the practitioners...which lays down rules of entry, training and behaviour in relation to the public...and watch over their professional status." (p542)

The main difficulty posed by such a definition is that there is still disagreement with regard to the basic characteristics of a profession. Commentators emphasised different characteristics dependant upon their particular interest or background (Brante 1990, Etzioni 1969, Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1966, Johnson 1986, Miller 1986, Moore 1970, Torstendahl and Burrage 1990). Millerson (1964) considered a number of authors who have all identified criteria/elements to be used in analysing and arriving at a definition of the term 'profession'. In this analysis, Millerson identified six of the 14 elements which occurred most frequently and concluded that the essential features of a profession:

- i) involved a skill based on theoretical knowledge
- ii) incorporated a training and education programme into the membership scheme
- iii) included a competence test for members

- iv) also included a code of conduct
- v) ensured that the service is for the public good
- vi) demonstrated organisation

An initial comparative empirical study was undertaken by the author based on these six elements, to assess the current status and maturity of leisure management as a profession. Ten professional bodies, including leisure management, the law, medicine, landscape architecture, planning and management were contacted and information requested based on the issues raised in the six elements outlined above.

An example of one of the comparisons undertaken between ILAM and the other professional bodies is given in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: Comparison between the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management and the Royal College of Physicians regarding the extent of professionalisation

Essential features	(1) ILAM	(2) Royal College of Physicians		
1. Theoretical knowledge	<p>An extremely diverse and widely based profession and draws on a number of technical/professional disciplines. ILAM, as the leading body, was formed in 1983</p> <table><tr><td><u>Function</u> Parks Gardens Cemeteries Trees Country Parks Landscape Design Swimming Pools Leisure Facilities Theatres Community Arts Libraries Museums Community Centres</td><td><u>Discipline</u> Horticulture Horticulture Horticulture/Cemetery & Crematorium Management Arboriculture Ecology, Conservation, Natural Sciences Landscape Architecture Baths Management Leisure Management Arts Management Arts Management Librarianship Museum Management, Historian, Archivist Social Services</td></tr></table> <p>No overall professional association</p>	<u>Function</u> Parks Gardens Cemeteries Trees Country Parks Landscape Design Swimming Pools Leisure Facilities Theatres Community Arts Libraries Museums Community Centres	<u>Discipline</u> Horticulture Horticulture Horticulture/Cemetery & Crematorium Management Arboriculture Ecology, Conservation, Natural Sciences Landscape Architecture Baths Management Leisure Management Arts Management Arts Management Librarianship Museum Management, Historian, Archivist Social Services	<p>The practice of medicine became widespread in the 12th and 13th centuries and organisation of practitioners into specialist divisions, came into being with physicians, apothecaries and surgeons. 1518 Henry VIII founded the RCP to improve its standing. The RCP revised its constitution in the 19th century. The medical profession thus showed an early segregation of practitioners, advocates and physicians through the evolution of a number of specialist professional organisations e.g. Royal College of Surgeons, with an association to raise the profile of the occupation i.e. the British Medical Association (1856)</p>
<u>Function</u> Parks Gardens Cemeteries Trees Country Parks Landscape Design Swimming Pools Leisure Facilities Theatres Community Arts Libraries Museums Community Centres	<u>Discipline</u> Horticulture Horticulture Horticulture/Cemetery & Crematorium Management Arboriculture Ecology, Conservation, Natural Sciences Landscape Architecture Baths Management Leisure Management Arts Management Arts Management Librarianship Museum Management, Historian, Archivist Social Services			
2. Training and education	Very diverse range of technical, operational and managerial skills demonstrated	Very high level of competency required in complex medical-related practical skills		
3. Pass a test	Members are not required to pass a test, as such, but must have relevant qualifications and/or a post in leisure management	Very rigorous and extensive testing mechanisms associated with qualifications and experience in order to become a member		
4. Code of conduct	No code of practice but there is an emphasis on professional competency, technical standards in the training arena	Very strict code of conduct must be adhered to		
5. The public good	The service is for the public good and is seen by some in the profession as a social service	The service is very much a part of the public arena and acknowledged as an important element of the public health service		
6. The profession is organised	<p>ILAM is organised as a professional body as borne out by its aims to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- study the principles of the discipline- further research and development in leisure management	<p>The RCP maintains a strong sense of purpose to improve standing; to distinguish the competent from the incompetent and ensure through an effective organisation that integrity, credibility and respectability are maintained</p>		

Source: ILAM/RCP Annual Reports, 1995

The conclusions drawn from the study were:

1. There is a link between the origin and date of formation and degree of credibility/maturity of the profession. This supported Millerson (1964) who described in detail the processes of professionalisation for a number of professions – particularly the Church, Law, Army and Navy in an historical context and he concluded that the date of establishment was an important factor in the current standing of professions.
2. The early origins of the learned professions i.e. law and medicine, have provided opportunities for the development of sophisticated, highly structured, high profile and influential professional organisations within their ranks (Millerson, 1964). Leisure management has not had this opportunity.

The study demonstrated that leisure management, as measured against these criteria, was still relatively undeveloped as a profession. This confirmed Torkildsen's view that:

"Despite the production of the Yates' Committee Report and the formation of ILAM, there is still a multiplicity of overlapping organisations connected with recreation management in the UK. Further, with the numerous recreation management courses now available being largely decentralised and being part of an uncoordinated training network, the recreation management occupation is some way from achieving a professional status. To conclude in the words of Murphy:

'...it is an extremely young occupation which requires additional organisation and systemisation, so that a unified and cohesive occupational structure may be developed.'(43)" (1992, pp510-511)

The study concluded that leisure management as a profession, particularly in the late 1980s, early 1990s at the time of implementation of CCT, demonstrated a diversity in the range and number of professional bodies with an interest in leisure; a lack of association between these bodies; a 'jostling' for position/prime status between the main bodies, with amalgamations and changing of names much in evidence in the 1980s. In the 1980s there was an emphasis on the technical origin/basis of membership, as opposed to a broader managerial perspective.

4.3.4 Implications for the leisure professional

The status of leisure management and its credibility as a profession, had a considerable bearing on the implementation of CCT from the perspective of the individual leisure professional. At a time of considerable change for the leisure professional, with radical policy changes and the requirement for him/her to be both the initiator, communicator and implementer of policy, support and guidance in these matters was crucial to the role of the professional. However, at the time of implementation, the main bodies themselves were undergoing a transformation in terms of having to deal with the changing social, political and cultural environment of central and local government; the introduction of New Managerialism; the rapid expansion of both public and private leisure facilities and the implementation of various government initiatives, such as CCT.

To some extent the leisure professional, as the street level bureaucrat with considerable responsibility to implement CCT, was supported by the professional bodies through the provision of guidance and information. ILAM, for instance, published 'The Red Book' (Management of Sports and Leisure Facilities, 1989). This was the only comprehensive guide available at the time and gave guidance on the main issues, but no standard specification outlining service standards was included in this or any other CCT resource published at the time (ILAM Factsheet, 96/15).

Thus the onus for CCT implementation fell on the leisure professionals in their role within the authority as the only technical and managerial leisure experts capable of preparing specifications, i.e. detailing the routines and tasks necessary in managing leisure facilities (planning, programming, budgeting, marketing, staffing and maintaining the fabric of the building in contract specifications).

4.3.5 Summary

The empirical study and the literature review have supported the view that leisure management was still a relatively 'young' profession in the late 1980s, early 1990s. As such, the profession gave some support to its members, through the provision of material and information, but there is little evidence to show that ILAM or IBRM had a strong lobby in the consultation process.

Robinson (1999) concluded that there was some evidence to suggest that leisure management, as a profession, was developing as a result of the introduction of New Managerialism, and the active management of the service through the introduction of programmes such as Quality Management. This can be supported with regard to CCT where the leisure professional took an extremely proactive role in implementation and started to 'manage' the service, but whether leisure management is any closer to becoming a true profession, is perhaps an issue for further research.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered the role of the individual leisure professional in the CCT policy process, within the context of New Managerialism and the professionalisation of leisure management. Both of these overarching factors imposed very considerable influences on CCT implementation. Until 1989 New Managerialism had in a sense been 'lying dormant' in local authority management, but the need to be competitive in leisure management facilitated the introduction of New Managerial techniques and encouraged leisure managers to learn and adopt the generic management skills necessary to implement CCT (Robinson, 1999). The analysis of New Managerialism has assisted this study in providing an understanding of the new role of the leisure professional in the postmodern world of enterprise, innovation and competition.

The evaluation of the extent of professionalisation of leisure management has emphasised that by 1989 the profession was still relatively weak in terms of provision of support and guidance to the professional and influence in the political arena. The array of professional bodies had not produced standard specifications or contract documentation and professionals had to write their authority's own set of documents. This represented a duplication of time and effort and was very uncoordinated and inefficient. In fact, the concept of CCT was still unsupported and heavily criticised by ILAM in 1995 (1995/5 policy position statement).

In conclusion, leisure professionals at the street level worked within an environment which was fast changing and complex; in an operational culture which was in transition

from one based on technical to managerial rationale and within a profession which was fragmented and particularly in the 1980s with an inward focus on its own structure.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main concern of this thesis is to establish whether there has been a significant impact on the role of the local authority leisure professional as a result of the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering in the management of leisure facilities. Such a study can be shown to be multi-dimensional with influences on the leisure manager at both a structural/organisational level and also at an agency/individual level (Giddens 1979). This immediately has introduced the need to determine and substantiate the most appropriate strategy to adopt to provide a framework for interpretation and research analysis. As Blaikie (1993) pointed out.

"the alternative positions are not just to do with ontological and epistemological debate but also a number of opposing positions within the arena of methodologies." (p202)

The purpose, therefore, of this chapter is firstly to consider and evaluate the alternative positions with regard to methodologies and to justify the chosen approach. The second part of the chapter applies the adopted methodology and discusses the implications on the analysis of the implementation of CCT.

A series of interrelated aims and research questions were determined at the outset of the study (see Section 1.1.5). Through a process of distillation the following aims were identified:-

A) At the structural level

- i) To identify the dominant values in the broader cultural and institutional environments within which leisure professionals operated pre- and post-CCT.

B) At the agency level

- i) To evaluate the nature and causes of the changes in the attitudes, values, beliefs and roles of leisure professionals when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management work environments and regimes.

- ii) To analyse the significance of the impact of CCT on the changing role of the leisure professional.

The empirical methods in this study reflected the requirements to undertake analysis at both the structural and agency level within a complex framework of ideas, interests and aspirations of the leisure professional. This would be achieved through an empirical study which would investigate, using qualitative research methods, the attitude, values and beliefs held by leisure professionals in relation to the impact of CCT. The philosophical approach taken, reflected these prerequisites.

5.2 STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The purpose of this section on the philosophy of research methods is to highlight the main approaches to social enquiry and to justify the position which has been taken with regard to the particular approach selected for this study. Thus it was necessary to gain an understanding of the main approaches to social enquiry in order to be able to select an appropriate strategy and argue its relative merits.

In consideration of the appropriate strategy, the main approaches of Bryman (1995), Giddens (1979), Hakim (1987), Mason (1997) Silverman (1994) and Veal (1991) were drawn upon to inform and support the decision on the strategy to be adopted.

There are a number of fundamental issues which are central to the debate concerning the application of different research methodologies. The theoretical bases for these different methodologies lie in different schools of social sciences. Silverman (1994, p21) identified in crude terms two main schools of social science i.e. 'positivism' and the 'interpretative social sciences'.

He summarised these two approaches in the following manner:

Figure 5.1: Methodological Approaches

Approach	Concepts	Methods
1) Positivism	Social structure, social facts as variables	Quantitative hypothesis-testing
2) Interpretivism	Social construction, meanings	Qualitative hypothesis-generation

Source: Silverman (1994, p21)

The first approach highlighted in Figure 5.1 with its emphasis on the testing of the correlation between variables, would only give a superficial picture of the social world being explored. In an area which is very complex, where the social actors produce and reproduce social reality within complex social, organisational structures, positivism may *"neglect the social and cultural construction of the 'variables' which they seek to correlate."* (Silverman, 1994, p21). The second approach referred to in the figure, interpretivism, emphasised the importance of social meaning and this model put greater reliance on the actors themselves to provide their own explanation of actions, events and processes (Veal, 1991).

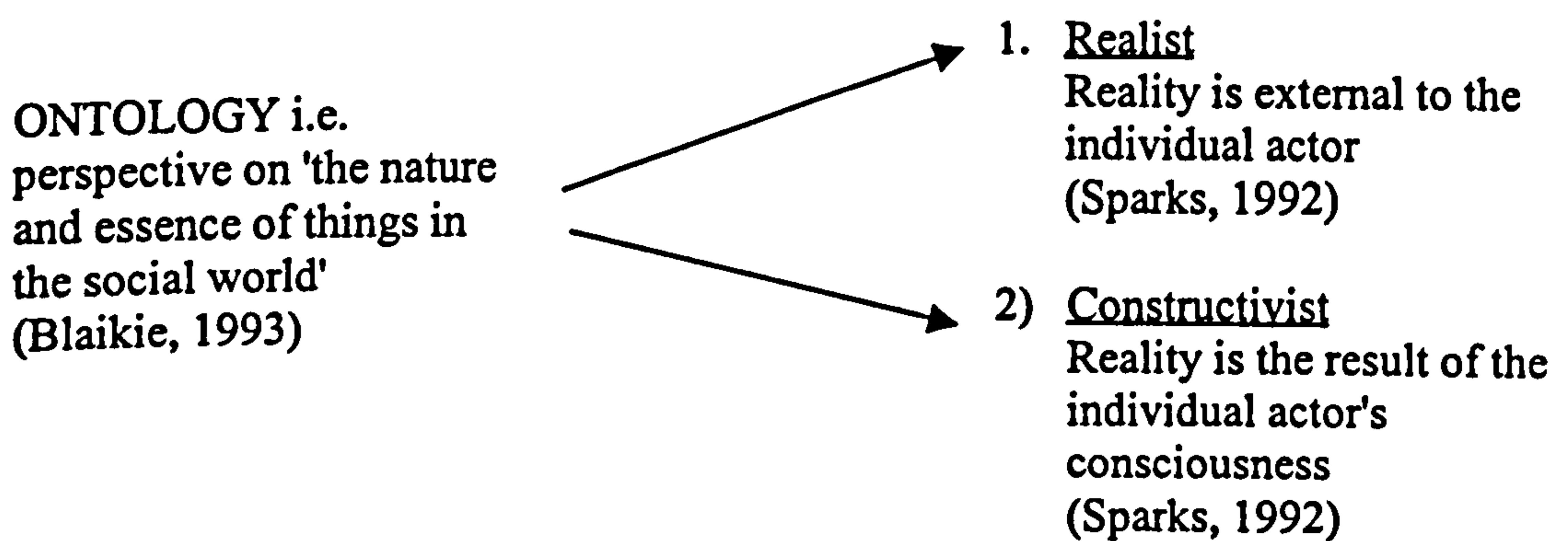
But this is not the full story by any means. There are much deeper and more fundamental issues than the choice between positivism and interpretivism and which consider the whole philosophical question of how the complexities of the real world are broken down and explained. Commentators on the subject indicated that there are a number of both complimentary and conflicting views and approaches (Blaikie, 1993, Bryman 1995, Sparks 1992).

As Blaikie (1993) stated

"In adopting an approach to social enquiry, the researcher is buying into a set of choices with far-reaching implications. They therefore need to be given careful attention. No one approach or strategy and its accompanying choices on these issues, provides a perfect solution for the research; there is no one ideal way to gain knowledge of the social world. All approaches and strategies involve assumptions, judgements and compromises; all are claimed to have deficiencies. However, depending on where one stands, it is possible to argue their relative merits." (p215)

Thus, the emphasis was on identifying an appropriate strategy which may not necessarily be a perfect solution but would be the 'best fit'.

Blaikie (1993) pointed out that this set of choices stimulated a number of philosophical questions which should not be raised in isolation, but must be viewed within certain ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontology, the theoretical study of being, embraces a range of assumptions about the nature of social reality. Blaikie (1993) identified two contrasting ontologies i.e. realist and constructivist.



Blaikie (1993) described realism as a deterministic view of social life in which social action and interaction were the result of external forces on actors. This way of breaking down the complexities of the world was independent of the observer. Reality is ordered and can be uniformly observed and explained. But this was a cold, isolated view of the organisational world within which actors performed and did not take into account the influences on and by the actors at the micro and meso levels. It was more appropriate in this instance, because of the nature of the research problem, to consider an alternative world view or belief system which would make provision for a less remote and more immediate research regime. The world is not solely made up of hard, tangible, intractable facts which can be seen, tested and known. Researchers cannot remain detached as would be required if one adhered to this given philosophical position where the researcher must remain 'outside' and 'unbiased'. If the nature of the research problem is one where inside knowledge and an understanding of the problem is of paramount importance, it is essential to 'get inside' the organisations and the actors in

order to understand the structures, functions and cultures of the former and the values, perceptions and aspirations of the latter.

It was recognised therefore that it was important that a *"prior, intellectual, emotional and political commitment to a given philosophical position"* (Sparks, 1992, p16) was selected in order to orientate the researcher. It was difficult in the context of this research project to adopt an intellectual and emotional commitment to 'realism' as this approach suggested single realities, single interpretations and single truths. It was necessary to look elsewhere for alternative forms of explanation and a different belief system which would enable the researcher to gain an understanding of the ideas and interests of the leisure professionals which were a product of both external and internal changes. One such inside view was provided by an alternative, legitimate philosophy as proposed by the Constructionist ontology within which Blaikie (1993) identified Interpretivism, Critical Theory, Structuration Theory and Feminism, as epistemological alternatives. Within this Constructionist ontology the two alternatives which were most appropriate to this study were the Interpretativism and Structuration Theory.

Sparks (1992) emphasised that

"...the interpretivists focus on the interests and purposes of people (including the research) on their intentional and meaningful behaviour...they attempt to construe the world from the participants point of view; try to explain and understand how they construct and continue to reconstruct social reality, given their interests and purposes." (p26)

Knowledge of the social world cannot be produced by an external, bird's eye, remote view (Blaikie, 1993). To understand fully the complexities of CCT politics, power and the forces which operated within and external to central and local government, it was felt that the researcher must become immersed in the *"local language, meanings and rules"* (Blaikie, 1993, p203) of the individual actors in the CCT policy process. This 'inside' position enabled multiple realities as were produced and reproduced by the actors, both on an individual and institutional basis to be identified. The 'inside' position advocated by the Interpretivist tradition also enabled an identification of the wider social and political conditions which existed which the actors may themselves not even have been fully aware of.

This epistemological viewpoint was based on the belief that in reality an organisation is not ordered and it cannot be uniformly observed and explained. The internal and external structures and layers of organisations are complex and dynamic. The structures themselves are products of *"shared meanings that are actively created by people by intersubjective negotiation"* (Blaikie, 1993, p69). Structures and organisations are thus both made by human action (agency) and are also the actual medium of their construction. This is the basis of the second paradigm which is considered applicable to this study, i.e. Giddens' Structuration Theory (1979).

Sparks (1992, p33) commented that *"there is no ultimate, agreed upon authority to adjudicate"* on the philosophical standpoint to adopt. Here he was referring to qualitative research methods per se, but his comment is also relevant to the broader philosophical debate on methodologies. As there is no ultimate judgement or authority which determines the approach to be adopted, the decision depends in the main on the perceived level of sensitivity which can be achieved by a particular strategy and its relevance to the empirical study.

In considering further the issue of sensitivity of approach, Giddens' Structuration Theory demonstrated a sufficient sensitivity to the needs, demands and requirements of the very complex issues addressed in this study. It recognised, in ontological terms, the importance of the world as constructed by the individual, within a structural context and also adopted a view in epistemological terms, which was very much from the inside looking out. Structuration Theory provided a rationale for gaining an understanding of the social world in which actors operated and it endeavoured to explain the purpose and intentions of individuals both internal and external to institutions. Giddens' concept of *"duality of structure"* referred to the notion that *"the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems"* (Giddens, 1979, p69). His Structuration Theory considered human action and provided a framework for conceptualising the actions and interactions of individuals and examined the relationship of the individuals to the institution and society as a whole. The relationship between the individual and society, between 'agency' (or action) and 'structure' (society) is of paramount importance to this study.

Thus Giddens (1979) has provided an ontological framework for the study of human social activity and is one which was used in this study as a basis for the understanding and interpretation of the dynamics of social structure and social interaction within institutions. The complex and extensive political, social, economic and cultural systems and institutions of central and local government and the social actors located within these organisations are the 'structure' and the 'agency' of this study and this duality is the basic paradigm which has been adopted throughout.

A key concept which Giddens (1979) supported was that the institutional structures within which social actors operated were not sterile, remote skeletal-like structures but were the individual cultures, norms, behaviour, networks, rules, resources, within which the agent operated. The actors themselves manufactured and manipulated the institutional structures and were also the medium of that which had been constructed. 'Structure' and 'agency' were not opposites in this duality of structure.

Within the social actor, inherent in him or her, were the rules, resources and cultures of the social organisations of the world in which s/he operated.

"They are not external to the social actor; they exist in the memory traces and are embodied in social practices". (Blaikie, 1993, p99)

He emphasised that

"In order to grasp this world it is necessary to get to know what social actors already know and need to know in order to go about their daily activities, through a process of immersion in it." (p99)

Social practices in local authority leisure management were determined by the rules, regulations, standing orders and the unwritten, unspoken informal networks and modes of operation. These practices operated within formal and informal structures which were dynamic as the ambience and the culture of an institution depend upon the ability of an institution to form its own boundaries and parameters.

In summary the existence of a wide range of contrasting and often divergent approaches of social enquiry has often resulted in a considerable dilemma for the social researcher in terms of which approach to adopt (Blaikie, 1993). With regard to this study, the

strengths and weaknesses of the various options have been considered carefully with the key aims, research objectives and research methods very much to the fore in these deliberations. It was not possible to isolate either the past experiences or knowledge of the researcher, in fact these gave a prior knowledge base and thus an insider view was 'favourite' from the outset. However, the fundamental question which this research set out to answer, was the extent of the impact of CCT on the local authority leisure professional. The researcher's preference in ontological terms in adopting an approach to examine this phenomenon was based on the premise that Giddens' Structuration Theory offered the 'best fit'. The importance of the individual was recognised by Giddens in Structural Theory through the recognition that the individual has the ability within the organisation to deconstruct and then reconstruct reality in a way meaningful to him/her. This process was dependent upon rationality, emotions, thoughts, memory, instincts, motivations, understandings, attitudes, beliefs, views, interpretations of the individual and this gave a particular perspective on the social reality of a given situation (Mason, 1997). The approach adopted enabled both the structural context of CCT to be examined and the agency role of the individual leisure professional to be investigated.

In order to examine these issues through the 'eyes' of the leisure professional, the research could only be undertaken via qualitative research as this method according to Bryman (1995)

- i) Emphasised interpretation.
- ii) Gave attention to context.
- iii) Dealt well with *"processual aspects of organisational reality"* (p140).
- iv) Conceived *"organisational reality as something which people actively devise"* (p141).
- v) Enabled the researcher to become close to the organisational phenomena and the subjects themselves.

Once the issue of methodology was resolved, the concerns of reliability and validity were addressed. The following section considers these issues.

5.3 THE SELECTION OF RESEARCH METHODS: RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability and validity are two concepts relevant in the choice of method of research and the source of the data. According to Mason (1997) it is essential to ensure that the 'findings' are valid and reliable in relation to the research issues and research questions posed as they are the *"measures of the quality, rigour and wider potential of the research"* (p21).

5.3.1 Validity

Validity is the extent to which the measuring device truly reflects the phenomenon which is being observed or identified (Mason 1997, Veal 1991). It is a problematic concept in qualitative research, particularly in leisure related fields of study, as the empirical work is often associated with peoples' attitudes and behaviour and the gathering of information in this scenario can be subjective and therefore imperfect.

Bryman (1995) and Veal (1987) identified measures which can be taken to ensure validity. Veal (1987) suggested the use of two or more questions at different stages of the interview on similar aspects of the phenomenon to cross-reference for consistency in response. Bryman (1995) suggested several measures of validity ranging from a rudimentary method of examining *"face validity"* (p58) i.e. whether there appeared to be a correspondence between the measure and the concept to *"construct validity"* which *"entails drawing hypotheses about the likely connection between the concept of interest and another concept"* (p59).

All of these methods of ensuring validity are encompassed in the concept of 'convergent validity' i.e. *"they seek to demonstrate that a particular way of measuring a concept converges with other measures"* (Bryman, 1995, p60). In this research study two methods of 'convergent validity' were employed to ensure that the study generated appropriate and accurate data. In the first instance the research methods were piloted on four leisure professionals and the 'results' of this experience, in terms of the range of the prompt questions and the material gathered were analysed very closely to ensure that there was a correspondence between the measure and the concept. In addition to this 'face validity' technique, careful reconstruction of the prompt questions made provision for further convergent validity through employing the use of several prompt

questions on similar aspects of the changes in leisure service employment pre- and post-CCT, in some cases, as pointed out by several respondents, to the extent of replication! Campbell and Fiske (1959) as quoted in Bryman (1995) commented that *"convergent validation should really involve the employment of more than one method of data collection"* (p60) and adopting the technique of replication of questions as suggested by Veal (1987) did ensure in one sense a double method of data collection and a cross-referencing of ideas and views.

Having adopted the above approaches in ensuring validity of the data, the researcher however heeded the advice of Bryman (1995) that exercises in validity demonstrate that the *"reality of research often entails departures from textbook procedures"* (p70). The researcher must recognise the limitations of the survey methods and exercises in validity and reliability testing can be *"time consuming and costly and beyond the reach of many researchers"* (p70). Thus, this researcher was not over concerned with the convergent validity of this study. In practice the two internal methods adopted ensured that, within the constraints of time and finance, the hypotheses concerning the likely impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional were adequately tested.

5.3.2 Reliability

Reliability involves the accuracy of the research methods and techniques adopted. Quantitative research often adopts the use of standardised tools and techniques, which allow for cross checking of data. This is not possible in qualitative research but as Mason (1997) emphasised, researchers using qualitative methods should

"...think carefully about the reliability and accuracy of their methods." (p25)

It was recognised that as far as possible, standardisation of methods and replication of procedures in each of the interviews was essential for reliable data collection and this was achieved in this research study as evidenced in the transcripts of the taped interviews.

5.4 DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

Veal (1987) concluded that the importance of sampling procedures cannot be underestimated and must be addressed to ensure that the findings are desirable.

An assessment of the design of the research study has been based on the premise that

“...at the minimum, valid survey findings depend on clearly stated purposes, justified samples, accurate data collection and appropriate statistical analysis and interpretation.” (Fink, 1995, p34)

This statement is used as a basis for the structure of this section as the main components of

- i) stated purposes
- ii) sampling
- iii) data collection
- iv) analysis and interpretation

are addressed in turn.

5.4.1 Stated purposes

Fink (1995) emphasised that the stated purpose of a research project can be categorised in general terms as aiming to describe, associate, compare, correlate or predict. Veal (1987) added evaluate and explain to this list as being particularly applicable in the field of leisure and tourism. Selecting a particular method of research for this study was dependent upon which of these purposes was the intended aim. As highlighted in Section 1.1.5, through the identification of key aims and research issues, this study sought to analyse the impact CCT on the role of the leisure professional. Implicit within this overall purpose was the requirement also to describe and explain the underpinning reasons for the scale and nature of this impact.

Thus, in determining a method of research it was imperative that the method selected would ensure that the attitudes, opinions, values and behaviour of respondents with respect to CCT implementation could be described, explained and analysed. It was felt that qualitative research methods would enable data collected to be of an appropriate depth and quality.

5.4.2 Sampling

The main issues concerning sampling have been clarified by Maxwell (1996).

"Whenever you have a choice about when and where to observe, who to talk to, or what information sources to focus on, you are faced with a sampling decision. Even a single case study involves a choice of this case rather than others, as well as requiring sampling decisions within the case itself." Miles and Huberman (1984, p36) ask *"Knowing, then, that one cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything, even within a single case, how does one limit the parameters of a study?"* (p69)

Miles and Huberman (1984) argued that it was important to remember that researchers not only sample people, but also settings, events and processes and that the choice of these parameters should reflect a representative and time-efficient employment of resources. The sampling decisions taken apropos this study are outlined in the following section.

5.4.3 The settings

Local authorities, as the settings for this study, were responsible for the provision of a range of leisure facilities and services and as such were the key 'instrument' of government leisure policy. The nature of the leisure service provided in each authority was dependent upon

- i) The type of authority i.e. whether the authority was a County Council, a Metropolitan District/Borough Council, a District/Borough Council, or a London Borough, a new Unitary Authority.
- ii) The political complexion of the particular authority.
- iii) The geographical size and configuration of the authority.
- iv) The population size.
- v) The dominant social and economic culture of the area.

In order to identify and contact the *"key informants"* (Mason, 1997, p73) within these settings, i.e. the leisure professionals, it was determined that the most appropriate access would be through the formal network of local authority leisure services. *"In many*

situations, sampling decisions require considerable knowledge of the setting of study" (Mason, 1997, p72). This was achieved in this study through

- i) The prior knowledge of the researcher as an ex-local government leisure professional.
- ii) An investigation into the 'characteristics' of a number of local authorities in the Midlands.

From the 482 local authorities in the UK, a sample was selected which took into account the logistics of time, cost and distance from the point of view of the researcher. Thus initial sampling of authorities was not random. This followed the advice of Mason (1997) who maintained that

"It usually makes more sense in a small-scale study to deliberately select cases, individuals, or situations that are known to be typical. A small sample that has been systematically selected for typicality and relative homogeneity provides far more confidence that the conclusions adequately represent the average members of the population than does a sample of the same size that incorporates substantial random or accidental variation." (p71)

However, a systematic selection was based not only on logistics, typicality or homogeneity. Other considerations were taken into account, i.e. in the selection of local authorities it was felt that:

- i) the local authority should have at least one leisure facility and this facility/facilities should not be joint provision/dual use.
- ii) the political complexion of authorities selected from 1987 to the date of the empirical work (1998) should demonstrate contrasting political backgrounds.
- iii) allied to the political complexion, the existence or otherwise of a leisure DSO was important and a further consideration was the relative strength and standing of this DSO.
- iv) the local authority should have leisure officers who were trained and qualified as leisure managers (ILAM, ISRM, degree level or equivalent).

Appendix 1 provides a summary of the analysis of twenty one authorities which could feasibly be accessed by the researcher.

Based on the criteria listed in this appendix, six authorities were selected. However, as Mason (1997) emphasised it was important to be realistic rather than optimistic in producing a research design which would be possible, given limited resources.

This was the point at which the intellectual and practical concerns of the research design were crystallised as it was realised that it would not be feasible to undertake interviews in all six local authorities. A judgement was made to contact four of these six based on

- i) the premise that the leisure professionals targeted would be selected to provide important information thus all respondents would be able to make an intellectual contribution. *"Purposeful sampling"* (Patton, 1990 as quoted in Maxwell, J.A., 1996, p70) is a recognised method of ensuring that the respondents are expert witnesses.
- ii) the fact that the researcher had professional contacts in four of the authorities, thus facilitating access.

(Bryman 1995) acknowledged that access could be a problem in qualitative research but

"...if one has a contact it may be useful to secure entry through this route... if not entry through the top man may be best, as access has to be approved at this level." (p161)

Thus approaches were made through existing contacts to the chief officer of each of the four authorities and a list of all leisure professionals who had worked in a supervisory or managerial role since the mid 1980s was provided by each chief officer. This method of sampling ensured that the key informants could be accessed in the most practical manner. There was no evidence in the literature which confirmed that this approach in leisure policy research had been used before but as Mason (1997) pointed out there was not *"a standard format for qualitative research design"* as it is *"a skilled activity"* requiring *"creative thinking"* and producing a *"standard product is likely to reduce rather than enhance the potential for creative thinking"* (pp32-33). As there was not a

standard format for this type of study, the design was based on intellectual and practical concerns as perceived by the researcher.

The selected sample was a group of 26 leisure professionals who had worked in Public Sector leisure management since the mid 1980s. Figure 5.2 describes the current roles of the respondents at the time of the research study (June-September, 1998). The roles are categorised according to the generic level/role within the organisation as opposed to actual job designation, as these vary significantly from authority to authority, as does the corresponding responsibility remit.

Of the 26 officers interviewed, 11 held the ISRM Diploma; eight had a DMS; six had a first degree in a leisure/sports/education-related field; two held an NVQ5; one was studying for an NVQ4 and one had achieved an MBA. Several interviewees had the basic supervisory qualifications of a NEBSS or ILAM certificate. The majority of these were gained part-time. The significant number of ISRM Diploma holders reflected the strength of the Institute of Sport and Recreation Management (formerly the Institute of Baths and Recreation Management) in the 1970s and 1980s as the main institution with a recognised recreation management related qualification structure. The ISRM qualifications were established well before leisure/recreation management degrees came to be offered. The fact that a significant number had ISRM qualifications is perhaps to be expected as these were the main qualifications available in the 1970s and 1980s when these officers trained. The recognition that generic management skills were of equal if not greater importance accompanied the widespread introduction of professionally related leisure management degrees in the 1980s. As a cohort of leisure managers, however, despite the fact that the majority were technically trained in-house, Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes assisted in the development of generic management skills.

The sample of 26 officers consisted therefore in the main of non-graduate entry leisure officers who had progressed as a result of qualification gained through CPD and through extensive 'hands-on' experience. However, many of the officers had received relatively little management training when CCT was introduced. Prior to CCT most of their work experience had been facility-based management.

Figure 5.2: Roles of Respondents - 1998

Generic	Ref. number	Title	Responsibilities	Respondents' views of their roles
Chief Officer	25	Deputy Technical Services Officer	Overall strategic responsibility for leisure service provision, management and development in the authority. Remit varied upon the authority structure. In all cases, however, the chief officer was responsible for the DSO, the client function and sports development.	One chief officer succinctly summarised his role as: <i>"first of all to manage and direct operations and activities in leisure, secondly to assist with policy formulation and implement policy through strategies, thirdly to report on performance review [] fourthly it's to contribute to the corporate working of the authority"</i> (6)
	1	Leisure Services Manager		
	6	Chief Leisure Services Officer		
	18	Assistant Director		
	11	Assistant Director		
Senior Management	2	Contract Liaison Officer	Senior client managers with the responsibility for directing the client aim of the service i.e. contract preparation, tendering, appointment of the contractor, monitoring of performance.	One client manager commented on the expansion of the client operation since CCT and his role: <i>"instead of doing the whole business on my own we now have a team of 5/6 [] I provide the administrative support to the rest of the department and am the client monitoring."</i> (2)
	4	Business Support Manager		
	3	Leisure Centre Manager	Senior contract managers with the responsibility for the successful operation of the DSO contract/s often encompassing several facilities.	One contract manager commented that he was: <i>"a director of people rather than helping people to do the job[] it's more of a directional thing"</i> (3).
	13	Area Manager		
	12	DSO Manager		
	21	DLO Manager DLO Promotion Manager		
Middle Management	17	Leisure Centre Manager	These managers were facility-based on the contract side, in charge of all operations on site i.e. staffing, budgeting, maintenance, programming etc.	One facility manager pointed out that in his role: <i>"we as leisure managers are expected to manage a whole range of issues that other local authority (officers) aren't. We've got personal, technical, health and safety operations, finance, accounts, customer service. We are expected to be masters of everything."</i> (21)
	8	Leisure Centre Manager		
	9	Leisure Centre Manager		
	7	Leisure Centre Manager		
	5	Leisure Centre Manager		
		Leisure Centre Manager		

Junior Management/ Supervisory	26 16 19 22	Assistant Manager Assistant Manager Duty Officer Duty Manager	These officers were second in command in the hierarchy of facility management with responsibility for the day to day running of the centre	An assistant manager confirmed that his role was: <i>"day to day management of facilities and staff, that's all staff from bar, catering, sports attendants' creche...dealing with customer complaints on a day to day basis, management of the pool and all the facilities...I manage all the outdoor facilities as well, which includes bowling greens, cricket clubs, golf course, football clubs, we've got a fishing lake...pitch and putt...investors in people...staff appraisals, interviews."</i> (26)
Sports Development	24 10	Senior Community Leisure Manager Leisure Development Manager	These officers were viewed by the contractor as being on the client side of the operation i.e. they were con-tract staff. Their remit was to develop community based leisure schemes.	One sports development officer described his remit as being responsible for: <i>"all the staff[]and for all the sports development in the district, play development and basically community development groups in all aspects."</i> (24)

Footnote: The numbers allocated to the officers correspond to the reference numbers for the quotations in the text.

5.4.4 Data collection

The nature of data required in order to provide sufficient evidence to evaluate the impact of CCT was determined by the philosophical stance adhered to by the researcher at the outset. As explained in Section 5.2, the emphasis of this study was on the importance of the individual within a structural context. The aspirations, views, attitudes, ideas and interests of the leisure professional are fundamental in this study. Thus in consequence the research design must reflect this perspective.

A quantitative research method was discounted at an early stage in the design process as it was thought to be too rigid and it would not be possible to adequately capture the actors' perceptions. Figure 5.3 provides a summary of the merits of utilising qualitative methods and the demerits of quantitative methods with particular reference to this study.

Figure 5.3: Quantitative Versus Qualitative Research Methods

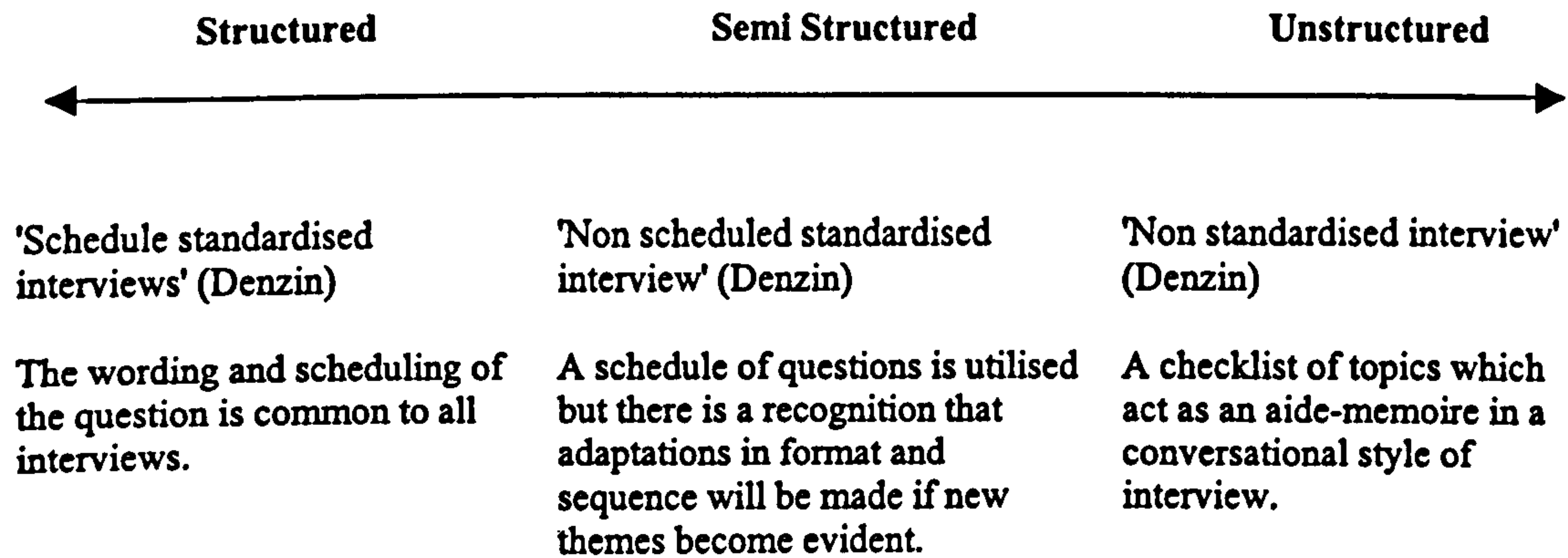
QUANTITATIVE METHODS	QUALITATIVE METHODS
<p>DEFINITION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The application of scientific methods to elicit information.• <i>"facets are treated as objects"</i> (Bryman, 1995, p27).	<p>DEFINITION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Access a different form of knowledge through in-depth, detailed information gathering systems.• Emphasis is on <i>"individuals' interpretation of the environment and of their own and others' behaviour"</i> (Bryman, p28).
<p>DEMERITS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Impersonal and factual.2. Inability to reflect the dynamic context and institutional change as the analysis is static.3. Rigid framework does not allow for flexibility in survey administration.4. The researcher is remote.5. <i>"presents organisational difficulty as an inert amalgam of facts waiting to be unravelled"</i> (Bryman, p141).	<p>MERITS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Emphasises the individual's perspective.2. Enables what is important to the individual to be highlighted and their interpretations of the environment in which they operate.3. Allows issues to be examined in depth.4. Sensitive to nuances in systems, process, actions and thoughts.5. Allows greater emphasis on interpretation of events, settings and people.6. Reflects the fact that <i>"organisation reality is something people actually devise"</i> (Bryman, p139).7. Enables the researcher to become very close to the phenomenon.

Sources: Bryman (1995), Hakim (1987), Veal (1987)

The fluidity and explanatory nature of qualitative research methods were particularly well matched to the nature of the survey undertaken in this study but as Bryman (1995) pointed out, there are disadvantages with this method which must be overcome if the data to be collected is reliable and valid. The main pitfalls concerned the actual volume of the data which is generated and the need to record every detail and comment. The researcher can become *"overwhelmed by data"* (Bryman, 1995, p161) but the introduction of tape recording has enabled transcripts to be produced verbatim which assists accuracy. This system was adopted by the researcher.

Once a qualitative research method was decided upon, a further decision was taken to use a semi-structured interview technique (see Figure 5.4) based on the premise that this form of interview would enable the respondents to give their views on the issues of concern in an unconstrained manner.

Figure 5.4: Types of Interviews



Sources: Bryman (1995), Denzin (1978) as quoted in Henry (1987), Maxwell (1996), Veal (1987)

This recognised the fact that in this study it was important to ascertain the leisure professionals' version of the impact of CCT on their role. The assumptions Bryman (1995) associated with this approach are as follows

- The interviewer would be able to give “*considerable latitude*” (p149) to respondents.
- The respondents would be allowed and encouraged to depart from the main issues if a relevant issue was raised.

Denzin (1978) as quoted in Henry, 1987 (p50) provided a further argument for the use of a semi-structured interview technique as he recognised that a fixed sequence of questions may not be appropriate for all interviewees. The order of prompt questions could be determined by the respondent’s predisposition to discuss a particular topic.

In each interview, the schedule of prompt questions as given in Appendix 2 was employed but departures were made on occasions to allow for issues and themes to be developed as the situation demanded, as advised by Bryman (1995) and Denzin (1987).

5.4.5 Analysis and interpretation

As outlined above, the data was collected on tape and typed transcripts produced. A key issue was raised by Mason (1997) and Bryman (1998) with regard to analysis of such data. Bryman (1995) pointed to a particular problem with regard to the volume of data which can be often the result of the semi-structured interview technique as the researcher is overwhelmed by the amount, depth and complexity of the material, making analysis problematic

"...rich and detailed qualitative data are often seen as an attractive nuisance."
(Miles, 1979, p166 quoted in Bryman, 1995)

This empirical study accumulated 40 hours of taped interviews which provided a vast amount of results to analyse and interpret, and the researcher accepted that there were few generally recognised rules of analysis for material of this nature. Bryman (1995) confirmed that many researchers prefer a *"tabular vasa approach"* (p166) whereby the boundaries of research are flexible within an overall framework and the researcher waits for relevant issues to emerge at a relatively late stage in the data collection stage. In this instance, issues emerged as the method of analysis finally adopted was based on the premises that

- i) the study concerned the individual (agency) within the structural and institutional context (structure) and the duality encompassed in this philosophical approach, was the initial framework of analysis.
- ii) a tiered approach in CCT policy analysis had been adopted and the issues raised by the leisure professionals could be related closely to this framework.

Thus analysis and interpretation of the material mirrored the framework utilised in the literature review and reflected the principle that the impact of CCT on the leisure professional was embedded in structural, institutional and operational contexts.

5.4.6 Piloting: Bedford Borough Council

Pilot interviews were carried out on four leisure professionals working for Bedford Borough Council as a result of a prior professional contact. The pilot met the selection criteria on all counts.

The requirement to pilot in the first instance was underlined by Mason (1997), Veal (1991) and Bryman (1995) as being important in reducing errors in follow-up research. Bryman (1995) emphasised that pilot studies could in fact be invaluable in terms of eliminating technical problems. In this research, the pilot study in Bedford was carried out for three purposes, firstly to pre-test the prompt questions, secondly to test the technical equipment and thirdly to enable the researcher to practice a semi-structured questioning technique.

The main findings of the pilot were

- The prompt questions were, in the main appropriate, and the information obtained was of sufficient depth and relevance. However, several of the questions were refined and re-ordered in advance of the field research proper.
- The technical equipment was inadequate and did not capture all the responses. Subsequently, new equipment was purchased, tested and proved to be effective in the main data collection exercise.
- The researcher felt at ease with this method of research as she quickly developed the skills and techniques necessary to allow the respondents to provide full responses to the prompt questions.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the alternative positions with regard to methodologies and concluded that an Interpretivist approach with Giddens' Structuration Theory (1979) was the most appropriate philosophical stance as this allowed for the attitudes, values, interests and ideas of leisure professionals in relation to the impact of CCT to be evaluated within the relevant structural context. A qualitative research method was adopted as this would allow the collection of accurate, reliable and valid data in line with this philosophical stance.

The remaining chapters report and evaluate the data obtained.

CHAPTER 6: THE STRATEGIC CONTEXT OF CHANGE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The following four chapters present the key findings of the research undertaken in the period June to September 1998, when 26 qualitative interviews were conducted with leisure professionals in four local authorities. To maintain confidentiality the authorities and facilities have been coded using letters and the officers using numbers.

The main aim of the research is to consider the change in the role of the local authority leisure professional as a result of CCT and in all four results chapters, change is the common thread running through the evaluation and reporting of the results. It has been demonstrated in earlier chapters (Chapters 2, 3, 4) that changes occur at different levels in the policy process i.e. the macro, meso and micro levels. The notion of a multi-layered approach to policy process analysis provides a useful framework within which to consider the findings, as changes in the role of the leisure professional can be attributed to changes at all levels in the CCT policy process.

This chapter reviews the results of the research largely focussing on change at the macro and meso levels. It is at this strategic level that CCT policies were determined and the direction of central and local governments' competition strategy defined. The context and boundaries of change, as outlined in this chapter, provide the framework for a subsequent discussion on change at the micro (individual) level.

6.2 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT STRATEGY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CCT IN LOCAL AUTHORITY LEISURE MANAGEMENT

The introduction of CCT in the provision of services represented one of the main thrusts of government policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Central government put increasing pressure on local authorities to reduce spending, to be more accountable to the public and to become more commercially oriented in the provision of services.

6.2.1 Central government rationale for change through CCT

Local authority leisure providers were conscious of the Government view that local government was wasteful. This was underlined in the comments of one chief officer.

"...central government, because of the PSBR (Public Sector Borrowing Requirement) and because of public spending, were trying to get to grips with local government and its spending (was) being perceived as being out of control and being too political...CCT was just one part of that, the same as capping...(and) the loss of control of business rates." (6)

Interviewees recalled how these changes at the strategic level often created a climate of antagonism and antipathy as one side endeavoured to exert control over the other. In the late 1980s, a respondent described *"...the sustained Conservative attempt to influence spending on local government activity"* (6). He commented that it met with *"significant resistance"* and *"there was massive distrust and disquiet and discontent in local government."* (6)

Central and local government held each other in *"disregard"* (6) in the 1980s and this evoked extreme reactions at the outset of CCT with open hostility towards the introduction of competition. There is evidence, however, according to one officer that

"...it started to settle down." as "...it was perceived she (Margaret Thatcher) went one bridge too far with the community charge...the squeeze started dissipating...the pressure was off...there were early signs of local and central government working together." (6)

Within this softening macro environment

"CCT had started to bed down, it became mainstream, people started to accept it... other people would never see the benefits of it...in the 1990s it was really about accepting that local government spending could not carry on as it was and the Government is right to have some sort of control over public spending." (6)

6.2.2 Central government guidance

It can be argued that implementation of CCT as a policy was achieved as the product itself was accepted and the process was adopted by local authorities within the required government timescales. One officer commented that the impact of CCT policy could be

viewed not just as a consequence of the product but also as a process because central government

"...just put the legislation out and said 'there you are get that sorted out local government', it's not the way to do business!". (There was a mismatch as) "...obviously there were differences of opinion (over CCT) with a Conservative Government and 90% of the authorities being Labour". This officer adopted a philosophical attitude "...once it's in...it's law. Obviously one's got to abide by the law." (4)

Thus at the strategic level, the initial policy was seen as a product, a statement which provided guidance and one which must be adhered to. Recognition, however, was also given to the fact that policy was a process, and inherent in this process were a series of decision-making actions by actors at all levels. CCT as a policy, was released by central government as a product for local authorities to take forward and as such it initiated change. The resultant changes, however, were undertaken by local government with often a lack of direction by central government. The same officer was critical of this *modus operandum*.

"I think given better guidance and better leadership from central government, it wouldn't have been as messy as what it was. I think it was a bit messy and a shame really, because everybody has now created this dislike of the compulsory part to it." (4)

CCT policy was a process which evolved over time and was influenced at all stages by the main participants who in turn were influenced themselves by the external and internal economic, social and political environments within which they operated. Under pressure, decisions were made and policy directions were initiated by the main actors, which in retrospect, may not have always been the most effective way to proceed. There were many different decision making systems and political processes inherent in the CCT policy process and the complexity and secrecy of these decision making systems and the lack of strategic direction resulted in highly significant changes for leisure professionals.

"CCT was just a start date and that was it, yes, get on with it...all authorities were listed in different dates and there wasn't a lot of time really to learn, everything was shrouded in mystery, there wasn't shared information, everything became confidential, very inward looking...very protectionism, very political. Labour authorities...you know, I actually heard a councillor say 'over my dead

body will a private company come in and run our centres, we built these'... very political." (21)

The process itself, as well as the product, was very political with the result that contrasting approaches were taken dependent upon the political persuasion of each local authority. Furthermore as part of this politicisation at the local level, leisure management became a forum for internal politicking by members and officers. Officers commented that underlying political agendas in the translation of CCT policy resulted in specifications which were unwieldy with one respondent giving an example of the specification documents for the cleaning service as being *"like two encyclopaedias"* (20). Another officer emphasised that hidden underlying political agendas were the *"reasons why some of these specifications ended up like they were."* (21)

The findings demonstrate that CCT was a product with a strong political purpose and direction but the process itself was given minimal guidance in strategic terms. This resulted in antipathy and antagonism to CCT at all levels in local authorities. However, relationships between central and local government at the strategic level started to improve in the 1990 when *"...better relationships started to emerge"* between central and local government with a *"...more harmonious expectation."* (6)

This is evidenced in the amendments to CCT policy which central government made with the introduction of an extended contract period. In the initial legislation the contract period was 4-6 years. This was subsequently amended to 8-10 years. This enabled the contractor to consider long term investment and gave a greater sense of job security to contract employees. From the client point of view it enabled the client staff to concentrate on developmental work as opposed to contract monitoring.

At the central/local government interface, the changing policy orientations and processes provided a turbulent and disturbed setting for CCT implementation. It is important, however, to recognise that the organisational setting was often equally as turbulent and disturbed.

6.3 STRATEGIC CHANGES AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

6.3.1 The organisational setting

The organisational setting of local authorities provided the political context within which relationships, systems, networks, structures, culture, norms, agendas and roles operated. As integral facets of organisations, these were often the determinants of effective CCT policy implementation. For instance, it can be demonstrated that the motivation and behaviour of managers was strongly affected and influenced by the institutional setting within which they operated and this in turn had been influenced by the politics, culture, values, structures and management systems inherent within that organisation.

The main aspects of the organisational settings under consideration in the following sections are the dynamics (changing relationships), the politics (networks, circumstances), the bureaucracy and managerialism (systems, structures) and the values (principles) and cultures (norms, agendas) of the organisation.

6.3.2 The dynamic nature of CCT policy as a stimulus for change

At the organisational level CCT policy as a process was a dynamic construct and it evolved over time. Several authorities demonstrated very clearly the changing nature of attitudes, aspirations and approaches to CCT, particularly by the councillors and senior officers with significant ramifications for the entire CCT process and the leisure professionals working in this authority.

One authority, for instance, was anxious that the first leisure management contract to be exposed to tender should be won in-house. The DSO was encouraged to submit a very low bid which won the tender but the contract proved to be inoperable at that price. The authority was forced to terminate the contract and an external contractor appointed. Private Sector involvement in the operation of this local authority's facilities was forced upon the members and senior officers as the DSO ceased to operate.

In another authority, in advance of the published timescales for the introduction of CCT, members had declared that they were fully in support of the principles of competition.

In 1986 the authority had appointed a private leisure management company to manage a new leisure facility. The company subsequently went out of business; when the DSO took over, the officers found the new facility in a state of neglect and disrepair.

"... six years basically from it opening and it was nearly derelict... some of the heaters...they were an inch deep in dust where the air got in... the hall floor with lumps out of it...it's just been misused, store room doors hanging off... it cost us a fortune to put the place right it really did." (3)

The result was a complete *volte-face* for the authority in policy terms and attitudes became anti-CCT. The DSO manager took pride in the fact that

"...we won the Conservatives over...one of my biggest achievements was...I won Councillor x over (the Chairman of Leisure Services, who had been a staunch supporter of CCT)." (3)

The change in direction of policy in this instance was made at council level. So significant was this U-turn by the Chairman, that a further anecdote was recounted by the DSO manager. At a subsequent national leisure management conference the chairman addressed the floor, extolled the virtues of the council's DSO and the systems which the authority had put into place to ensure that the DSO was effectively managing their own authority's facilities.

"The Chairman stood up...at an ILAM conference...he recited...we've gone down the (CCT) road prelegislation, we've done this and that and now we've still got two centres out with contractors, but now we are managing one on a trading account...so we've done both sides of it." (3)

In this instance, CCT policy and its implementation at the local policy level had been renegotiated by the members and officers with very significant implications for leisure professionals in this authority. Particularly important actors were the Chairman of Leisure Services and the senior leisure officers (the Chief Leisure Services Officer and the DSO manager) in the redirection of policy to resolve the problems which had resulted from the failure of a private management company. The policy was thus modified to fit the demands of the local authority and provide a high quality, competitive service. The officers felt justifiably proud of the fact that they had

persuaded the main actors in the local policy arena to radically change the direction of CCT policy. This was a significant achievement given that the authority was Conservative controlled and that it was also achieved with an obvious sense of member compromise as evidenced by the Chairman's comments.

CCT policy process was thus a dynamic construct and the policy itself was renegotiated, modified, amended and often enhanced to fit in with the existing order of circumstances and systems. The existing order itself was renegotiated i.e. authorities reviewed committee and staffing structures and procedures in order to implement CCT policy using an alternative regime. This supports the view of Barrett and Fudge (1981) who commented that implementation was a

"...policy continuum in which an interactive and negotiative process is taking place over time, between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends." (p25)

Thus for the leisure professional the CCT policy continuum itself was a source of change.

6.3.3 CCT and the politicisation of local authority leisure management

One of the most significant results of initiatives such the implementation of CCT was the politicisation of local authority leisure management. This was evidenced through an increasingly higher profile taken by members in the provision and management of leisure services. Leisure provision had been given enhanced credibility in authorities as it was the first of the management related services of local authorities to be put out to competitive tender and members were very aware of its political importance.

One officer commented on the political nature of the decision making by members in leisure service provision post-CCT.

"...I am an officer of the council at the end of the day and if that's how the Borough Council wish to operate...you can be as rational and logical in this profession as you wish but...don't forget that the decision is going to be made by a washing machine mechanic and a teacher with a personality defect." (10)

However the political nature of the decision-making varied between local authorities.

One officer reported that

"Members didn't get involved at all in the process, they seemed to keep well clear of it. It tended to be...very senior officer led in terms of ...Directors and the Chief Executive who had their own agendas...in terms of what they wanted to see with...leisure service, whether it was to be contracted out, whether they wanted a strong in-house DSO, or whatever...there was a lot of agendas internally within the organisation." (1).

Without a doubt CCT resulted in the politicisation of the management of local authorities both at the member and senior officer level. This was confirmed by one respondent who commented that when considering the way in which his authority had approached CCT, it was very important to *"think politically"*(1).

A heightened awareness of organisational politics and power play was a characteristic of the changing nature of leisure management employment in Public Sector leisure provision in the late 1980s and 1990s. Local authorities, with factional and individual interests at stake, demonstrated situational conflict and politicking as a regular occurrence.

According to one chief officer

"...there's stumps and tricks being played...at government level as well... by the Private Sector...politicians, officers...it's all a game to be played. The playing field is never level, so stumps and tricks will be played, it's a fact of life." (6)

Pre-CCT, organisational power was clearly vested by members and officers who operated in a strongly supportive hierarchical structure with clear lines of responsibility and accountability. As part of the implementation process of CCT, the entire structure of local authority leisure management was disassembled and subsequently reconstructed post-CCT. In the process of reconstruction, competing factions vied for power and organisational politics came to the fore. Coping with the *'stumps and tricks'* became an accepted part of the leisure professional's role post-CCT.

6.4 CHANGES IN ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Organisational changes resulted in significant amendments to hierarchies, roles, responsibilities and decision making processes within local authority management structures.

6.4.1 Streamlining of hierarchies

To enable local authorities to compete effectively, significant changes were made in the organisation and the structure of staffing in many authorities. In some cases the staffing structure changed dramatically - at both the management and operational levels. It was pointed out very clearly by one officer when asked what were the results of CCT that

"...they certainly cut swathes out of the management bands... it certainly sorted out the wheat from the chaff." (12)

The requirement to expose leisure management to CCT resulted in a streamlining of management systems as flatter management structures were introduced. In addition, there was increased autonomy in decision making with much more flexible lines of communication between identifiable strategic business units.

Dispensing with tiers in the management structure enabled a much flatter reporting system to be imposed, with both advantages and disadvantages. Positive benefits were identified, for instance increased clarity in role definition and greater opportunities for job advancement and enhancement. Disadvantages were highlighted such as increased stress levels, increased responsibility levels and heightened expectations to succeed. These individual employment-related issues are discussed in Chapter 8.

6.4.2 Increased flexibility in roles

'Structure' in an organisation refers to the chain of command, the division of labour and the demarcation of functional responsibilities and roles. In most local authorities pre-CCT the basic management unit was the department and its work was determined on a functional basis with considerable support in financial and legal matters from central services. There was a high degree of specialisation in the work undertaken in leisure

facilities with clear lines of authority much in evidence and rigid hierarchical structures. Roles were demarcated and little flexibility was allowed.

"...in terms of restrictive flexibility of roles within the leisure industry" (there was) "...a supervisor/manager/pool attendant, very defined roles and really the kind of standard of the product was basic in those days." (1)

This rigidity in role was to change with the advent of CCT as specialisation became disadvantageous in business terms and functional work became less discrete. Staff were trained and encouraged to become multi-skilled.

"Things have changed now, there's been a major development...the quality of staff...the training...positive developments." (1)

Following CCT, the chain of command was slimmed down as tiers of management were taken out and new roles were identified with much wider remits which necessitated a greater range of skills.

"I can remember it (leisure centre) opening and there was a manager... a deputy manager...three assistant managers...three senior supervisors...three supervisors and...training posts." (13)

A series of staffing reviews then ensued to reduce staffing and cut costs to enable the DSO to produce a competitive CCT bid, so that by the time of the interview (28.8.98) the staffing compliment had been reduced to

"...myself (the manager) and three duty officers and that's it...we are expected to do the same work now...so it has been a dramatic change." (13)

with the result that post-CCT there has been the requirement for a greater flexibility in the roles of all employees.

6.4.3 Transfer of responsibilities

In most cases, structures were reviewed as a result of CCT in order to separate the function of client and contractor, to clarify responsibilities and designate and determine

accountability both from the internal and external customers point of view. However these objectives were not always achieved. During the period of the first contract in one authority there were a series of restructuring and realignments of roles with adverse effects in some instances. A facility manager commented

"There's been a lot of added pressures put on because of the changes in structure each time and the shifting of responsibilities to different bodies...and then bringing it back again. It's been an unsettled period for a lot of people and because people have been put within those roles they are a little bit unsure"...(they) "...don't understand their real responsibilities." (13)

The confusion she referred to concerned the existence of three separate DSOs operating in each leisure facility within the authority.

"...a cleaning DSO that...undertakes the main hard graft of cleaning...and... we have obviously got a catering DSO which we have very little control of within the centre." (13)

together with the facility management DSO of which she was an officer. Before CCT

"...it was all operated under the one management. Obviously it was more streamlined because as it split up they've had to have their own managers."(13)

This complex situation had a marked effect on the roles and responsibilities of staff both on the client and contractor side of the leisure operation with projected

"...job losses now because everybody has set up their stall...but they won't want a supervisor on site for instance, because they've got a duty officer here. So you know that again is going to have implications." (13)

Structural realignment and the transfer of responsibilities were also in evidence in other spheres of leisure operation. Pre-CCT, information was communicated directly from management to manual staff often via the union representatives. These representatives took a lead in representing the manual workers and they negotiated with the management on matters such as terms and conditions. Results indicate that the negotiating structures and procedures changed as manual staff developed a "great deal

of mistrust" (16) towards the unions. Union representatives were also line managers and efforts of the manual staff to gain independent external union representation foundered because of

"...management tactics...delaying tactics, calling meetings at awkward times. The union was very cleverly manipulated by our management...and the union knowing what was going on weren't exactly forthcoming with their support...I was very, very disappointed with Nalgo (National Association of Local Government Officers)...I felt they 'd sold us out, they hadn't bothered to give us the support that we wanted." (16)

Thus managers negotiated directly with manual workers and the unions were excluded. This had been discouraged and not deemed to be acceptable in the pre-CCT regime but it became an acceptable part of the system post-CCT. Many of the manual staff became disenchanted with the role of the unions post-CCT and they bypassed union representation and negotiated directly with the management. One junior member of staff commented

"...whether rightly or wrongly, I started to go to people directly on an individual basis, I started to seek what I wanted to know for myself, I wanted to make sure as far as wherever I was concerned I was OK, my position isn't threatened, what the future lies for me is acceptable...I've got to look after number one...I go direct to the facility manager and if that doesn't work I follow the chain of command...right up to director level." (16)

6.4.4 Increased autonomy in decision making

Pre-CCT, strong hierarchical structures existed within local authorities and all policy decisions were taken by councils. Decision making was thus highly centralised. This changed significantly post-CCT. One contract manager commented that

"CCT changed and politically that gave us more autonomy from the council...as a manager in the authority I feel I've got a lot more autonomy than a lot of other managers in a lot of other departments ... Without having to get approval from committee, we just report three times a year to a management board who are only really interested...on financial performance and are we as a DSO surviving?" (21)

According to one duty manager, the Strategic Business Unit (i.e. the contract unit) was managed on a day to day basis by the two duty managers. Decision making had thus not only been delegated down from the centre i.e. the council to the DSO, but it had also been passed down through the DSO from the contract manager to the duty managers. The front line facility managers therefore were the duty managers with extensive responsibilities in terms of staffing, planning, financial control, customer care. Much of the day to day management of the contract was undertaken by the duty managers and this released the contract manager to undertake work of a more strategic nature. Thus at each level in the decision making process, increased autonomy and responsibility had been given to these officers post-CCT.

Structures changed, autonomy increased, flexibility in roles expanded and lines of communication were amended. Within this scenario, roles and responsibilities changed, due to organisational politics, structural redefinition and also due to the introduction of a new culture into local authority management.

6.5 CHANGES IN ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

6.5.1 Old culture – new culture

Pre-CCT local authorities were *"old order organisations"* (18), hierarchical, centralised and formal in their management style. Within this culture, managers tended to be authoritarian with responsibilities based on their technical expertise and length of service rather than on managerial ability. One officer recalled that pre-CCT managers were

"...old style managers where people were bullied into doing work rather than being left. " (4)

Post-CCT a new culture developed which gave managers redesigned roles, new responsibilities and a modus operandum which was based on the principles of New Managerialism

"...there was a new culture generated whereby you'd got to take your staff along with you because they needed to know what was going off, their jobs were on the line like everyone else's." (4)

Post-CCT managers were confronted with a new style of management and they had to make many painful decisions about themselves, their role in leisure services and their future in local government. A number of these managers i.e. the "*dinosaur management*" (16) left leisure services employment rather than work within new managerialist regimes.

The changes which occurred as a result of the introduction of New Managerialism provides a background for changes at the individual level discussed later in the thesis (Chapters 8 and 9). However, New Managerialism is considered below from the macro point of view as an important overarching consideration.

6.5.2 New Managerialism

In the past 10-15 years Public Sector management has undergone significant reform. The reforms have been characterised by a move away from a bureaucratic, administrative style of management to one of a more flexible, dynamic style of management based on Private Sector techniques. This 'New Managerialism' has been characterised by the introduction of:

- i) Private Sector attitudes with an emphasis on flexible management, decentralised structures, innovation and entrepreneurialism.
- ii) Market values with an emphasis on profit.
- iii) Planning, monitoring and measurement of input and output.
- iv) Heightened awareness of the consumer with an emphasis on quality.
- v) Localised bargaining.
- vi) A more flexible and adaptable management culture.

These are addressed in turn:

- i) The introduction of Private Sector attitudes

Post-CCT the introduction of Private Sector attitudes and management techniques was evidenced in the way in which leisure officers were given considerable autonomy in their managerial roles in order to achieve business effectiveness. This was particularly

in evidence with respect to staffing. One manager commented on his ability to deploy resources in a flexible manner

"... from having possibly 16 or 17 full time equivalents, I've now got one. The rest are part time to suit the needs of the service, so...it's more flexible what you can do with these people." (13)

"Some of them (manual staff) outside of their hours are doing coaching, some we can pull off and do coaching within their hours, but it's been a dramatic change ... for flexibility..." (13)

The work remit of managers changed significantly post-CCT with *"business management, financial management, staff development"* (13) very much to the fore. Leisure managers post-CCT saw their roles expanded to encompass the devolved responsibility of budget holding with functional areas being given the designation of cost centres. The adoption of Private Sector techniques and increased responsibilities such as heightened financial accountability were viewed as a benefit by one respondent as it encouraged him to gain generic management skills

"...the array of management tools and techniques that I've got now that doesn't really restrict me to leisure." (1)

A further aspect of the move away from the bureaucratic, administrative style of local authority management and the adoption of Private Sector managerialist structures, systems and processes has resulted in decision making powers being vested in front line managers. This has enabled and encouraged managers to become strategists, motivators and team leaders as opposed to autocrats, rule enforcers and followers of procedures as were the old guard managers of local authority bureaucracies of the pre-CCT era.

Typical of this 'new manager' was an officer whose management philosophy was summarised in the following comment

"I'm a good DSO manager...I've got four basic philosophies...one is to make sure I'm happy and I enjoy my job...two is to make sure my customers are happy, three is to make sure my staff are happy, and four is to make money. And if I meet all those four criteria...then I'm OK." (12)

These four philosophies were the basis of this manager's new management thinking and a reflection of Private Sector attitudes.

ii) The introduction of market values with an emphasis on profit

The post-CCT environment was characterised by a move away from the principles of the provision of free services based on equity and the need to introduce managerialism principles of effective and efficient measurable output. There has thus been an increased emphasis on performance, achievement of objectives, reduction of subsidies and achievement of profit. Pre-CCT

"...you used to have a budget and you used to spend it all." (26)

Post-CCT the emphasis was on effectiveness and efficiency and local authority leisure service professionals adopted a market oriented role whereby decisions were made on a financial basis and managers were encouraged to consider the economic characteristics of the facilities they operated before any other considerations.

"Budgets, they are a lot tighter now...if we don't spend the budget it goes towards the profit share... you don't go out and buy the most expensive machines just because you can, we look at that a lot more carefully now." (26)

Financial incentives post-CCT encouraged staff to make decisions which were in line with the business objectives of the contract. The duty manager interviewed above, demonstrated in his response how major changes in attitude and practices have affected his role and how he has become much more financially aware post-CCT.

iii) Planning, monitoring and the measurement of input and output

New Managerialism as a concept resulted in the introduction of performance indicators, efficiency measures, input and output evaluation and a heightened accountability for the performance of leisure facilities. There were conflicting views in the responses as to whether these changes were welcomed, acceptable or to be challenged. As previously

reported, one respondent welcomed the increased autonomy which the heightened accountability gave him. Another was less convinced.

"...from being a manager in the 80s in local government, and then going into the 90s yes...are we getting it right...? What are we doing here?" Outcomes – efficiency, efficiency, efficiency, efficiency procedures; it hasn't done a lot for me!" (13)

Several respondents found it very difficult to come to terms with the move away from direct hierarchical control to a more informal control through the introduction of "efficiency procedures", the measurement of output and outcomes and the imposition of sanctions. For staff used to working within a hierarchical system where the control was through a command structure and was authoritarian in nature, performance management with its emphasis on planning and procedures was confusing and difficult to accept.

"...it's challenging ... it became this procedural thing ... but procedures don't get people in the door at the end of the day ... be creative, be innovative, be spontaneous ...we're not making nuts and bolts are we ... you become very much disciplined in your procedural management." (13)

New practices, greater accountability and increased pressure to succeed caused considerable consternation and pressure on the managers as

"...it took the heart away, very much 'upstairs'- head only." (13)

The increasing importance of "procedural management" was much in evidence in the responses of one chief officer who was the client officer with a private company managing the authority's leisure facilities. When asked to describe the changes in employment in leisure management pre- and post-CCT he commented:

"... the need to produce strategies and policies and give this massive paper background ...your workload has seemed to increase. You can't do anything without a policy statement and some sort of proved strategy that's been through public consultation, right down to when we wrote our specification we'd have to go through enormous question and answer processes and checking with the public. Whereas in the old days, one used your instinctive knowledge of what was going on in your own facility to judge what was popular, or your

professional skills to judge whether the latest fad was going to be a goer or not." (1)

The post-CCT era was thus characterised by an increased emphasis on planning and performance management. Each authority had to produce strategy documents outlining existing standards and levels of service and future expectations of service provision with the aim of giving a strategic direction to CCT. Strategic planning was to enable correct resource allocation to be achieved and the implementation of CCT to be regulated and controlled. This was very much in line with New Managerialism with its emphasis on mission statements, business plans, specifications, procedures, Total Quality Management and customer awareness. Post-CCT leisure professionals were well versed with the new managerial language of 'output', 'quality', 'effectiveness', 'compete' and 'compare' and it became common parlance.

"Everybody else is doing the same thing, you know the four Cs - challenge, consult, compete and compare." (11)

An important factor in the requirement to measure output and outcomes was the requirement to make a satisfactory financial return whether it be a profit or an agreed deficit, and justify the outcome in formal terms. One client officer commented

"... you don't just make cutbacks you have to justify those cutbacks and how they are actually done...It (CCT) gave managers a new role...whereas instead of spend, spend, spend, it's cutback, cutback, cutback...We need to make a saving of £100k, where are we going to get that from?" (15)

In addition to the production of strategy and policy documents there was also an increased need to plan in detail at the operational level with the production of

"...marketing and business plans, training and development plans...the main thing that brought that about was CCT and the need to compete." []
"...because managers were required to consider ...ways of improving and expanding." (1)

One officer felt that the increased emphasis on strategic and tactical planning resulted in officers

"... losing sight of our role... (we) developed schizophrenia...we didn't know whether we were a public service or a big business." (10)

- iv) Heightened awareness of the consumer with an emphasis on quality

Pre-CCT the view was commonly held that the customer was of secondary importance

"I remember working at the Empire Pool 22 years ago (1976) and someone saying 'oh it would be a great job if it wasn't for the customer'." (12)

The current climate is very different "...everything is now becoming more customer focused. I think we just picked that up from the Private Sector ... Midland Bank ... Virgin ... and we've been working with customer service now for about five years." (12)

New Managerialism has been characterised as bringing a new focus to consumer relations. Fundamental changes in the attitudes of local authority leisure professionals towards the quality of provision and the quality of experience which the customer received was much in evidence and had changed the role of leisure managers in the post-CCT era. The shift in emphasis to the customer was seen as part of the adoption of Private Sector values by the Public Sector. One leisure manager interviewed described this as *"the fluffy towel"* (2) principle.

"I'm quite a believer in the fluffy towel principle...in private leisure facilities it judges how good a facility is...they give you your fluffy towel for your shower, which you then throw in a bin. You know you are in a certain place with a certain style and the customer is expected not to wander off with the towel...free shampoo...after shave...perfume...leisure centres are now moving that way...the little touches are coming in to encourage people to respect the facilities." (2)

The implications for leisure professionals were very significant in terms of achieving responsiveness to the public.

"...I'm not quite certain at the end of the day whether we are providing any better a service, we may be providing a more efficient service, but whether it's quite as responsive to public need I don't know." (10)

However on a more positive note one officer, in general terms, felt that more recent initiatives as a result of CCT have emphasised

"...the importance of the community...consultation...that's a major shift, in the past they've not really listened to what people have been saying about the way local governments provided. It's going to be hard culturally for some authorities to adapt...massive changes." (1)

v) Localised bargaining

Within each authority, pre-CCT employment patterns, terms and conditions enjoyed by the leisure workforce were comparable in whichever unit the member of staff worked. However post-CCT, "double standards within one authority" (11) developed as multiple labour markets came into existence i.e. different groups of staff worked under different employment regimes and cultures within one organisation or local authority.

"We are supposed to have a single status, but we'll never have that because we've had to negotiate differently on terms and conditions to stay in the market place." (11)

This contract officer cited competition and survival as the rationales for the different terms and conditions of employment between the DSO and the client units.

One client officer was highly critical of this multiple labour market. The negative pay differential

"...was particularly annoying...the resentment...from members of staff who worked for me bloody hard...doing all hours God sends, evenings, weekends, working out in the community...far more worthwhile - and were getting paid the same, maybe slightly less than some people within the contract setting...no performance related pay...no profit sharing..." (24)

The introduction of localised bargaining was representative of the increased right to manage enjoyed by managers post-CCT. An important aspect of this right to manage was the ability of management to impose whatever terms, conditions, regimes and practices

they felt appropriate in order to achieve the goals, which they themselves had a considerable influence in setting. The right to manage put a different perspective on the relationship between management and manual staff post-CCT.

One manual worker commented

"... we had more to do...we lost money as well...we're sort of like little people really...little cogs in a big wheel." (19)

vi) Adaptable and flexible management culture

New Managerialism heralded a new breed of managers who were flexible, relatively unconstrained, free thinking, innovative and dynamic and who reflected the new cultural organisational setting of local authorities. The implementation of CCT was contemporaneous with this movement and in fact CCT accelerated the introduction of New Managerialism in local authority leisure management and in some instances initiated the move from the rigid administrative bureaucratic style of management to the more flexible, dynamic management of the 1990s.

"CCT...within the centre management of sports facilities...got rid of the blinkered institutionalised attitudes...many of them (old style managers) ran away...to far outreach posts to continue their careers...(the management) was left to younger more dynamic people." (16)

Interviewees considered that organisational cultures were significantly different in the post-CCT era. Several respondents emphasised the difficulties in working in the new culture. This was particularly a problem as "old guard" (18) managers who had worked for many years in the pre-CCT era and were used to performing within strict boundaries, tried to defend the old ways. They were forced to change their outlook and values in order to move successfully into new managerial roles post-CCT.

"In the pre-CCT days...I've even got memories of a duty officer in his jeans and his Levi shirt sitting in the café seeing people struggling with a vending machine and not getting up there and being visible in the way you would take for granted nowadays." (18)

This laissez-faire culture was not acceptable post-CCT. The contrast in pre- and post-CCT culture was all embracing as it cut across all levels of staff and all aspects of leisure management work. The new culture challenged the very fundamentals of leisure provision and with it the roles of the leisure professionals in providing these services. It challenged the principle that existed pre-CCT, that

"...there's only one way we can do that...you couldn't possibly do policies in a different way." (11)

One aspect of the new cultural regime post-CCT was the development of different cultures within one local authority. Pre-CCT all staff had worked within one culture at the same pace with the same objectives. However post-CCT one DSO facility manager reported that

"...there is a mismatch in terms of the client and some of the other departments...we get a bit shirty when something can't be done within a space of time...this is costing me money. I ring the (works) DSO up...the drains are blocked, they'll be there tomorrow or the day after...I need them there now... to provide that service because customers are coming in and paying for it. I can't shut the centre, I can't not perform, these are my pressures." (7)

There were also clashes of cultures within leisure services departments as evidenced by a chief officer.

"Having worked on the contract side it's a very defined split between contractor and client... too pronounced. The joint working wasn't there for a while, it was very much seen as a split, we've got our own agenda, you've got yours... we don't meet in the middle." (1)

Those staff who have survived the cultural change and embraced the new methods of working have

"...learnt something, we are able to be braver than other people perhaps." (11)

Staff were often forced to accept the new culture on the basis that

"...if we don't do it this way everyone's going to be out of a job...the threats were real...people lost jobs...if you were lucky they would interview you and take you on...if they don't want you they won't." (11)

The impact of the new culture was significant, not only in terms of a change in working environment and work regimes as outlined above, but also in terms of increased financial awareness and changed political outlook.

"There has certainly been a culture change that has been brought about by CCT." (A change) "...now to a very business-like oriented climate...and one in which quality of service is a major issue." (7)

An important aspect of the new culture that CCT initiated was the requirement by members and officers to become cost conscious. It was

"... a salutary lesson (for local authorities) to make them sit up... a great exercise in changing the culture as pre-CCT many authorities worked in a bottomless bucket syndrome where it didn't matter about financial control." (18)

The culture of local authorities and leisure management has changed

"...dramatically from a financial and an attitudinal point of view over the past 15 years; financially - to be able to compete in the marketplace and attitudinally because the way that local government had gone...we became almost too big for our own boots...we lost sight of what we were here for...the customer wasn't important...financial controlling systems weren't important...hiding behind systems...I'm a supporter of the ultimate changes that CCT brought." (18)

In one local authority, the cultural change was not uniform. There was a

"...split tier, you had CCT people, you had non-CCT people; non-CCT people didn't understand CCT, they didn't want to, they played the ostrich, they buried their heads in the sand, hoping it would go away." (11)

Not only did the role of the leisure professional change radically, but the role of the councillor also changed with "*party politics*" becoming "*far more pronounced*" (10). This view was supported by another respondent who added a further dimension i.e. the importance of the members in establishing the culture in local authorities.

"The culture is now very member-driven, they seem to know where they are going...elected members see a big opportunity to show the services that they offer...it's a high profile service...they enjoy the ability to soak up the service and it's a thermometer for them." (7)

Members were anxious to become involved in leisure policy issues as it enabled them to be associated with significant and often successful local ventures and as a result become closer to the electorate. Thus cultural changes attributable to CCT were "*major and dramatic*" (18) and it can therefore be demonstrated that the changed operational environment within which leisure professionals operated post-CCT radically altered the role of the leisure professional.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The presentation of results in this chapter has concentrated on the identification of change at the strategic and organisational levels in the CCT policy process and the findings demonstrated that both central and local government were determinants of the changes attributable to CCT policy implementation.

There was considerable agreement by a number of respondents that central government's main strategic objective for CCT implementation was the need to influence and control local government. This however was not fully achieved as several interviewees confirmed that CCT implementation demonstrated insufficient control and a lack of guidance by central government and in their opinion this had led to problematic implementation at local government level.

The key challenge for local government in strategic terms was to appreciate the context of CCT; make sense of the policy and its complexities and operationalise within both the national and local political contexts. As was emphasised in the results, it was very

much a case of *"there, get on with it (4)* with little guidance given by central government on the operationalisation of CCT. Central government did however allow for strategic flexibility at the local government level with local authorities encouraged to develop their own implementation strategies.

Despite the problems experienced by local government, it is clear that major changes were instigated which resulted in increased strategic flexibility, the streamlining of hierarchies, the decentralisation of decision making, the shifting of responsibilities and the introduction of New Managerialism into local authority leisure management as a result of CCT.

In more detail, it is apparent that this strategic flexibility enabled local authorities to streamline structures and systems and effect a structural realignment into client and contractor. The introduction of this functional split together with clearer, flatter lines of responsibility and the removal of layers of management was an extremely important result of CCT implementation. Perhaps, however, an equally important effect of CCT, taken from the evidence of the results, was the introduction of New Managerialism with its emphasis on Private Sector attitudes, market values, planning, monitoring, measurement of input and outcomes, multiple labour markets and an increased awareness of the consumer. This new management culture was a *"major and dramatic"* (1) change and a significant contributory factor in the changes in the operational environment within which leisure professionals worked post-CCT.

The following chapter focuses on the role played by leisure professionals within the changing context as described above.

CHAPTER 7: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the analysis of results focuses on changes at the micro level and particularly the involvement which the actors themselves had with the policy process. The findings demonstrate that leisure professionals became not only the initiators but also the communicators of change in a very complex policy scenario. This phenomenon is considered in the first part of the chapter.

The findings also show that at the micro level functional changes occurred with the departmental split of responsibilities into client and contractor functions. The resultant parallel working of individual officers often with contrasting rationales and cultures reflected the complex nature of CCT policy implementation at the individual level. In the second part of this chapter, the nature of this functional change is examined. Particular attention is paid to the emergence of a split of responsibilities on a continuum from 'hard' to 'soft' in the different authorities, where 'hard' refers to a strongly aggressive, discordant working relationship between client and contractor and 'soft' meaning a close, supportive relationship.

7.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTERS AS INITIATORS AND COMMUNICATORS OF CHANGE

In each of the authorities in which interviews were conducted, key officers could be identified as having an influence over CCT implementation. They were 'key' in terms of being able to take a strong lead in the formulation, translation and implementation of CCT policy. These officers were both the *initiators* and *communicators* of policy.

One principal officer described the role he adopted in assisting the professional body to formulate a response to the published government guidance on CCT. As the Principal Leisure Officer, with dual responsibility for both facility management and policy development pre- and post-CCT

"I had the full support of the Director of Leisure Services...he pushed me on this ILAM/ISRM Working Party (on CCT)...it was headless chicken time and I felt as though I was able to sit down and develop a competition strategy that blended with the philosophical approach and then put down a schedule in terms of what needed to be done in the action plan." (6)

He was then able to translate the principles into practice in his authority.

"I started the work on contract development, started the culture thinking and who's going to be client and who's going to be contractor and what the contract DSO is going to look like and competition strategy in terms of how we're going to ensure that the council delivers its promise to retain the services in-house...I was actually leading that whole thing...all five area managers were looking to me really to give some leadership." (6)

Another dual responsibility officer, in his responses, described that being the initiator of policy was an onerous task. He had isolated himself in an office in the business park and took...

"...all my paperwork with me and spent about two months there and just wrote it (the CCT specification). I think we did a good job actually!" (25)

In some cases the importance of individual actors in the CCT policy arena was paramount. One officer felt that he was the architect of CCT policy at the local level as he had implemented the policy from inception to fruition.

"I (as the most senior leisure officer) took the ILAM national standard, set up a project team and we went through the whole thing from codifying the leisure policies, checking them with the committee, set up the client/contractor split, a very logical process with a team of officers." (25)

If the skills were not available within the authority, there was an alternative with regard to preparation of documentation. This was indicated by one senior officer who commented

"I wrote a document which was in my view a workable document, I believe some authorities wrote documents that weren't workable...I was writing about a business that I knew about, it was things that I'd been doing, things I'd got skills in and being involved in the professional organisation (Institute of Sport and

Recreation Management) and actually lecturing at college, obviously helped the process and that's why I was asked to do it because I was the only one probably in the authority that could do it, the only alternative would be to get consultants in." (4)

Thus the key to involvement in the preparation of policy documents was knowledge, information and technical expertise, particularly in the writing of the specifications. One leisure manager commented, however, when writing specifications, that his expertise was more significant in some areas than in others. He had considerable discretionary freedom in the writing of the specifications on technical and operational details but little input on the strategic political issues which were the concern of the Chief Executive and the Senior Management Team - a two tier distinction in input in the policy process.

"...if I put some professional input into the technical details for managing the leisure centre they didn't know squat about that side, but when it came down to the strategy issues involved in the way it was going to be managed - my opinion was not counted." (2)

Several respondents emphasised that councillors were also key initiators of policy direction in some authorities.

"There was already a wish (from the members) for the council DSO to operate...we've had the luxury of the Chairman of Leisure Services, who was very positive...he's very single minded and he drives." (7)

This DSO manager felt he benefited because

"We've got a very good reputation and a very good rapport with elected members...it's cultures up and then it's cultures down." (7)

inferring that a common culture transcended all levels in the organisation and that a strong lead from the Chairman and elected members had been an important factor in the success of the DSO in a competitive environment.

There was considerable discretionary freedom for the 'street level bureaucrat' at the interface with the public, with regard to the initiation, interpretation and communication of CCT policy. One interviewee described the strong influence which senior managers had on CCT.

"It was the senior managers who directed (CCT); controlled; who communicated with us, who would listen and at the end of the day the senior managers had the final decision...they pulled the strings...they were paid to do it at that level." (14)

However, this officer went on to emphasise that, in his opinion, decision taking on the ground was more important than the written specification.

"...it's actions that speak louder than words...how I interpret it is different to how you see it. If the contract...isn't working...I'll try and work it another way..." (14)

The findings also demonstrated the extent to which the 'street level bureaucrats' could influence policy at the lowest level to accommodate the needs and demands of the contract and the client. One manager working to achieve an extremely tight contract, described the tactics he could adopt in order to cut costs,

"We've done all we possibly can on the environment in respect of gas, water, the other utilities...staffing, now...on a Saturday and Sunday we're looking at seven or eight staff...if I reduced by two what would happen...as long as you can prove you're reasonably safe..." (5)

The result of the discretionary freedom was the production of a range of different documents and specifications by local authorities. Some documents were very prescriptive; some were outcome based; others emphasised procedures. According to one officer, to gain an understanding of the contrasting ways in which CCT policy was translated and operationalised, one had to understand that

"It's a bit of a mishmash really, I think there are other authorities whose contract documents I have seen, who are far tighter in their documentation, in their obligations, on the part of the contractor...our contract has evolved very much to fundamentally favour the contractor and to make it easier for them to win the contracts, because of this policy of winning things in-house." (21)

These documents were key political instruments of local CCT policy as they often reflected the authority's own political stance on CCT and when translated into practice were very much the definitive political guides to CCT. They gave very clear political statements to private contractors and indicated whether authorities would view external bids favourably or otherwise. This had not been the intention of central government but it became the practice as some authorities saw CCT as "*a threat*" (25). One respondent reported that his authority had packaged leisure centres, pitch booking, fishing lets and other diverse recreation responsibilities into a large and operationally varied package.

"We decided we'd go for 100% of the defined activities...we would include lettings of pitches and parks wardening...to make it more complicated ...unattractive...all this is confidential by the way." (25)

Thus the results demonstrated that within the policy process of CCT a significant role was taken by leisure professionals as much of the policy at the local level was initiated by the actors themselves and these policies were then translated both up and down the different levels in the organisation.

Local authorities were able to exploit opportunities to use their discretion in the implementation of CCT and a considerable amount of discretionary freedom was given by these authorities through the management structure to the 'street level bureaucrats'. The policies and the subsequent documentation which these 'street level bureaucrats' produced, often in dual roles, were an important stimulus for change and resulted in new and often fundamental organisational structures which stemmed from the client/contractor split.

7.3 STRUCTURAL CHANGE AT THE OPERATIONAL LEVEL - THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE CLIENT AND CONTRACTOR

7.3.1 The client/contractor split

Possibly the most significant change as a result of CCT was the functional split in the management of local authority leisure services. The division into client and contractor was a prerequisite for successful implementation of CCT as recommended by the Audit

Commission (1989). The client/contractor split was thus achieved in many authorities through the changes *"...in restructuring that came about as a result of CCT"* (24)

CCT was the *"...big catalyst for change...with the division into client and contractor."* (21) and this split had an impact on the modus operandum of leisure professionals as rigid structures were implemented in some authorities.

"...it put you more in a strait jacket, you became a contractor or client...sports development work and coaching was done by the client officers and a lot of DSO people became mere janitors." (21)

The split was responsible for many of the changes in the day to day working environment and the working relationships which individual officers experienced post-CCT.

"We got our act together, we organised ourselves...management decided to split...going to an area management...making changes, cutting staff, cutting levels of management, being efficient." (14)

These changes were very exacting in terms of demands made on resources, both in terms of the time and energy of the individual leisure professional. These demands were amplified in some circumstances as energies became concentrated on the exercise of power at the expense of former colleagues. In some instances this was to the extreme as one officer recounted the rallying call of *"let's go to war (with our former colleagues)...I'm never going to forget that"* (14).

White and blue collar workers who had worked hand in hand managing leisure facilities as managers, supervisors and attendants pre-CCT, became distrustful of each other after CCT as each pursued personal gain. Colleagues who had once been allies as leisure officers became enemies on either side of the contractual fence. Union representatives endeavoured to mediate, to protect jobs and to gain a continuation with existing terms and conditions of service but they lost credibility. In fact both blue collar manual staff and unions lost power as senior management gained power.

Senior managers were often seen to be the most significant winners at the individual level. In the early stages of implementation the politicking by some senior officers was viewed by other officers as a means of self aggrandisement.

"... some senior offices saw it (CCT) as a way of perhaps developing their own power in terms of contract services units... I saw at Chief Executive level direct contact through to DSOs ...another kind of empire that could be controlled ...some of the contract services units that sprung up tended to be very much led by top officers within the authorities." (1)

Political manoeuvring, externally and internally within departments, through the restructuring and realignment of responsibilities, created opportunities not only for self advancement but also for the advancement of others i.e. colleagues, friends and associates who were of like mind and who would be inclined to replicate or at least support the decisions of the senior officers who had "slotted" them in to their new roles.

"...this 'slotting in' procedure that was introduced...farcical...it was deemed that if a new post was created and that post is the equivalent to a current post that is occupied...then that person can be slotted in...this only seemed to apply at certain key senior roles, where there was only one and two people. But they didn't introduce a slotting in procedure at an attendant or duty officer level."(16)

Thus CCT resulted in the separation of direct management and facility contract monitoring functions in leisure service provision through the formation of a contractor and a client and this was to have far reaching consequences on the working relationships of leisure professionals.

7.3.2 Functional changes

The functional split in leisure services between direct management and the residual elements of leisure provision (facility contract monitoring and sports development), which resulted from CCT, had to be achieved in advance of the tender processes. As highlighted above, one of the most significant aspects of this split was the emergence of strongly identifiable functional units within overall leisure services departmental structures with a variety of different patterns emerging dependent upon local circumstances. A number of interviewees reported that they had experienced the introduction of a straight split between client and contractor with the client charged with

the responsibility of overseeing the implementation of CCT and the contractor (DSO) with the responsibility of competing for and if successful, managing the facilities. In some authorities the client also had the responsibility for undertaking sports development work in the community. Other authorities saw the emergence of a third unit independent of the two mentioned above, with the sole responsibility for undertaking sports development work.

In considering the first of these patterns i.e. a straight split between client and contractor, the relationships that developed between these two units exhibited a varied and often contrasting format. It is possible to discern two extremes. On the one hand, a number of officers reported a close working relationship with a high degree of co-operation between units. This type of split between client and contractor can be referred to as a 'soft split'. In an organisation where there was a 'soft split', positive, supportive working relationships developed between client and contractor and the demarcation between these two units was at times difficult to discern. In direct contrast, a number of officers reported that the split between client and contractor was very rigid and that it was aggressively maintained. This was termed a 'hard split' by one of the chief officers (18). Whether a local authority was 'hard' or 'soft' had wide-ranging implications on the individual leisure professional.

7.3.3 The effect of the split on the working relationships of client and contractor
Change at the micro level was evidenced in the shift in the relative power and responsibilities in the working relationships between the client and contractor within leisure services in local authorities. In some instances the contractor gained a dominant position and held the power in the relationship with the client and the council. This was often the result of political backing from the authority for this unit.

Although the client put control systems in place to monitor the work of the contractor, it was easy to circumvent. One contractor reported that she had established her own systems and ignored the client.

"We still had the enormous problem of delivering services, so you just sort of got on with doing that and to some degree you ignored the client...90% of what we did, we did without even letting them know...because they'd got less

people...they weren't skilled, they weren't out and about... they were focussing on rubbish, we just got on and did our own thing." (11)

However the contractor was not always able to exert power and in some authorities the client held the balance of power. Onerous monitoring and checking systems and the imposition of penalties on the contractor were imposed which discouraged innovation. Systems were established which did not serve the contract managers but were used to try to control them and the centres they managed. One contract officer commented that in

"... 1990 - all of a sudden I had one arm taken away...and then I had both and that was a nightmare because you were the manager in name...but unable to bring things together... 'the client's going to jump on me', ...'why did you do this?'... 'I'm not paying for that repair, it's you who've got the budgets', 'no you've got the budgets, it's your responsibility', 'get the spec. out!... And we are spending time doing this and forgetting about who the customer is! And so it was a nightmare.'" (14)

There is evidence in the findings, however, of very different experiences to the above. Very positive, supportive relationships were sometimes formed in authorities, caused by the development of a 'soft split' between the client and the contractor.

"We (the contractor) went through all those hoops of...client/contractor bashing...they were coming round with check lists, in the early days, and slagging things off...a bit of a barrier, (we) quickly realised it was counter productive...and we really developed a partnership approach with client and contractor." (21)

In this particular instance the result of the joint working was very obvious and beneficial as *"the council then started to invest in facilities"* (21). Jointly the client and contractor were able to come forward with plans for developing leisure service provision in the authority as a strongly united force and the cohesion added greater weight to the plans put forward.

It is useful to examine in further detail the 'soft/hard' nature of the split from the point of view of the client and the contractor, as this provides an insight into the range of perspectives evident in the interviews.

7.3.4 The new roles from a client perspective

Client perspectives on the split varied according to whether the operational culture was one that supported a 'soft' or a 'hard split'. Included in this perspective are sports development officers.

i) The 'soft split'

Excellent working relationships were established (in some authorities) as a result of an initial close co-operation between client and contractor in the preparations for and the implementation of CCT and the subsequent changes in working practices. Duality of working was established in a very 'soft split' - dual in the sense that both sides worked closely on all matters. In one interview, a respondent reported that he, in 1990, as the Leisure Officer together with the Leisure Centres Manager, wrote the specifications and also prepared the bids. When asked how he had felt about writing the specifications and also preparing the bids this officer commented that

"...it's just work that had to be done and again by the deadline." When asked whether there had been any conflict he responded "...no, none at all. I know there were some in some authorities, there was a lot of suspicion and a lot of closed doors with meetings going on, but no we just got on with it...a sort of dual purpose in the job at the time." (23)

The authority which this officer worked for at the time of the implementation of CCT had a small leisure services department with a resource base which was limited in terms of the staff available to write specifications and prepare bids. Thus the stimulus for duality of working practice was the lack of resources. This represented a significant change in leisure operational management as leisure centre managers had up to that point operated the facilities independently of all other organisations except for council members and central services.

A number of client respondents reported that very positive, strong relationships within leisure services developed following the implementation of CCT, due to the introduction of working together in teams on leisure development projects. This was applauded by one client respondent.

"...on the whole he is a pro-active (DSO) manager and we've had a lot of project development working as a team throughout the last 6 years." (23)

A number of client staff interviewed maintained that their roles post-CCT had been enhanced by significant, positive changes in the organisational culture. New leisure organisational structures had been established within enterprising environments which were committed, proactive and innovative in leisure service provision and delivery. The positive benefits of CCT in creating enhanced roles were thus recognised by a client officer who commented that

"...another advantage of CCT was saving money from the contract to create these posts on the client's side (Community Leisure Manager, Sports Development Officer)." (24)

enabling client leisure services to promote a number of sports and arts events. In addition the client organisation expanded and

"...we've been able to add the Heritage Manager and Arts Officer...Community Leisure Officers (at x and y villages) to oversee the dual use and sports development throughout the area." (23)

Thus the new structure with new posts and a re-fashioning of existing roles was welcomed by this client officer with significant evidence of joint working, common operational cultures and a blurring of the split between the client and contractor.

ii) The 'hard split'

However, there were reported instances that suggested that the changes in roles were not well accepted by the client. Several of the officers suggested that procedures and systems had been put into place following CCT which discouraged and prevented partnership management and in fact resulted in a very distinctive 'hard split'. In these circumstances the client's view of the contractor could be bitter and the relationship between client and contractor was *"appalling, absolutely appalling"* (11).

In some authorities, significant restructuring in advance of and during CCT resulted in an environment that demonstrated a lack of concern for all stakeholders. A number of

client officers, in their responses, were questioning, negative and challenging of their DSOs.

"Because of the restructuring of CCT...the client side function was always left to take care of itself...the contract side was given priority...in terms of resource allocation...committee time...committee advice...it created difficulties and resentment." (24)

7.3.5 The new roles from a contractor perspective

Contractor perspectives on the split also varied according to whether the operational culture was one which supported a 'hard' or a 'soft split'. Approximately two thirds of the interviewees had experienced a 'hard split'. Included in this were respondents who did not have a sole contractor role themselves as they were 'twin-hatted' officers i.e. they had a responsibility for both client and contractor functions.

The contractor role of directly managing leisure facilities post-CCT was in some ways very similar to the role of facility management pre-CCT in that managers were responsible for staffing, programming, marketing and other management functions in leisure facilities. However, several facets in the role of manager were very different and could be attributed to the implementation of CCT.

One of the significant aspects of the new structure was the introduction of new committee reporting procedures and the imposition of a monitoring unit in a number of authorities. These had been introduced to facilitate DSO decision making and also, at the same time, to control it.

"We just report three times a year to a management board...it's not like reporting to full council...they've got delegated powers." (21)

The introduction of a management board of elected members in one authority, had enabled the DSO to *"get things done more quickly"* (21).

There was a range of responses in the samples with regard to the manner with which the contractor viewed the new role of client officer, ranging from the very positive 'soft split' to the highly critical 'hard split'.

i) The 'soft split'

Good working relationships with the client were established in a number of instances as a result of the actual requirement to do so. One contract manager when asked whether there had been any tensions between the client and contractor commented

"...certainly not in our case...there wasn't any tension there (The client) basically was supportive because he was basically told to be." (3)

ii) The 'hard split'

There is evidence, however, to suggest that in some cases the positive relationship from the point of view of facility managers which had existed before CCT, ceased to exist post-CCT as a result of the introduction of new roles. One contract manager described

"...having people on the client side who were willing to watch from the side lines, see the game in the arena and constantly pick fault and looking to trip you up and that to me was disastrous, because people were forgetting you worked in the same authority, working for the same team, to provide the service for the customer." (13)

In one case this attitude resulted in instructions being given by contract officers to their staff not to talk to the "other side" (18).

Inter-personal relationships also came into the equation on occasion. One contractor described her relationship with the client as demonstrating

"...a personality clash, but I never met anybody who found it easy to work with her, even her own team found it very difficult to work with her... she'd made the decision to be on the client side but wanted to manage the way things happened, so would interfere on things that really she shouldn't have been involved in. In fairness she reported to an assistant director who I would say was neither use nor ornament - a bit of a wise boy behind doors...she got no real support there, so that for her to be able to plan strategically in hindsight was very difficult but we did have big personality clashes on a lot of things." (11)

The same officer offered a further insight into the relationship between contractor and client and a clear indication that the split between herself as a contractor and the client was a 'hard split'. She explained that the implementation of CCT had resulted in a

differential in pay levels and status within one service provider. This had not occurred pre-CCT. This differential between the client and the contractor gave rise to a particular set of problems.

"...the client officer who's my equivalent if you like - allegedly - was actually paid less than me on a different grade...One of the big problems she was having was that she was supposed to influence the way we provided staff, but she said well ultimately she could tell me to sod off. I mean I did point out that we were supposed to be a bit more adult about it. We were supposed to have reasonable discussion and agree that there are things that ought to be done and plan for that, it shouldn't be about 'you can sod off' although it did come to that quite a few times unfortunately." (11)

7.3.6 The split from a sports development officer's perspective

As a result of the implementation of CCT, very varied operational patterns were introduced which had an impact on community and sports development work at the micro level. This was an area of work that had been exempt from competition and it was for each authority to determine its sports development strategy. The officers interviewed who undertook sports development work were all non-contract staff working in client sections.

Relationships between sports development staff and the contractor were placed under considerable pressure at the outset of CCT as a result of different perceptions of service delivery and the new roles of the respective officers. In some instances a 'hard split' developed as these differing perceptions of roles became a source of frustration in the period of the first contract, despite the fact that a number of councils had made a positive decision to strengthen non-contract work.

"...I saw the opportunity of making significant savings on the leisure management side and moving those into what would be a very strong client function, because certainly if we'd lost the CCT contract I'm sure the authority just didn't want to be contract monitoring...And there was so much more it could do by transferring those resources out of a more efficient contractor DSO into these new areas." (25)

Clarifying the client role within the wider leisure environment and the authority as a whole evoked significant reactions as

"...people don't really see leisure as anything more than managing a leisure centre, but there's a whole debate that we're beginning to win to show that the role of leisure can have other corporate goals perhaps with other departments, such as heritage conservation, tourism and development, community development, community safety and anti-poverty." (25)

Recognising the importance of the role in enhancing the quality of life was a significant new direction for the organisational culture of this authority with implications in terms of service delivery. The sports development/client unit was given equal credibility, value and status as the DSO and an extended remit with a strong, recognisable role within the corporate environment.

Several sports development officers, however, displayed a tension and unease with their new roles and the extent of their remit. This was the result of the restraining nature of the new facility management contracts and the terms and conditions attached to sports development work.

"There is a very vague statement in each...contract...that the centres provide...opportunities for a diverse programme of sport and leisure development...There's nothing specific in terms of hours or what that means...we've had a policy, the borough council, of maintaining in-house contracts almost at all costs...we may have been better off if we'd had an external contractor in your leisure centres...because I'm sure the impositions we would have made on them in terms of fulfilling that obligation, would have been far greater than having an internal one. In terms of delivering the sports and development programme, the council's sports and development strategy, we can do it virtually everywhere except in our own leisure centres...unless we can pay our way and even then we've got to allocate...for example we have been operating probably the most successful cricket coaching scheme within the county at 'C' Leisure Centre for 6/7 years, in partnership with Derbyshire County Cricket Club and each year we are growing from strength to strength, running centres of excellence and so forth...last year it was decided that because we weren't operating 12 months of the year...that the slot which had been the basis of our success - which was a Sunday afternoon and evening session - was going to be handed to somebody who could pay for that slot the whole year round. Now I fought that and argued the toss on it, but at the end of the day the need for the...contractor to turn a profit were considered to be the paramount factor rather than the delivery of an effective element of our sports development programme." (10)

The main objective of the sports development role post-CCT, was to ensure that the local community would benefit in as extensive and expansive a manner as possible. But

the core values adopted and the contractual arrangements implemented by the contractors prevented this from occurring. The end result was the development of behavioural patterns which were operationally dysfunctional and in fact a very 'hard split' came into existence in one authority.

"When I was a sports development officer, there was definitely a split between client and contractor and I felt that if sports development officers went into leisure centres we were viewed as spies basically, because we're from the client...we wanted as sports development officers to work with our centres, but there were definitely barriers there which they would say 'OK we will give you this slot but we can't give you the slot that you want because we're busy'...so the partnership that we should have developed from it, didn't. So we were very much geared or pushed out towards schools, so our roles within leisure centres were very much limited." [] "We felt frustrated because obviously we wanted to get into centres...in the heart of the communities and we wanted to take sport there...you try and break down barriers but they were giving us justification for not being able to give us the times that we wanted...we'll go and do something else you know, we've got to get round the issues, we've got a job to do, and basically we went to schools...they were there with open arms saying 'yes come in and do whatever it is you need to do'." (15)

The change in emphasis had evolved as a result of the contractors' requirement to achieve financial targets. Subsidised sports development programmes did not generate maximum financial returns from the space available at the peak times as requested by the sports development officers.

CCT thus had long term implications on the role of sports development officers in terms of the client base and facilities used. The relationship with facility managers changed post-CCT as development work came to be excluded from leisure centres on financial grounds and schools and other facilities such as church halls and community centres became the main venues for development work.

Post-CCT, the role of the sports development officer was thus made much more difficult as the environment became politically and financially charged.

Contradictory perceptions of new roles added to these difficulties. One contractor reported that there were no differences in values, attitudes and working regimes between his unit and the sports development unit but the sports development officer in

the same authority contradicted this perception. The sports development officer perceived that there were significant clashes of culture and that the basis of this clash was the commercially oriented objectives of the DSO versus the service oriented objectives of the development unit. This was demonstrated in the manner in which the contract was interpreted regarding provision of sports development opportunities. This type of situation, according to another sports development officer interviewed, had

"...just kind of evolved, you know - we're this, and you're that - and there was a big gulf between us." (15)

It is possible to summarise the nature of the two extremes in the split between client and contractor and the following figure (7.1) provides the basis for the discussion in the following section on the identification of a continuum in the nature of the split in the four authorities in which the empirical work was carried out.

Figure 7.1: The Extremes of the 'Hard-Soft Split'

<div>←</div> <div>'Soft split'</div>	<div>'Hard split'</div> <div>→</div>
<p>Characterised by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• strong personal and professional alliances between client and contract (DSO) staff.• considerable contact between the two arms of the service.• a sharing of the responsibilities to ensure that the contract was operational.• mutual respect.• equal power.• common agreement on the fundamental principles of leisure provision and management. <p>The result was the development of solid, well grounded working relationships.</p> <p>Conclusion: The split between client and contractor was concerned with work patterns and responsibilities and not with personal or organisational power or politics. The term 'soft split' refers to a blurring of the distinction between the one arm of the service and the other. There was little or no evidence of animosity, aggression or power play between officers. It was a productive, fruitful relationship.</p>	<p>Characterised by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• An obvious 'us' and 'them' mentality• Very aggressive stances were taken by some of the respondents in their day to day working relationships.• 'casualties' in employment as one respondent was demoted; others were manoeuvred into posts in which they had little interest.• a highly divisive operational environment.• a lack of integrity and honesty as officers exercised power for personal gain. <p>The result was that all sense of cohesion disappeared and unproductive relationships developed.</p> <p>Conclusion: The split between client and contractor was not only used to determine work responsibilities but it was also used as a vehicle to exercise power over fellow officers and in some instances to settle personal and professional differences.</p>

The findings provided evidence to show that all of the interviewees had experienced a split within the departments they worked. Of the sample of 26 respondents many had experienced a 'hard split' but there were indications that approximately a third of respondents had experienced a 'soft split' with several experiencing a culture which was between these two extremes.

7.3.7 The identification of a continuum from 'hard' to 'soft split' in the context of the four local authorities.

In the immediate post-CCT period, there were very strong distinctions between the newly formed roles of client/sports development officers and the contractor. As described above, the nature of this distinction ranged from a 'soft' to a 'hard split'. It has been possible to identify a gradation or continuum according to the 'hardness' or 'softness' of the split in the four authorities.

i) The 'hard split'

In one authority (authority D), officers demonstrated a 'hard split' in the clear cut, strong manner of the division in their designated roles as client/development officers and contractors post-CCT. In the responses of these officers it was shown that not only the designation but the very nature of the work and the day to day personal and professional relationships were in conflict with the result that the underlying cultures of the two units became polarised. The separation of roles acted as a divisive mechanism which separated the two areas in terms of leisure policy, aspirations and operational practice.

In one 'hard split' authority the client/ sports development officer was referred to as "*a spy*" (15) by the contract staff; the contract manager described his respective client officer as being "*an armchair critic*" (14); and a chief officer commented that in the early days of CCT "*the only client was a dead client.*" (18) .

ii) The 'soft split'

A 'soft split' was identifiable in a number of the responses of the officers working in authority A. The client/development and contractor distinction was discernible in name only as officers worked closely together and were very supportive of each other with the overall aim of achieving a successful outcome for the contractor, the authority and the community as a whole. The culture of the client/development and contractor units thus had many similarities in that they were both outward looking and customer focussed. The client as the enabling agent was "*doing a good job*" and was seen as being "*wholly supportive*" according to one contract manager (3).

iii) On a continuum between 'hard' and 'soft split'

There are examples of situations where the split was neither 'hard' nor 'soft'. Authorities B and C displayed varying degrees of cohesion between the client/sports development and contractor units and thus varying degrees of the 'hard-soft split'. In most cases, roles had been well established pre-CCT, working practices had been comfortably placed within the overall local authority laissez faire style of operation with the focus of

leisure managers being solely on operations management. Relationships were thus relatively comfortable.

Post-CCT (particularly in the years immediately following implementation), significant changes occurred in the roles, responsibilities and working relationships, with respondents providing a range of different and often contradictory insights into this 'hard-soft split' continuum. Figure 7.2 is a comparative summary of evidence in the findings of a continuum in the split between client and contractor in the four authorities in which the interviews were undertaken.

Figure 7.2: Characteristics of the 'hard - soft split' in the four authorities which provided offer case studies

	Authority A (soft split)	Authority B	Authority C	Authority D (hard split)
Client	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> The client unit owed their jobs and resources to savings made on the contract and so their posts were directly attributable to CCT, with the result that the client felt a sense of obligation towards the contractor. Attitudes towards the contractor were positive, although some animosity was expressed by one of the client staff concerning the relative inequality of pay (in favour of the contractor) as a result of the contractor bonus payment scheme.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> The monitoring of leisure facilities was not a core job dimension of the client. Instead the client took the lead with the contractor on joint leisure development programmes for the local community.</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Following major problems with private contractors strong guidance was given by the Council to the client to support the in-house contractor. Thus attitudes of client officers towards their fellow contract staff were stipulated in the post-CCT period. A close working relationship developed, based on an organisational culture which ensured that the client would support the contractor.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> Supportive monitoring of the contract was undertaken. The organisation of training, the introduction of quality programmes and the provision of business support were undertaken for the contractor. These initiatives were introduced by the client to enhance the competitiveness of the contractor and the continued success of the contractor became the overriding objective of the client staff.</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Attitudes between client and DSO were strained. No contact was allowed by the Chief Executive between the client and contractor (DSO) during the preparations for the CCT. Thus an obvious split between client and contractor was fashioned. The client manager had managed the facilities until this point and in the preparation of the documentation he had no liaison with the interim facility management. The contract for the management of the facilities was awarded to the DSO. They failed and the client was 'implicated' in the failure of the DSO and he received a demotion in role and status and the contract was taken over by an external contractor.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> The client monitoring of both the DSO and the private contractor who operated the facilities was minimal, with the majority of the client's time allocated to development work.</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Following CCT, with the introduction of the client role, a new regime was implemented which took a very hard line with stringent, close monitoring of leisure contracts. This hard line, together with an ebullient attitude on the part of both sides, resulted in a radical change in attitudes and working relationships.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> An immediate change in role and work remit was experienced by all members of staff on implementation of CCT. The preparation of the documentation was a joint effort undertaken by officers in advance of restructuring. Joint working on such a project was not a new process but the highly political nature of the project had not been experienced previously. The specification was closely adhered to with the imposition of penalties by the client if the contractor fell short of the required standards. New working practices were adopted which were very far removed from those pre-CCT.</p>

	Authority A	Authority B	Authority C	Authority D
Contractor	<p><i>DSO attitudes:</i> The contractor adopted a very pro-client stance at the outset and worked very closely with the client on the implementation of CCT to achieve a smooth transition from non-contract to contractual management of leisure facilities. Respondent contract managers were very positive with strong evidence to suggest that the contract staff were supportive of the client unit. An equal partnership had been engendered post-CCT with mutual respect both personally and professionally and a sharing of common values and ethos.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> Emphasis was on the promotion of activities and events which would be financially successful. All contract operations and job activities were business oriented.</p>	<p><i>DSO attitudes:</i> Positive attitudes were expressed towards the client. Both sides worked together in an organisational environment which would ensure that the contractor won the contracts at all costs and subsequently managed successfully. The Council engendered a strong belief in the contractor. The balance of power lay with the DSO and would continue to do so as it was a strong Council desire to maintain in-house service provision and management.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> All activities associated with the successful running of a business. Very market, customer and quality oriented in all operations.</p>	<p><i>DSO attitudes:</i> The DSO had failed within 18 months of the contract being let; the reason given was that the bid price had been too low. The contract had proved to be unmanageable at that price. The contract manager gained employment in another authority. The attitude of the DSO had been formed for them by the Chief Executive and they were remote to the client. (see above)</p> <p>A private company took over the contract and at the time of the research (July 1998) managed the leisure facilities. This represented a significant change in the attitude of the authority and the officers as in the early days of implementation this authority was strongly opposed to external contractors.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> No current leisure DSO</p>	<p><i>DSO attitudes:</i> A strong backing from the Council for the DSO led to an early recognition by them that they held the power. The credibility given to this unit, from the outset, encouraged the best of the talent to be attracted to this arm of the service. This changed the working relationship between officers and a confrontational and adversarial attitude developed which was both personally and professionally dysfunctional and divisive.</p> <p><i>Core job dimensions:</i> All activities associated with the successful running of a business.</p>
Community /Sports Development	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> A high level of cohesion from the top down was demonstrated by the chief officer who was responsible for all three elements of leisure provision (client, contractor, sports development) The chief officer was the lead officer in the preparations for and implementation of CCT and post-CCT, he ensured that the</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Some frustrations were expressed by the leisure development unit concerning access to facilities being at a commercial rate thus disadvantaging sports development initiatives and there was also evidence of a compromise in values/beliefs on the part of the sports development staff. A mismatch in perceptions and attitudes between sports</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Evidence of a stable working relationship with the external contractor but relatively few comments were made on this issue.</p>	<p><i>Attitudes:</i> Considerable frustration was expressed aimed at the systems, the structures and processes of CCT and the contract staff. The reason was an inability to gain appropriate access (in terms of cost and time slots) to the authority's own facilities. Attitudes were antagonistic towards the DSO.</p>

	leisure department developed a strong culture based on co-ordination and co-operation with considerable emphasis on community leisure (both facility and community based) Thus a positive attitude had been engendered from the top down from the outset.	development and the DSO developed following CCT as evidenced in problematic access to leisure facilities. Post-CCT, no financial reductions were made by the facility managers for sports development schemes and charges were too high for viable schemes. The new times slots offered were often inappropriate for the type of activity and clientele. Facility managers must make a profit and the Sports Development Officer felt that sports development work suffered.		
	<i>Core job dimensions:</i> Following CCT, additional development posts had been created in outreach work as a result of savings made from CCT. The new and existing post holders were given a remit to undertake leisure, tourism and arts development work in the parishes. Much work was undertaken with community groups, in sports centres and schools.	<i>Core job dimensions:</i> Instead of using council leisure facilities, schools and colleges were used and have become the focal point of sports and community development work. Thus the organisational environment within which sports development operated changed significantly and the key arenas for the work of the sports development team were external to the authority.	<i>Core job dimensions:</i> The client role has changed since the appointment of an external contractor with an increased involvement in community leisure work and less emphasis on contract monitoring. Additional appointments in the non-contract management area have been made in recent years and have accelerated the broadening of the scope of the client role.	<i>Core job dimensions:</i> The Sports Development team reported that it was virtually impossible to gain access to local authority leisure facilities and so had shifted sports development work to schools and colleges in the period 1991-97. Most of the development work was thus undertaken outside the local authority.
Non-leisure local authority officer / members attitudes	Several respondents commented that pre- and post-CCT, a very supportive council environment had developed towards leisure, not just within the leisure department, but members, non-leisure officers and the union.	There was a strong political support from the Council for the contractor (DSO). Following the council's experiences, there was a very significant shift in the organisational culture from one of being fully in favour of external contractors to one where external contractors were 'outlawed' and all officers were instructed to work to	The organisational culture within which this authority's leisure managers operated had changed radically post-CCT. There was a strong push from the top for the DSO to be successful and a high level of involvement of the Chief Executive and senior officers in the preparation of documentation for CCT and subsequent implementation bears this out. The environment became highly politicised and according to the responses of the officers	A very supportive Council environment for the DSO. Involvement of other non-leisure officers occurred when appropriate e.g. for legal and financial advice as part of the contract management and this involvement was supportive of the contractor. Trade Unions were involved in the negotiations in the setting up of CCT but not given much credibility by manual contract staff as it was felt that they were in

	<p>one purpose i.e. to ensure that the DSO succeeded. Despite this common culture, there were two philosophies operating within one organisation post-CCT i.e. Contractual and Non - Contractual Services.</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> A change in organisational philosophy from external to internal contract management; council directed support for the internal contractor; incompatible objectives between client and contractor re development work suggests that the split between client and contractor was a 'manipulated' soft split.</p>	<p>interviewed there was a positive senior officer-led desire to win the first leisure management contract at all costs.</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> A confused pattern of switching staff between facility management and client services; the DSO failing; the demotion of the client officer - these factors indicated a lack of cohesion between the two sides and a 'hard split' was enforced by the senior (non leisure) officers.</p>	<p>league with the contract management.</p> <p><i>Summary:</i> A 'hard split' is evidenced - in many instances it was a very 'hard split' with considerable professional and personal antagonism demonstrated by all parties.</p>
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7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented findings at the operational level of the CCT policy process and concentrated on two particular aspects which were of fundamental importance to the operation and management of local authority leisure services. Firstly, consideration was given to the translation of policy and it was demonstrated that CCT policy was implemented by the actors themselves. The main actors (chief executives, principal, senior and junior leisure officers and manual staff) undertook the key tasks of translating CCT policy statements into service specifications and contract documentation with the result that these documents reflected local circumstances, issues and policies. Thus the actors themselves were the initiators, communicators and implementers of CCT policy.

Secondly, the structures of implementation were also engineered by the actors themselves. The nature, scale, remit and modus operandum of the client and contractor units were determined at the local level as shown in the range of structures, roles and relationship which had been established in the different authorities. Thus the Government established the boundaries of CCT but enabled considerable operational self-determinism at the local level for the actors to establish the processes and structures of implementation. In the main these were fashioned by the officers but with some political guidance from the members. The implications for leisure professionals were immense as CCT was seen as *"the big catalyst for change"* (18).

As a result of the operational self-determinism allowed in the split, some leisure officers benefited from the opportunity of being able to progress into new roles with extended responsibilities. In some cases strong alliances were formed between contractor and client staff as evidenced in a 'soft split' of functions, but other officers reported a much more aggressive stance being taken with the separation being used as a divisive instrument to settle old scores.

In conclusion, CCT policy enabled local actors to have the flexibility to determine the policy at the local level and introduce new structures to facilitate a new style of management and leisure operation. A complex picture has emerged with regard to whether this self-determinism was used in the most advantageous way from the point of

view of the local authority, the service and the individual. There is evidence which supports the view that structural and policy changes were used by actors to enhance their standing, but equally there is evidence to suggest that some officers experienced detrimental changes.

The structural changes as evidenced in the split, were an organisational characteristic which occurred in all the authorities in which interviews were conducted and it was seen as a crucial factor in the nature of the impact of CCT on the individual. The next chapter considers the scale and nature of the impact upon the individual leisure professional.

CHAPTER 8: CHANGES IN WORK CONTENT AND CONDITIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the nature and extent of the impact of CCT on the work regimes of the local authority leisure professional. The preceding chapter provided evidence which demonstrated that individual actors were not only the recipients but also implementers of the changes which were attributable to CCT. As a result it is clear that CCT had a considerable impact on the role of leisure professionals. Most respondents experienced demonstrable change as a result of their involvement in the CCT policy process and the new structures and roles which were subsequently introduced. This chapter considers a range of outcomes of CCT associated with the working environment, such as terms and conditions of employment and work content.

8.2 THE ROLE OF THE LEISURE PROFESSIONAL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CCT

To enable a comparison to be made with reference to the changing role of the leisure professional, firstly it is important to establish the work of the leisure professional pre-CCT. The nature of this work was dependent upon a number of factors such as level in the organisation, experience, qualifications, background, interest and ability.

In the preparations for CCT implementation, a significant number of respondents did not have a formal role in the process¹, often as a result of their junior status or lack of qualifications and experience (see Table 8.1). However, those officers who were involved in documentation writing or tender submission had a sense of involvement in the implementation process and undertook the work almost as a matter of routine.

¹ These officers did, however, have a significant informal involvement in the implementation of the policy.

Table 8.1: Levels of Involvement in the CCT Process (1st round)

Level of Involvement	Number of Interviewees
Involvement in preparing the bid	6
Involvement in writing the specifications	5
Involvement in writing the specifications and preparing the bid (twin-hatted approach)	4
Involvement in writing specifications for grounds maintenance prior to writing leisure management specifications (therefore some prior knowledge)	1
No involvement in writing the specifications or preparing a tender submission	10
Total	26

The respondents who had written the specifications in the first round were facility managers or duty managers - a reflection of the fact that they were often the only officers in the authorities with the working knowledge and understanding to be able to specify the service delivered in the leisure centres. In fact specific technical sections of the documentation were written, in several instances, by the duty managers or supervisors who were responsible for these tasks.

One officer, when discussing his role at the outset of CCT reported that in advance of specifying leisure management operations in the contract documentation for leisure management, he had gained valuable experience through specifying grounds maintenance operations. No other respondent had been able to draw on similar knowledge gained elsewhere in advance of leisure management CCT.

Several of the officers interviewed who worked in the larger authorities had the advantage of being given clear roles, responsibilities and designations at an early stage in the implementation process, with a dedication to one or other side of the competitive process. Officers in the smaller authorities (in terms of the number of staff and facilities) tended not to have such a clear designation of roles and

responsibilities, and they found themselves in the position of having to both write the specifications and prepare the bids.

In the second round of competition a different picture emerged (see Table 8.2). The role, nature of responsibilities and the involvement of the leisure officers interviewed in the CCT process were markedly different. There was a much clearer division of responsibilities with a split into client and contractor.

Table 8.2: Levels of Involvement in the CCT Process (2nd round)

Involvement in CCT process	Number of interviewees
Rewrite specifications	8
No involvement	4
Assist in bid preparation	4
Renegotiate contract to extend existing period	3
Overall responsibility for client and contractor in 2nd round - at a strategic level	2
Responsible for bid preparation	2
Client role continuing with no re-draft	2
Inherited new contract as part of new job	1
Total	26

The change in responsibilities and nature of involvement in the second round of the CCT process, was reflected in a change of role. Only one officer continued in his pre-CCT role as a facility manager outside the CCT remit. The following table (8.3) summarises the change in role.

Table 8.3: Change in Role on Implementation of CCT

BEFORE (PRE-1989)		CHANGEOVER (1989-92)	Number of Interviewees
Continuation with community leisure/sports development role		No change	5
site manager in local authority facility	became	site contract manager (DSO)	5
supervisor	became	duty manager	5
duty/site manager in local authority facility	became	client manager	4
assistant site manager in local authority facility	became	site contract manager (DSO)	3
local authority manager	became	private contract manager	2
principal officer responsible for specification and bid preparation	became	principal officer responsible for both client and DSO	2
principal officer responsible for specification and bid preparation	became	principal officer responsible for DSO	1
Continuation with site manager role outside CCT remit			1
Total			26

8.3 OPERATIONAL CHANGE

CCT stimulated changes in operational roles as a result of a number of factors. One of the most significant was the re-organisation of departmental structures, processes and procedures.

"CCT stimulated considerable change in local authorities in the ways management was structured...we had a packaging arrangement whereby all sport...leisure amenities...within a given area...together with the golf courses, putting greens, the whole lot...under the Act formed...one integrated package...tennis courts, bowling fees etc. Area managers were appointed and a separate client department was formed." (25)

CCT was thus a stimulus for operational change and was viewed positively in certain quarters. CCT was

"...used as a catalyst for change. It was seen as an opportunity not a problem."
(25)

It was seen as an initiative to develop new operational roles. Authority A used the savings from CCT to establish a leisure development team on the client side of the operation. New job opportunities were not always taken, however, and one contract member of staff (a duty manager), in this authority emphasised that he had preferred to remain on the facility management side because

"...the job's so variable...the client is more stuck to the desk, more pen pushing...I like to have more freedom...running about, more hands-on." (22)

It was at the duty manager/manual level that the re-organisation had its greatest impact.

"...all the manual tasks and all the CCT functions - that's where most of the change has taken place...Yes it's been quite an experience, but there's light at the end of every tunnel" (14)

It was pointed out that in some circumstances certain aspects of an authority's operations were not affected by CCT.

"I don't think it's changed an awful lot at the central core, certainly not in this authority." (25)

"...where the CCT framework has come into effect, some of the central services really haven't changed at all." (14)

The existence of two contrasting operational cultures within one organisation (central services and contractor services) had an impact on the operational role of leisure professionals and as a result difficulties in operational management were experienced.

"There's quite a lot of ignorance in various departments as to the problems or issues that you deal with as a contract manager." [] "I don't think there's an understanding of the business in certain departments. There are departments

that do understand, and the ones that do are the ones under a contractual obligation." [] "The client asks...can I have 100 chairs for a function – and expects me (as a contract manager) to pay for the transport to get them there and the two staff...there's not an understanding of why there's a cost to it. So there's certainly two different sorts of philosophies." (7)

Thus the organisation of authorities and departments into contract and non-contract operational work had considerable implications with regard to what was required of the individual in terms of his/her role within the organisation.

8.4 ADOPTION OF NEW MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

Following CCT a much more strategic approach to management at the senior level with New Managerialism was in evidence in the responses with considerable emphasis on the need to develop and pursue agreed aims and objectives. In addition, a much tighter financial control, careful and skilful resource management and an increased emphasis on efficiency and accountability were evidenced in the management oriented approach adopted. Local authority leisure services, post-CCT saw the birth of the generic leisure manager with management responsibilities for

"...staff management...people management...recruitment...appraisal schemes, staff training, meetings, formalising things like that which had never been done before... performance management became a key issue...finance, income targets, reinvestment schemes. It suddenly became management that could I suppose have been in any environment, the fact that it was in a leisure centre it could have been in some of the general principles anywhere."(21)

Accompanying the adoption of general management principles came the need to develop new skills with less of a focus on technical operational management and

"...much more of a focus on performance management...measurement and business planning, service planning, training and development, NVQs...senior managers need far more skills now than they would have in the 80s... the ability to work in a complicated, fast moving environment....you've got to have a range of expertise and knowledge and keep up to date, whereas in the late 80s it was much more of an art than a science." (25)

Officers commented that post-CCT there was an increasing need to deal with financial matters.

"There's been a lot more demands on officers in respect of resource management ... in the 80's there seemed to be a lot more money about - there's been a constant undermining of the leisure function because of the lack of resources on a revenue basis, and capital as well." (25)

Increasing difficulty was experienced with resource management and to be able to deal with difficult situations

"...we've had to become a lot more creative with the way we use what we've got." (25)

At the middle management level, officers demonstrated that they had to work within a much tighter framework in the post-CCT era. One facility contract manager commented on the negative aspect of this fact.

"Yes, you are constantly on the check up of what it (income) is. I can't do this, I can't spend this!!...it gave a lot of focus...where's your income coming from?" (5)

He emphasised that

"...I've become more of a bank manager rather than a leisure manager." [] I think it improved me, personally, I think it gave me a little bit more scope...I believe that it went the right way." (5)

As a result of CCT, a number of respondents confirmed that they had adopted new management techniques and they felt that as managers they were more able to deal with financial matters, to delegate, to be efficient, to deal with difficult situations and to work within a tighter framework. They also felt they were more strategically aware and less technically oriented and had become increasingly conscious of contractual and procurement systems. However, whether these new techniques were viewed positively or negatively was dependent upon each individual officer and his perception as to whether he had been a winner or a loser in the CCT process.

On the positive side of the equation one interviewee recounted that

"It (CCT) made us define the service...a performance-orientation...it resulted in benefits...it brought more professionalism to the industry...we've gone for quality awards, investors in people...we've had scope to do it. I've found it to be very positive" (21)

with the result that leisure management became

"...far more professional in the area of general management, probably less so in certain areas of specific management - technical management." (10)

However, gains in generic management skills were counterbalanced by losses in technical expertise.

"We're losing the technicality now, which is one of the downsides of it, people don't go into plant rooms and strip pumps...it tends to be more management than actual technical...eventually there'll be nobody left...I remember when the swimming pool managers would be in the plant rooms...up to their elbows...doing the work and getting on with it, but nowadays some of the managers wouldn't have that technical knowledge." (9)

Thus the adoption of new management techniques was perceived to have brought many benefits, but also at a cost.

8.5 CHANGES IN THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT

Following CCT the working environment became increasingly complex, competitive and fast moving with management endeavouring to keep up to date in technical and managerial terms.

"... leisure before seemed to be a lot more relaxed as a job...now...there's more emphasis on getting the customers in, reaching income targets...I think there is a lot more pressure now...from the top there's more delegation down to the duty manager. They expect more of you now." (22)

The environment within which the respondents worked, changed radically with the implementation of CCT. In the initial period of CCT introduction, in some instances,

hostilities developed and feelings were so extreme that internal politicking came to be of paramount importance. One chief officer recalled that

"...there was a lot of politics going about...all different Machiavellian ways of competition strategies...it was very brutal, the battlefield of CCT in sport and leisure management." (6)

However, changes in the working environment were also viewed positively by some respondents. Operationally, CCT resulted in DSOs having more autonomy from the local authority.

The advantage of more freedom in management terms was that

"...we've been able to get things done more quickly than we would within a council department...all I'm responsible for is breaking even, declaring a surplus." (21)

Thus increased levels of autonomy, the delegation of responsibilities and the ability to manoeuvre and manipulate politically, resulted in significant changes in the working environment for many of the interviewees.

8.6 CHANGES IN THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

The requirement to get *"bums on seats"* (22) put the contractor under increasing pressure to achieve.

"We've got to keep to those guidelines - lot more rigid...it's changed from that relaxed atmosphere to being a lot more rigid, so there's a lot more pressure on us to succeed as a business." (22)

This had implications on the terms and conditions of employment and one officer admitted that

"...we didn't know a lot about it (CCT) at that time, we weren't made aware just how important it was. Even though we'd won the contract, I don't think we knew if we'd lost, what would have happened, would we have lost our jobs, or a private firm coming in...a lot of procedures changed because of CCT, like

overtime, double time went out of the window, shift allowances. It was like behind closed doors. We didn't start asking questions until it had really all happened...then it (morale) just like hit rock bottom...people were frightened they were going to lose their jobs and even though we did win the contract...all these new terms and conditions came about ...a lot of people were disgruntled...because they'd lost the shift allowance and double time for weekends." (22)

In authority D, members had made it very clear to both the client and DSO managers that they were anxious for the leisure contracts to remain in house. The DSO manager was given powers to ensure that this overall objective was achieved and one initiative he put forward was a reduction in the costs of salaries and wages. Negotiations and consultations were undertaken with the staff and a vote taken. One manual member of staff recalled the voting meeting very clearly

"...they were trying to prepare us for what would happen...the cut backs...to be competitive...a vote was taken... they (manual staff) voted and then they moaned...I wasn't prepared to call his bluff...the result was cut backs...we lost money, but again I can't crib on it because I voted with it." (19)

The majority of manual staff supported the new terms and conditions as they had been advised to do so by the management on the basis that the DSO bid would be more competitive. There was a strong element of loyalty as manual staff put their trust in the management, and accepted cuts on the basis that they would have an enhanced opportunity to win the contract through being more competitive against external competition. Subsequently, when bids were presented, no external contractor submitted a bid. Manual staff were reported as having

"...very mixed feelings...for instance some people were very angry about it...(the introduction of new terms and conditions) ...some of the people would turn round and say we were skunked...we negotiated on pay...we did lose money...double time...he (the Manager) knocked all that on the head...a flat rate Monday to Saturday...knocked back on the Bank Holidays so we only get time and a third...quite a few people were pigged off." (19)

This detrimental outcome of the operationalisation of CCT as given by the above officer was however countered in an alternative view as described by the DSO manager who

had implemented the new terms and conditions in the same authority. From his standpoint

"...the whole process was pretty smooth really...when we put it (the new conditions of service) to the ballot, it was nearly unanimous...we paid them one year's overtime...so that all (double time, time and a half, laundry allowance, protective clothing allowance) went. The manual staff were bought out and we put in its place a surplus share scheme so if the contract did well...if you were a good attender or a bad attender your percentage of the surplus changes, so now we've got a very high attendance level...This year they've had £700 each, the full timers...that was the basis of the buy out." (18)

The respondent continued to outline the extensive prior consultations which he had conducted to ensure each member of staff was fully appraised of the changes.

"Personal interviews with every member of staff and groups of staff to decide who was going to end up where...I held briefing sessions ...we had team meetings... a CCT sort of team set up...we had a local agreement working party...another working party looking at the conditions, the contract conditions and the income share and the technical aspects." (18)

In the same authority, efforts were also made to harmonise cultures

"...between blue and white collar at the point of the first submission of the first bid." This was achieved by "...creating a more equitable environment, a better, more cohesive, workforce...no point in differentiating 39-37 hours, sickness, annual leave, so we wiped all of that out." (18)

Pre-CCT it was felt that working for the council was very secure. This notion was to change with the advent of CCT.

"...everybody worked for the local council. Oh you've got a job for life...now I don't think that applies any more." (5)

There was a strong sense of increasing fluidity in employment post-CCT. In the pre-CCT era

"...you'd have the staff that you've got and you wouldn't even consider moving anybody out...now this disciplinary thing is used because it has to be used to get rid of staff." (3)

Thus CCT initiated a sea change in attitudes to employment both by the management and the manual staff.

8.7 INCREASED PRESSURE

In the results, it has possible to identify a significant increase in pressure on leisure professionals in terms of workload and stress levels. In the first instance, this can be attributed to the difficulty experienced by leisure officers in gaining information on CCT. An important aspect of their roles as leisure officers was to gain knowledge, understand the requirements, advise on strategy and operationalise CCT policy.

The results showed that a number of communication channels were used for the dissemination of information i.e. central government circulars, seminars (Institute of Sport and Recreation Management, Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management and the Association of District Councils) and other similar organisations, informal networking with colleagues, and so on.

One senior officer demonstrated the use of the various methods of gathering information when he commented that

"In those days we found out almost as a rumour...then a worry and then when it became fact we just had the scramble...how the rest of the staff found out was that we held a series of briefings and...the authority produced the CCT video, for which we got an award... we started in a very objective way with staff to give them the full facts, but then as our tactics started to come through, then obviously the message changed...and we maximised the situation...the rumours basically came through your own personal networks and then through your professional contacts and...there was a period of dialogue where the initial hit list came out...then agencies and authorities and associations had the opportunity to feed into that." (18)

Some officers reported that it was difficult to understand the implications because the policy itself was complex; interpretations were varied; information from the Government was scant; the policy was not always explained clearly and there was an element of bias in the interpretations. Thus the options and

opportunities were not always put clearly to the staff. The over-riding conclusion, was that the preparatory work had to be undertaken despite the fact that information at the time was thought to be insufficient at all levels.

However,

"The biggest problem...was time, because you had everything else to do." (25)

A very strong thread running through many of the responses was heightened stress levels associated with employment during and after CCT implementation. One respondent commented that

"...there's been a tremendous change in workloads and how things are done." [] "It put a lot of stress and pressure on me...constantly worrying about how much we are spending...what our performance was...intense pressure to perform...a knock-on effect on your personal life and the way you interface with staff." [] "This intense pressure has been externally imposed by head office accountants, who set targets which are not always achievable... accountants knock these things out and really they're ground operators...non-realistic ...they really do put intense pressure on you." (1)

It was not only increased pressure to achieve targets, but the new systems, structures and procedures which were put into place, as a result of CCT that imposed stress on leisure professionals. Employment post-CCT according to one interviewee was

"...a lot faster, ever changing, changing much faster, far more stressful, far less fun." (CCT) "created a lot of stress...with increased levels of paperwork and administrative support...quality assurance...endless on-site problems...running around like a headless chicken...we've got charter marks, customer care, health and safety." (17)

Not all respondents viewed the increased pressures negatively. One respondent commented positively. In the 1980s

"...there was less pressure on managers...obviously more jobs around so people moved around a bit more...budgets were spent...nowadays you are asked to cost out what you are actually doing with that budget a bit more than in the old days...so whereas managers had a bit more freedom back in the 1980s...things have tightened up since then...it's been a good thing!" (15)

To summarise, the findings demonstrate that there has been an increased pressure placed on leisure professionals at all levels, in terms of workload and the type of work undertaken. This is evidenced in

- increased responsibility at a given level
- increased pressure to succeed
- the setting of unrealistic targets
- the requirement to tightly control costs
- an increased complexity in the work undertaken

8.8 THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNION

As outlined in Section 8.6, as a result of CCT, managers were empowered to impose new employment regimes and new working practices on manual staff and this changed the established order. Long established local authority manual employment rights were eroded and the negotiating ability of staff and unions was diminished.

Thus post-CCT the role of the Trade Unions changed substantially. They became marginalised from the decision making process and they lost members, credibility and power. Nationally negotiated pay deals were of the past as DSO managers negotiated directly with their workforce and employer affordability became of paramount importance.

One manual worker commented that

"...there was a great deal of mistrust towards the Union...UNISON...I felt they'd sold us out, they hadn't bothered to give us the support that we wanted." (16)

There were reported instances of a conflict of interest between union officials and their members. A very confused situation arose in one authority with negotiations and discussions involving the unions and management.

"As a duty officer I had my UNISON rep who was one of my line managers, who was one of the people I was actually criticising for their management practices." (16)

As a result external union officials were called in but in this case *"delaying tactics"* (16) were used by the management to prevent negotiations from taking place.

In the early stages of implementation of CCT, negotiations on issues such as contractual benefits, terms and conditions were often the responsibility of the unions. This was their agreed role within the structure of management of local authority service provision and strong working relationships had been in existence pre-CCT. Unions began to lose their bargaining power and their ability to influence management as the threat of losing contracts was used to gain union compliance. Redundancies and job losses were used by management as a stimulus to reduce staffing costs and thus depress contract costs and the unions' negotiating position within local authority management structures was gradually eroded.

"...so whatever they (the managers) said they (the unions) recommended to the staff ... and the manual staff, many of whom were just bothered about themselves and they said well if that's what they (the management) say we'll do it." (16)

Thus CCT heralded the decline of the power of the Trade Unions and the strengthening of the authority of management with regard to the working environment of the leisure professional.

8.9 CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONSUMER

The changes outlined in previous sections concerning the working environment were internal to the organisation. However, there were also significant changes which affected the individual leisure professional, which were external to the organisation. These changes were concerned with an increasing orientation to the consumer, which was a

"...knock on effect of CCT...we set up customer suggestion boxes...we now try to get as much out of the customer as we can. Their ideas count...a lot more customer focused...their address and name on a database...that close relationship...that's important." (22)

As a result service levels for customers

"...have actually improved...we expect that staff have name badges on...service standards have actually gone up, it's getting away from that stigma – 'well it's only the council'."

The achievement of enhanced service levels for customers, in some instances, was reached despite operational cutbacks.

"The level of service given to customers since CCT has improved despite the reduction in the number of manual employees in many facilities." (17)

However, there are contradictory reports with regard to quality of service as evidenced in the comments of one contract manager. Pre-CCT, sessions for groups such as the unemployed and over 60s were

"...self sufficient...CCT came along, sessions had to become self sufficient so I didn't provide members of staff... tea and coffee...my member of staff wasn't going to run the session...stopped organising their annual events to go away to the seaside...we stopped subsidising those things." (17)

Despite this all the groups survived although some lost numbers. The unemployed sessions have

"...taken the biggest battering because they probably wanted to see somebody, share with somebody, somebody to take notice...they were given all the amenities free of charge...they really lost that point of contact...so I think that's why they suffered more than others." (17)

One officer outlined the relationship between profit and customer orientation. As a contract manager he recognised that the DSO was

"...a lot more customer focused...we're here to make a profit...but at the same time it's making the customer feel good...repeat business is very important." (22)

8.10 CONCLUSION

There were radical changes in what was required of the local authority leisure professional post-CCT. In general terms the changes had been externally imposed by central government as CCT was one of a number of measures introduced to curb the power of local government. However the results showed that the changes were in fact internally imposed by the leisure professional themselves and as such they were the instruments of change. In order to meet the requirements of the legislation, the majority of the respondents had initiated, communicated and implemented changes in their role as leisure professionals.

CCT had a major impact, both negative and positive, on the leisure professionals' working environment. Pre-CCT, local authority leisure management was characterised by formal hierarchies, inflexible working practices, strongly defended employment rights, privileges, beneficial terms and conditions, with the requirements of all post holders at all levels clearly prescribed. The advent of CCT did much to break down the formal structures, processes and privileges inherent in the working environment and employee flexibility in working practices came to the fore.

As was demonstrated in this chapter, there were differing opinions with regard to the positive or negative nature of these outcomes and this reflected the plurality of interest and meaning attributed to CCT at the individual level.

The following chapter discusses how the individual was affected by the changes in the working environment which were attributable to CCT implementation.

CHAPTER 9: THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGES ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEISURE PROFESSIONAL

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 8 outlined the main changes in the employment regimes in local authority leisure management which were attributable to CCT. This chapter takes the discussion a stage further by considering the results in relation to the impact of these changes on the individual leisure professional by considering issues such as working relationships, power play, job satisfaction, level of commitment post-CCT, impact of CCT on career development and the changing profile of the leisure management profession.

9.2 WORKING RELATIONSHIPS

CCT was significant because it imposed severe pressure on working relationships between individuals. Factions developed within authorities, within departments and even within sections, which imposed strains on personal and professional relationships.

In some circumstances a prior commitment to the established ways of working led to barriers being erected to prevent the new style of working and new systems of operation from being introduced. One officer highlighted this as an important issue.

"...in the 1980s you were a manager, you had beliefs, you had to be organised, you had a team together ...customer service for the people, providing the best services you can with the resources, local sports coming together using facilities trying to get people to use the facilities, enjoy themselves." (14)

The respondent had been anxious to continue this way of operating in the post-CCT era.

"You wanted to carry that on in the 90s but then there was this CCT brought in, which again diverted a lot of your energies in internal warfare and bureaucracies...a lot of that control was lost." (14)

"Internal warfare" was waged as relationships deteriorated and colleagues who had previously worked together found themselves on opposing sides of the CCT equation.

Power bases were formed with the various actors being required to demonstrate their allegiances and make a commitment to one side or the other. The result was that

"... energies were very much focused on fighting each other and you were fighting your ex colleague who used to work with you in the same team – who was now the client manager who took the gamble." (14)

The introduction of CCT was described by the same officer as being

"...a nightmare, I mean no bigger word could say what it was, and that was the truth. I'm holding back nothing here, this is how it was, this is what CCT did, it marked people." (14)

There is evidence that relationships were strained at all levels.

"There was definitely tensions from up above at director level, because I remember my line manager, the Assistant Director, having to make some phone calls and jump on cases from a contractor point of view." (15)

Relationships deteriorated in some cases to such an extent that the structures established to facilitate CCT broke down. One contract manager commented of the client section that

"They (the client) didn't know where the money came from, they didn't know what we were spending it on, we sorted out refurbishment...then told them when it was too late ...it was a two finger job really...we know best so we'll get on with it. A bit arrogant but...all the salaries of all those people was a waste of time and money...painting a terrible picture aren't I?" (11)

Open antagonism was evidenced in the following comment on working relationships which were described as being

"Very poor...a lot of blood letting...trying to settle old scores...a lot of one-upmanship, no real effort to work in partnership. So I've got a very jaundiced view of my colleagues on the client side in those days." (18)

Often it was the case, particularly where there was a political will for the DSO to win the contract, that the DSO took the lead in the decision making processes.

"...all of the changes (in leisure provision) were as a result of suggestions by the contractor ... and so the client became very reactive and the only time it was proactive was when it was out there trying to slip in improvement notices or issue defaults. Very antagonistic approach between us and ultimately did the department and the service quite a lot of harm because the relationship became so severed and wide." (18)

Contrary to this view, there is evidence to support the fact that working relationships at the operational level in some authorities were not as acrimonious as those outlined above.

"I had a good working relationship...it was seen to be a positive advantage to still be working with the pre-CCT colleagues despite the fact that they may be on the other side of the fence." (6)

This comment was made by a chief officer who had worked on both sides of the CCT equation. He provided a different perspective on the new relationships formed as he was able to evaluate the change in perceptions of the roles and the impact of CCT from first hand experience of working on both sides.

"From a client perspective it was not being able to control or direct hands on stuff... It was really developing Chinese Walls and paperwork and spending your time in the office and so you were losing sight of what really turns people on." [] "From a contractor point of view at that time...the posh gits on the client side and the hairy-arsed 'doing' end, in terms of down in the workshop and in the depots (on the other side). So I think there was always that snobbishness about. I'd rather be on the client's side and the ones who were left on the contractors side felt like them and us." (6)

CCT was thus the initiator of changes of immense proportions in leisure professionals' working relationships and attitudes. Positions within organisations became polarised; schisms and factions formed; rifts developed and attitudes hardened. One chief officer commented that

"...(CCT) was a threat to our jobs, a threat to our terms and conditions... attitudes hardened. The threat of the Private Sector...we're going to lower your salary and terms and conditions to this level...the Private Sector will come in and pay this level ...don't trust them, don't talk to them, talk costs lives and all the rest of it. And that's the way we introduced the fear factor quite successfully...people were able to unite more around me...I was like Attila the

Hun nevertheless I was still a good, effective leader and having won the contract then that softened your image.” (18)

This hard attitude was confirmed by a member of his staff who said of this chief officer

“...he'd shop his own grandmother.” (19)

9.3 POWER PLAY

As described in the previous section, personal and professional working relationships had in many instances changed radically post-CCT with much evidence of politicking and manoeuvring of power bases. There was strong evidence to suggest that there were 'casualties' in terms of officers being disadvantaged as a result of the political interplay of senior officers involved in the implementation of CCT. Senior officers in several authorities exhibited a shrewd understanding and awareness of the political implications of CCT and the possibilities of the shedding of responsibilities when problems started to occur as CCT was implemented. One junior officer commented that

“I was still naïve...the Chief Executive is a very powerful man, it's very rare that one person has the amount of power he has. He has been very successful in managing to move with the political change and still has enormous control over the whole organisation ...you didn't argue with him...the message I received from my director boss was don't take anything personally, if you don't agree with it – well live with it because you are not going to change anything.” (2)

The officer emphasised that the decisions of the Chief Executive were not challenged.

“...you couldn't stand up and say I think you're wrong without actually jeopardising your own career.” (2)

and there was evidence that bullying was employed.

“...the biggest fear during that time (the introduction of CCT) ...was that an external body may find an opportunity to challenge the bid and that would be extremely embarrassing for both the officer and the authority...I (as client preparing the specifications) could find memos where I was criticised for playing squash with a friend of mine who happened to be a DSO. It was that severe and I actually had written instructions that I should not be seeing these people

socially. The prime mover behind this policy was ... the Chief Executive...I don't think the politicians were astute enough." (2)

The power of the Chief Executive in this authority was further underlined in the following comment

"The Chief Executive had asked for a positive bid first time round...I as the Leisure Services Officer was under pressure to make the DSO succeed and it wasn't possible...the DSO failed; the contract was re-tendered and a private company appointed on a much more realistic deficit bid...I was under pressure to leave but chose not to and since then have got on with contract management. I took a slight drop in salary...I then got demoted down to the Contract Liaison Officer." (2)

At the time of the interview the officer concerned was still trying to gain employment in another local authority.

CCT resulted in situations where junior officers found themselves powerless to take any action as they feared for the loss of their jobs and they were not prepared to take risks. They had no opportunity to create power and there was no possibility of seeking help from others.

"The power lay with our senior officers...it's a divide and rule principle...as long as they (the senior managers) knew there was some division in there (between duty officers and manual staff)." (16)

An imbalance of power between client and contractor units was an issue raised by a number of respondents. In one authority the DSO, as they were the politically favoured option, was able to exert considerable power within their ranks to ensure their long term viability.

"...the contract side in this authority won the contract but not without casualties...a very hard mentality...we had to use the fear of losing jobs to stimulate the change, we then had to do something to maintain the momentum having won the contract, so that people just didn't breathe a sigh of relief and go back to the old ways. That was really a rock hard client/contractor split and it was World War 4." (18)

The decentralisation of decision making and the empowerment of the middle managers post-CCT was recognised by the manual staff who were highly critical of the power the managers wielded and felt that their managers protected themselves against salary cuts.

"...it always seems to be the lower ranks...look at the thousands they (the managers) are on, they could save that...quite a few people (the manual staff) were bitter over it...we've been dobbed." (19)

In many situations with regard to the implementation of CCT, power was exerted to achieve a particular political or operational purpose and as an officer commented that

"...one wasn't offered a choice." (2)

with respect to role or responsibilities.

9.4 JOB SATISFACTION LEVELS

There were changes in the level of job satisfaction experienced by respondents in the post-CCT era. Pre-CCT, leisure managers in local authorities had been given considerable freedom with respect to the performance of themselves and the facilities they operated. After the introduction of CCT, work was specified, performances measured, achievements evaluated, controls were restrictive, freedoms lost and pressures increased. One duty officer commented that post-CCT

"...there are greater demands...I'm quite stressed in this job." []
"...some days I just think this is just the wrong job for me." (26)

Negative job satisfaction levels were the result of increased stress levels and the same respondent was concerned at the effect this was having on him physically.

"...I never get half an hour dinner break...I'm lucky if I get five minutes...you're messing about with your digestive system...you just grab something to eat when you can." (26)

On the other hand several officers expressed increased job satisfaction levels as a result of

CCT implementation. It was suggested that they were having to work harder, longer and have more responsibility than in their pre-CCT roles, and with this increased responsibility, also came a heightened sense of achievement and satisfaction. One contract officer commented of CCT that he

"...relished it, it was just the opportunity...I was genuinely in the right place at the right time...blow the cobwebs out...I personally made quite a lot of effort, I got the maximum out of that." (18)

Another contract officer whose role was not enhanced as a result of CCT commented that

"I'm still in it for the same reasons I came into it... because I love to be involved in leisure and people participating is important...it's a real responsibility ...managing or delivering services that affect the quality of people's lives." (14)

9.5 LEVEL OF COMMITMENT POST-CCT

A key feature in leisure employment since CCT implementation has been the expectation by the organisation that employees should demonstrate a flexible approach, a quality conscious attitude and a high level of commitment to his or her job. This heightened commitment was very much in evidence in a number of the responses as leisure officers described their attitude to the job itself, to the local authority, to the public and to the leisure management profession. A number of respondents displayed a very high level of positive commitment to the job yet some expressed complete disillusionment.

High levels of commitment to their roles, of involvement with their work, of a psychological bond with leisure management and a belief in the value of the job was demonstrated by this officer when he emphasised that

"...it still gives me a buzz to get up in the morning...and try to do the best I can do with the resources I have." (14)

A number of respondents demonstrated a sense of purpose and direction and an honest endeavour to achieve in the job, but also expressed a lower level of enjoyment and happiness in leisure employment post-CCT.

"It's become so paper-oriented...I don't enjoy it so much." (8)

Some disillusionment was expressed about new roles even though they had often provided enhanced status.

"The higher you progress up the hierarchy the further you get from the things you actually love." (18)

A strong element of commitment post-CCT, however, did run through the responses of many of the respondents. Officers were committed in a positive way to the service they provided.

"What's driven me all over my local government career is some sort of commitment to public service. The method of working has changed...you are increasingly trying to get quarts out of pint pots and trying to play both ends to the middle and trying waving magic wands and trying to get more out of less...much more management-oriented than operationally oriented." (6)

Despite these pressures

"...if you've enjoyed working with customers I think that stays with you for ever really." (23)

9.6 THE IMPACT OF CCT ON CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The findings demonstrated that CCT implementation had both positive and negative impacts on leisure professionals' career development.

There were a number of positive employment benefits to CCT implementation. New job opportunities were created in both the Public and Private Sectors; roles changed; new structures were identified and additional posts were created. CCT implementation resulted in a transition from old bureaucratic to new managerialist approaches in local authority management and the changes in the role of leisure professional reflected these structural and managerial changes.

During the years 1989-1992 when CCT was phased into local authority leisure management, of the 26 respondents interviewed, 20 had experienced significant changes in their employment whether it be in terms of status, job content, role within the organisation or transfer between authorities. Some of these were positive changes and several officers as a result enjoyed enhanced terms and conditions and more responsibility in their new roles. One duty officer confirmed that his facility manager was

"...more involved in the future...with more emphasis on the duty managers to run the centre on a day to day basis." [] "There's more emphasis on us now to control the shift." (22)

However, other respondents were more negative.

"The job (that of a DSO manager) has changed three or four times from CCT and the emphasis has changed each time." (There have been) "...added pressures put on because of the changes in the structures each time and the moving or shifting of responsibilities to different bodies and then bringing it back again. It's been an unsettling period." (13)

An important aspect highlighted in the results was the change in remit of operational managers. There was a recognition that leisure managers (particularly DSO managers) have become

"...business unit managers...and have cast off the mantle of a service delivery manager although the transition can be at times difficult as...I'm very much caught in the middle of business and leisure...a lot of DSO managers are based at council offices" (and have) "...made the real break between becoming business unit managers from being service delivery managers." (21)

Working within a business unit had implications not only for the manager but also for his/her staff in operational terms. Under CCT

"...you are at risk regularly...this department isn't like the Chief Executive's, if it doesn't perform it won't be here." (7)

The most fundamental change, however, with regard to career development was associated with the split between the client and contractor. Most respondents emphasised that there had been an element of choice with regard to transfer to the client or the contractor unit with the client role for instance offering opportunities either in facility monitoring and/or community and sports development.

"The major change for myself was moving over to the community side in 1992 having worked I suppose in the leisure environment for ten years plus...I was actually offered the DSO manager's position but...it came at the wrong stage in my career, so I thought I'd done enough on that side and it was now the opportunity to come across and get a lot more experience on the community."

When asked whether he had regretted the move?

"No. I always think leisure centres are for the whipper snappers...come 35, I think you've had it as a manager." (23)

However there is some evidence that the selection of roles was on occasion achieved through coercion and was not through choice.

"I was the centre manager...was responsible for three facilities, then when CCT suddenly popped it's head up I was asked to write the documents for the leisure centres...reorganisation of leisure departments followed, subject to CCT, with the creation of client/contractor functions...I was asked then to perform this client role, I didn't really see me as that particular person, I'm a front line person, but the organisation more or less insisted that I did it, so I continued in that role...it's not the job I saw me doing...I've not got as high up the tree as I originally set out in my plan from day one...other people are getting the profiling from a lot of my efforts and that worries me a bit."(4)

Overall he considered that CCT

"...didn't do anything for me. I got a job that I didn't particularly want. I've got a job that's least paid in the organisation...I've been put into a corner and I can't get out." (4)

There were, however, opportunities for advancement in the leisure industry with a buoyant employment situation. One officer commented that in the 1970s and early 1980s, he had been in one job for 17 years and since 1990 he has had a number of jobs each one lasting on average for two years.

As demonstrated above, it is possible to identify instances where officers positively manipulated the career choices available to them and their fellow officers for the purposes of self advancement. Several senior managers interviewed demonstrated that they were adroit at manoeuvring within organisations and in some cases manipulating structures and situations to their best advantage and often gained enhanced employment opportunities as a result. A number of the respondents were prepared to think and talk in terms of power and had developed the skills required to manipulate the environment in which they operated to their best advantage. In the late 1980s as CCT was being implemented...

"...it was almost like dinosaurs , we were all predators, eat or be eaten, get there first and screw everyone else." (18)

Several officers demonstrated that they had clear personal goals, understood organisational politics, recognised the costs and risks of change, anticipated the outcomes and were proactive to ensure that they were 'rising survivors'.

One area of specialism, however, which did not enjoy the same buoyancy in terms of career opportunities, was that of sports development. As the relationships between sports development units and the contractors were on occasion uneasy, this indirectly affected the ability of sport development officers to expand their work remit and fashion career opportunities.

Several officers reported that their respective sports development units were denied access to local authority leisure facilities in the post-CCT period. When asked what effect the introduction of CCT had on development work, one respondent answered that

"... in terms of delivering the sports and development programme, the council's sports and development strategy, we can do it virtually everywhere except in our own leisure centres...the needs of the contractor to turn a profit were considered to be the paramount factor rather than the delivery of an effective element of our sports development programme...we will tend to have a car boot sale far more readily nowadays than we would ever consider supporting a sports development programme." (10)

As sports development lay outside the remit of the legislation it remained relatively low profile in the management and development of local authority leisure opportunities. Opportunities for career advancement in this field therefore reflected this low profile.

9.7 THE CHANGING PROFILE OF THE LEISURE MANAGEMENT PROFESSION

Several respondents highlighted the changes in the profile of the leisure management profession post-CCT. There were

"...a lot more jobs around...general standard of management has gone up...partly with CCT but also with more people coming into the profession with management qualifications...we can get some very very good people with good qualifications without having to pay the earth." (25)

"...standards have improved over that decade ...more expected of the manager...for them to get anywhere up the ladder they have got to have an excellent track record and back-up qualifications" [] "...it's a very competitive industry...whatever job is advertised there is a lot of competition for it as compared to 10 years ago." (23)

It has also been acknowledged that CCT resulted in a change in the status of the leisure professional. This change is summarised by one officer who commented that

"...the leisure manager of today is far better...is more of a manager...more of a resource manager...far more of a marketing manager...far more skilled and equipped to manage not only in the leisure world, but in the business world of the 1990s than ever he would have been prior to CCT." (6)

This was supported by other respondents who confirmed that CCT...

"...brought out the better manager...it gave me more scope, more ambition!" (5)

CCT has been a positive initiative with regards to the management tools and techniques required to be a successful leisure manager as

"...in the old days one used either instinctive knowledge or your professional skills." (2)

To enable managers to work in a competitive business environment new skills had to be learnt.

"You've had to get these new skills in terms of management skills to be able to see a service from an overview and also from a development view." He believed that "I couldn't have become a better manager if it wasn't for CCT." (1)

However, whether the improvement in management skills and abilities was solely due to CCT was brought into question by another respondent who commented that

"...the pressures built up in CCT and they were huge...I couldn't describe to you how big they were...they were massive" ...(but) "with self-analysis...the DMS (Diploma of Management Studies)...I changed dramatically...I'm a good DSO manager." (The change) "...wasn't because of CCT or anything else...there's a need for people to analyse themselves." (12)

There was also the feeling that leisure services departments have enjoyed an enhanced internal and external profile.

"...we are now being invited to the Safety Committee and appropriate meetings ... awareness has been raised and people now understand what we are trying to do." (23)

The enhanced reputation may also have been a recognition of the

"...sharpening up of a whole industry...streamlining and becoming more professional." (23)

and one officer emphasised that

"CCT was the spark for changing the culture of leisure management." (24)

There were significant implications as a result of this heightened profile and accountability for the leisure professional as

"...before you could get by in leisure management through experience, I don't think you can now - you need qualifications. You need to be professional. You need to keep up to date." (24)

The impact of CCT on local authority leisure services was highly significant and was two fold.

"...initially it was devastating...but like the phoenix it rose out of the dead...we've emerged a much stronger industry...it has got a lot further down the route...I think it's got a lot to be grateful for through CCT." (18)

One respondent summarised the importance of CCT to the leisure profession

"I'll probably keep harping on about CCT but CCT made us shape our thinking." (17)

9.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the impact of CCT on the individual leisure professional. Although the level of impact varied dependent upon role, level in the organisation and so on, a number of common themes can be drawn out of the findings i.e.

- i) CCT imposed severe pressure on working relationships between individuals.
- ii) CCT provided opportunities for individuals to exert power to enhance their position, standing and career opportunities.
- iii) Both positive and negative satisfaction levels were experienced by officers post-CCT with no discernible patterns emerging with regard to work content, role and level in the organisation.
- iv) High levels of commitment to employment in local authority leisure management were demonstrated in many of the responses, although several officers commented on the increased stress levels.
- v) CCT provided many opportunities for career development in terms of the creation of new structures, new roles, additional posts and employment in the Private Sector. However, several respondents reported that they felt they had been disadvantaged through circumstances particular to their authority.
- vi) CCT resulted in an enhanced reputation for leisure management as a profession.

In conclusion, CCT has resulted in significant changes for the leisure professional working in local authority leisure management. The extent and nature of the changes

has varied dependent upon the individual and on his/her training, background, level in the organisation pre- and post-CCT, aspirations, attitudes and values. The extent and nature of the change was also dependent upon the organisation in which the leisure professional worked pre- and post-CCT i.e. the political, cultural, social and economic environment of the local authority was crucial in determining the pace and nature of the change. It is important to note that, in some cases, the changes that the leisure professional experienced have been very dramatic and far reaching; in others the changes have been very traumatic and extremely stressful and only in one or two instances have the changes been relatively 'relaxed'.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The principal aim of this study was to establish the extent of the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional in local authority leisure services. CCT was introduced into the management of local authority leisure facilities in phased stages between January 1st 1992 and January 1st 1993 and stimulated major changes in both the employment environment and working relationships of leisure professionals. The ontological stance taken in this study has been based on the work of Giddens (1979). His Structuration Theory was used to establish a framework within which to analyse the changes from two main perspectives i.e. at the individual (agency) level and the institutional (structural) level.

The concept of levels of analysis was further utilised in this study through the application of a policy process framework which acknowledged not only the importance of Implementation Theory (Minogue, 1993) but also the relevance of other approaches to policy analysis. An important theme in Implementation Theory is the sense of transition of policy from one stage to the next and of movement from one level of institutional involvement to another. The continuing theme of this study has therefore been of a layered approach to analysis which has recognised

- i) The importance of the attitudes, beliefs, interests, ideas and values of the individual leisure professional (the political approach to policy analysis) within
- ii) The social 'reality' which has been strongly influenced and in many instances, formed by the structures, institutions and cultural norms within which leisure professionals operate (the political approach).

In each of the stages of policy process analysis the role of both the individual and the structures were considered and this has enabled the three key aims, outlined below, to be investigated:

- i) To identify pre- and post-CCT the dominant values in the cultural and political strategic environments in which leisure professionals operated.

- ii) To evaluate the nature and causes of the changes in the attitudes, values, beliefs and roles of the leisure professional when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management, work environment and regimes.
- iii) To analyse the significance of the impact of CCT on the changing role of the leisure professional in local authority leisure management.

The research drew upon a review of literature within the disciplinary fields of the political and social sciences, leisure policy and management theory to determine the knowledge base and current level of understanding of this area of leisure policy. This chapter considers the findings of the empirical work and evaluates the effectiveness of the research process in achieving the set objective which was to identify the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional.

10.2 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The empirical work was based on a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with 26 local authority leisure professionals in four local authorities in the East Midlands. The interviews were based on a series of prompt questions which were designed to identify:

A) At the structural level:

- i) The dominant values in the broader cultural and institutional environments within which leisure professionals operated pre- and post-CCT.

B) At the agency level:

- i) The nature and causes of the changes in the attitude, values, beliefs and roles of the leisure professional when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management, work environment and regimes.
- ii) The impact of CCT on the changing role of the leisure professional in local authority leisure management.

The findings indicated that it was at the strategic level i.e. at central and local government level that CCT policies were determined and the context and boundaries of the ensuing changes established. There was considerable agreement amongst a number of respondents, that the Government's main strategic objective with the introduction of CCT, was the desire to 'influence and control' local authorities but as acknowledged by several respondents this was not fully achieved, because of insufficient control and guidance by the Government with resultant problems with implementation. In fact, as many respondents pointed out, central government displayed considerable strategic flexibility, with local authorities encouraged to develop their own implementation strategies and tactics.

The research showed that strategic flexibility enjoyed by local authorities enabled these institutions to streamline and to determine for themselves structures, systems and procedures; to introduce functional splits; to designate clearer lines of responsibility at committee and officer levels and to reduce the hierarchical, tiered structure of local authority management in accordance with local circumstances. The increasing influence of New Managerialism at this institutional level was a strong theme which emerged. According to a number of respondents, a new culture associated with institutional reform and New Managerialism was a significant contributory factor to the changing operational environment of the leisure professional post-CCT.

At the operational level, the findings demonstrated the importance of the role of the leisure professional in the implementation of CCT policy. Many of the respondents were both participants and spectators of changes with officers undertaking the key tasks of translating CCT policy statements into service specifications and contract documentation. Because of their specialist knowledge and understanding, many leisure professionals were given considerable operational flexibility to undertake the required tasks. In addition to the increased flexibility in work regimes, a significant number of interviewees reported that they benefited from progression into new roles with enhanced opportunities for career advancement.

However, a more complex picture emerged as evidence demonstrated that structural, policy and operational changes were used by some leisure professionals to enhance their standing, at the expense of others. To some extent this was dependent upon the nature of the

operational split between client and contractor, i.e. whether 'hard' or 'soft', but in either case the changes in the work content, terms and conditions of employment and working environment were fundamental. These profound changes were characterised by:

- i) Increased levels of responsibility with the delegation of the decision making process.
- ii) The adoption of New Managerial techniques and the development of the generic leisure manager.
- iii) The requirement to achieve increasingly difficult targets and be more creative with resources.
- iv) An increasing complexity in the work undertaken.
- v) A more professional approach to management.
- vi) Increased fluidity in employment.
- vii) The introduction of an increasingly restrictive working environment with functional splits.
- viii) Changes in the terms and conditions of employment with reported cuts in pay, holiday and sick entitlement.
- ix) The termination of the notion of a council job as a 'job for life'.
- x) The marginalisation of Trade Unions.

It was apparent that the above resulted in increased pressure on the leisure professional to succeed in an increasingly complex and dynamic political environment.

The nature of each individual's responses to these changes was mediated by his/her educational background, training, status, previous work experiences and contextual local authority setting and the fact that s/he was a member of a sample cohort of 'younger generation' leisure professionals who were to become emergent generic managers. The result was a plurality of views, attitudes and interests expressed on the impact of CCT on the leisure professional's role. However, a commonality of response was demonstrated in one respect, i.e. the changes experienced by the leisure professional which were attributable to the implementation of CCT, were fundamental and had very significant effects on the working relationships, levels of commitment to leisure management, career opportunities, the working environment and profile of the leisure professional in local authority leisure management.

10.3 THE STRATEGIC CONTEXT OF CHANGE

The findings are considered in relation to the three key aims of the research study.

10.3.1 The First Aim

To identify pre- and post-CCT the dominant values in the cultural and political strategic environment in which leisure professionals operated

Consideration firstly of the strategic environment of CCT provided the context for an analysis of the activities of the leisure professional working in local authority leisure services, before, during and following CCT implementation. Conclusions drawn from the discussions of the contextual changes at this level are summarised under the following headings:

- i) Rationale for CCT policy
- ii) Ideological stance of the Thatcher Governments
- iii) Degree of strategic flexibility
- iv) Politicisation of local authority leisure services
- v) Changes at the strategic decision taking level in local authorities
- vi) Changes in organisational culture

i) Rationale for CCT policy

Central and local government operate within changing political, social, economic and cultural environments and leisure policy has reflected changes at this structural level through demonstrating contrasting rationales for policy development and implementation.

A number of writers (Coalter 1988, Henry 1993, Stoker 1993) have discussed the dynamic nature of leisure policy rationale and identified several key features i.e.

- i) By 1900 the broad elements of leisure policy were in place, and related to urban deprivation, utilitarianism, physical health, moral welfare, social integration, limits of public provision (Coalter, 1988)

- ii) The critical factor according to Henry (1993) in the relationship between leisure policy and the state, post-World War 2, was the shift in emphasis from leisure as a 'social consumption' to 'social expenses' to 'social flexibilisation and disinvestment'. He argued that the hallmark of later stages in the development of leisure policy was the marketisation of service provision.

The research has provided evidence to support but also to refute elements of these arguments. The findings supported the theory that the rationale for the implementation of CCT was to introduce market forces and competition into local authority leisure management. Interviewees emphasised that CCT was intended to make local authorities commercially oriented and more effective and efficient in the delivery of leisure services. It was thus evident in the responses that the Government's intention, as outlined by Henry (1993) for the Government to "*disinvest*" in leisure provision was confirmed and that CCT was aimed at reducing local authority spending and increasing public accountability.

Coalter (1988) identified several key features of leisure policy rationale but these were in the main based on social impact. The rationale for CCT implementation was economic and this was repeatedly emphasised by the interviewees. This had significant implications for leisure managers in terms of the requirement to develop the skills associated with entrepreneurialism, innovation and commercialism, to enable them to work within this new environment.

ii) Ideological stance of the Thatcher Governments

Giddens (1979) emphasised that individuals operated within a societal structure which included political networks and alliances and these both enable and constrain action. Evidence of the enabling and constraining role of central government was demonstrated in the analysis of the findings of the study.

With regard to the constraining role one of the most critical factors discussed in the literature was the ideological stance taken by the Thatcher Governments and the strong political and economic purpose for CCT implementation. Thatcherism as an ideology, adhered to the principles of a reduction in the size and influence of the Public Sector; a weakening of the power of left wing local authorities; a limitation of central and local government spending

and the development of the free market (Curtis, 1990). Thatcher endeavoured to constrain local government through the introduction of competition, through limiting spending and finally through increasing accountability (Henry, 1993). At the same time however government also enabled local authorities to determine the mechanisms to achieve at the local level. The research has provided a range of evidence of the dual constraining and enabling roles of government in the implementation of CCT. Interviewees indicated that government placed a strict mandatory requirement on all local authorities to expose leisure services to competition. Respondents emphasised that CCT was a product with a strong ideological purpose and direction and government had imposed severe constraints in terms of timescales and resources on local authority leisure management. The way in which CCT was implemented, however, enabled local authorities to determine at the local level the mechanisms, processes and structures, but this was not always viewed in a positive light by the respondents.

The research raised questions, with regard to the efficacy of this dual constraining and enabling role of the Government with regard to CCT policy implementation as a number of respondents criticised the lack of direction given by the Government. The interviewees attributed this to the Thatcher Government's accustomed style of policy implementation i.e. publish in broad detail and pass on the responsibility to the implementing agencies, i.e. *"there, get on with it!"* (4). This supported Coalter's (1988) explanation of the modus operandum of the arms length-style of Thatcher Governments through quangos and other agencies.

The research showed that there was a strong ideological drive behind the implementation of CCT; that the legislation was aimed at constraining local authorities but very little guidance was given on implementation. As a consequence, CCT was not welcomed by leisure professionals nor their political masters as it was

- (a) Viewed by many authorities, particularly the left wing local authorities as a political tool aimed at curbing their power.
- (b) Published with very little guidance and support on implementation.

As a consequence CCT was implemented in a turbulent and disturbed local authority setting often at odds with the ideological stance taken by Thatcher.

iii) Degree of strategic flexibility

As discussed above, CCT was the result of changes in the strategic outlook and political environment at the macro level. The changing nature of the policy product and policy process within this dynamic environment has been the subject of much debate by writers such as Hill (1997), John (1998), Minogue (1993), Sabatier (1999). They maintained that policy process was complex, dynamic and evolved over time. The policy cycle itself in many cases lasts for at least 10 years and the product itself evolves over that time. The policy process model based on the Theory of Implementation highlighted the changes, modifications and renegotiations which policy underwent as part of its cycle. The CCT product was modified through consultation, discourse and subsequently by law and even on implementation, according to the respondents. Extensive clarification was required through the publication of circulars, enactments and regulations. A considerable degree of strategic flexibility was given to local government to implement CCT and as a result CCT became a dynamic construct. It was reported that local authorities' competition policies were significantly amended at the local level following problems with either external or internal contractors. Policy was re-negotiated and amended to fit the local circumstances and previous experiences of both the councils and officers. In fact one officer reported a very significant shift from favouring a private contractor to being fully supportive for the DSO following the liquidation of the private company - a complete reversal, and evidence of strategic flexibility at the local authority level.

It is possible to conclude that CCT policy evolved over time, both at the central and local government strategic levels. The research demonstrated that there was a change in attitude and approach to CCT implementation over time as local political circumstances were increasingly taken into account. Attitudes towards the policy also became ameliorated over time through policy adaptation by the street level bureaucrats.

iv) Politicisation of local authority leisure services

The development of a strategic flexibility gave rise to a heightened politicisation of leisure services. This service experienced a higher profile in the political arena as both the

Government and local authorities endeavoured to exert strategic control over local leisure policy initiatives. The increasing importance of leisure provision and management at central and local government levels has been commented on by a number of authors (Coalter 1988, Henry 1993). The consensus of opinion was that leisure policy has shifted from being viewed only as a peripheral function of government, to that of being a central feature in political and economic strategies at both central and local level. The implementation of CCT was an important factor in this politicisation of leisure policy and the research has underlined the increasingly higher profile taken by the members, the chief executive and senior officers in the strategic direction and the operational translation of the CCT policy process and product.

In addition, the research identified that factional interests came to the fore with the politicisation of leisure policy as coalition groups of members and officers developed an interest in CCT. This was an important factor in the implementation of CCT policy and the strategic and operational direction taken within authorities. The research supports the work of policy analysts such Hill (1997) and Sabatier (1999) who argued that advocacy coalitions in high-conflict, pressurised situations have a tendency to distrust and exert power over other interest groups, often to the detriment of the actors involved. This is supported in the findings with reports of situational conflict, organisational politicking and power play at local authority level during CCT implementation. It was also apparent in the heightening of political tension and an intensification of organisational politics at the local institutional level as reported by respondents. Coping with politicking became an important aspect in the changing role of the leisure professional post-CCT.

v) Changes at the strategic decision-taking level in local authorities

A critical aspect of the changing social, political, economic and cultural circumstances of the 1970s and 1980s was that not only was this an environment created for ideological renewal and political reform, but also for managerial transformation in the Public Sector. This has been analysed in detail by Harvey (1989) and Lane (1995) who emphasised that managerial transformation at the strategic level was characterised by a shift from 'rule governance' to 'goal governance'; a hierarchical, bureaucratic, administrative style of management transformed into an innovative, flexible, managerial system; rationale planning and standardisation was superseded by entrepreneurialism and commercialism; and

authoritarianism became decentralisation. This was the context which supported the implementation of CCT.

The key findings of the research supported this transformation in context and underlined the fact that management structures were flattened; hierarchies were streamlined; increased autonomy was given to strategic business units (DSOs) and the chain of command was slimmed down. Increasing flexibility was allowed in structures and a demarcation of functional responsibilities was broken down. All of this resulted in a streamlining of strategic management systems. It was evident in the findings that local government leisure management moved from the Public Administration Model to a Public Management Model (Lane, 1995) and it was clear that the streamlining of the management structure enabled leisure professionals to implement CCT. It can also be concluded from the results that new systems facilitated implementation but also developed as a result of CCT. As a consequence New Managerialism became embedded in local government leisure management and this facilitated the work of the leisure professional and enabled him/her to implement CCT.

vi) Changes in organisational culture

There is no doubt that the introduction of the principles of Public Management (Lane 1995) were accompanied by significant changes in the culture at the institutional level. 'Culture' as *"shared meanings and common understanding"* (Lee, 1993, p93) was demonstrated in the Public Administration Model (Lane, 1995) as being characterised by an emphasis on due process, formal procedures, a strong sense of responsibility and duty and loyalty. The emphasis was on administrative action, formal decision-making and implementation according to formal procedures. Conversely, the Public Management Model (Lane 1995) demonstrated a culture which was allied to the Private Sector attitudes and values of consumer sovereignty and profit, adaptability, efficiency, innovation and entrepreneurialism, and the measurement of input and output. The research gave clear examples of the change to the Public Management Model as this was the new cultural context within which CCT was introduced. The respondents pointed to attitudinal changes in the local authority senior management; to a more flexible, dynamic style of management based on the Private Sector with an emphasis on targets, performance management and quality systems and the consumer. Most significant were the attitudinal changes resulting from the transference from management by right to management through contract. Respondents were particularly

critical of the end result of these attitudinal changes, citing for instance the deterioration in employment regimes and working relationships.

The consequences thus of the cultural change from Public Administration to Public Management were immense as local authority leisure services adopted new strategic directions. This was the medium within which CCT was implemented and as was emphasised by several respondents, without the cultural change at the strategic level, the leisure professional's role in the implementation of CCT would have been far more difficult.

vii) Summary

The findings demonstrated that government as a powerful political institution at the societal level, both enabled and constrained the strategic operation of local authorities and the implementation of CCT. In the context of CCT, government constrained through the imposition of an unwelcome policy based on ideology and political and economic rationales which were in many ways contrary to the accepted structural, political and economic norms of local authorities. However, the Government also 'enabled' through providing local authorities with the strategic flexibility to determine CCT policy implementation at the local level and through the encouragement of the adoption of Public Management strategies which would facilitate the implementation of complex policy initiatives such as CCT. It was thus from this structural level that the dominant values, interests and beliefs of the Government, which emphasised entrepreneurialism, commercialism and the marketisation of services were imposed on local authorities. This was the context and roots of CCT leisure policy.

10.3.2 The Second Aim

To evaluate the nature and causes of the changes in the attitude, values, beliefs and role of the leisure professional when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management working environment and regimes

As outlined above, it is clear that, in the 1970s and 1980s, changes at the local authority level had been shaped by the major structures and institutions in society. Changes at this structural level, as Giddens (1979) emphasised, form the context for change at the lower levels in the policy process framework. This was particularly the case with CCT

implementation as demonstrated in the research findings with major changes at the operational and individual levels.

The second key issue under investigation, concerned the changes in the working environment and regimes in leisure management pre- and post-CCT and the effect on the attitudes, values and interests of the leisure professional. The research has provided considerable evidence to demonstrate that there were immense changes at the operational level as a result of

- i) The functional split of leisure services into client and contractor
- ii) The nature of the split i.e. whether it was a 'hard' or 'soft split' or on a continuum between the two extremes
- iii) The changes in roles which were a result of this separation of functions
- iv) The opportunities to exert power
- v) The change in service objective from social to financial

i) The functional split

Several critical factors have been identified in the literature which underlined the relevance of the operational changes in relation to the changing role of the leisure professional.

Firstly, Bailey and Reid (1994) emphasised that CCT had a very significant impact, not necessarily in terms of outcomes but in terms of the operational structures, processes and procedures it imposed. The structural split into client and contractor resulted in a fundamental transformation for leisure service departments into 'multi-agency' provision (Walsh and Davies, 1993). With reference to the policy process literature the separation can be viewed as the delineation into differentiated coalitions (Sabatier, 1999) with the possibility of the subsequent development of conflictual situations arising between the coalitions. There is much evidence in the research to

- a) support the fact that the split into client and contractor was achieved by all the authorities within which respondents had worked pre- and post-CCT.
- b) confirm that conflictual situations arose as a result of the separation into the advocacy coalitions of client and contractor.

ii) The 'hard' and 'soft splits'

The research has provided extensive evidence of a range of different scenarios in terms of the nature of the split. The split has been identified as being either 'hard' or 'soft' or at a point on a continuum between these two extremes. The 'soft split' was characterised as supporting a very close effective working relationship with the client and contractor operating as a cohesive unit. In contrast, officers epitomised the 'hard split' as a very rigid, aggressive separation of functional units with a lack of cohesion and this produced a very destructive working environment.

Much has been written on the economic impact of CCT (Bailey and Reid 1994, Coalter 1995, Nichols 1995, Nichols and Taylor 1995, Robbie and Wright 1996,) but there is no evidence in the literature of empirical work on the effects of the separation of leisure service departments into functional units, nor on the nature of the split, i.e. whether 'hard' or 'soft'. The findings of this study have, however, addressed this lack of knowledge and emphasised the notion of differential splits which had a considerable bearing on the role of the leisure professional and ultimately on the effectiveness of the policy process in implementing CCT.

iii) Change in roles

The change in operational structure was demonstrated in the results as having had a significant impact with regard to the introduction of new roles and responsibilities at all levels. Several writers have described the role of the client and contractor (Cooke 1994, Henry 1993) but again there is little evidence of research into the working relationships and interaction between these two units.

In the findings of this study, major changes in the working environments were much in evidence as the work environment became more complex, competitive and fast moving. It also became more restrictive as DSO managers reported the increasing constraints they were under to achieve targets. However, in other ways they had more autonomy with delegated responsibilities.

iv) The exertion of power

The emergence of strongly identifiable functional units was shown to reflect the local political circumstances with the balance of power often being held by the DSO, and in a few

instances by the client. Power lay in the hands of the DSO as they received considerable political protection in authorities which were politically allied to the principles of *in-house* management of facilities. This power was exerted by the DSO as the findings demonstrated that often the specifications afforded the contractor considerable freedom.

However tensions were equally demonstrated in those authorities where the client held the upper hand as evidenced in the monitoring systems which had been put into place by the client. The DSO officers here recounted that the monitoring systems had been put into place by the client not to serve them but to control them. The 'hard split' was used as a vehicle to exercise power and settle old scores; the 'soft split' promoted alliances, and the sharing of responsibility and equality in power terms. In the latter situation, there was strong evidence in the results that a political direction had been given to the client by the council to support the DSO. Early writing on the subject (Cooper, 1991) suggested that based on previous CCT experiences in ground maintenance, there may be similar examples of 'macho-clientism' in leisure management CCT and this study has not only confirmed the existence of this phenomenon but underlined associated problems regarding CCT implementation.

v) The change in service objectives

Houlihan (1997) raised an important issue with regard to the withdrawal of opportunities for disadvantaged groups for access to local authority facilities at peak times post-CCT. He attributed the marginalisation of sports development to the failure of the client to specify the requirements for sports development and monitor the work of the contractor. The findings supported this view, but added a further dimension. The four local authorities which provided the context for this study had not clearly specified social objectives for sports development work and as a result the contractors were able to focus on the financial outcomes of the contract. It was found that contractors, because of the need to achieve financial targets and generate maximum returns, actively excluded sports development projects at peak times (previously used for sports development initiatives at a subsidised rate) and these slots were sold at a commercial price. The result was the exclusion of sports development units from local authority leisure facilities and they resorted to using other facilities e.g. church halls and schools, to the detriment of the service.

There is no doubt that significant structural, institutional and operational upheavals resulted from the implementation of CCT. This study has been concerned with changes at the macro level as this provided the contextual environment within which the leisure professional operated. It also gave an explanation to the scale and magnitude of the change which the leisure professional endured. The third aim addressed here is the main focus of this study as it has enabled the research focus to consider in detail the 'agency' level i.e. the leisure professional.

10.3.3 The Third Aim

To analyse the significance of the impact of CCT on the changing role of the local authority leisure professional

i) The leisure professional's role as a participant and a spectator

With the introduction of 'New Wave Management' and the implementation of CCT, leisure professionals had to adapt to new ways of working, new roles and responsibilities, different terms and conditions, increased pressures, new skills and techniques (Stewart and Stoker 1995, Walsh 1995, Wilson and Game 1994,). The results demonstrated that the leisure professional was an initiator, communicator and implementer of these changes.

The 'social reality' for these leisure professionals, drawing on Giddens' Structuration Theory, was evidenced in their attitudes, views, interests and interpretations of the world around them and the roles that they played in CCT. In fact s/he had a direct role in the CCT policy process, in creating and determining policy direction as the 'street level bureaucrat' and as influential actors each was able to provide his/her own view of the reality of the impact of the implementation of CCT.

The findings were an extremely complex series of sometimes differing and often convergent views on the impact of CCT - the very nature of the plurality of opinions, experiences and consequences as described by leisure professionals supported Sparks (1992) view that research can only consist of various 'points of view'. It is clear, however, whatever point of view is taken, leisure professionals were key actors in CCT implementation and the evidence demonstrated the range of responsibilities and tasks they undertook from advising on competition strategies, developing staff restructuring plans, codifying policies, writing the

contract documentation and specifications with varying degrees of initial local political input and direction. This supported the view that centrally based initiatives were translated at the local level and the agents or officials at the grass roots level of policy implementation enjoyed considerable discretion and freedom to determine policy. (Barrett and Fudge 1981, Elmore 1978,1980, Lipsky 1980).

The individual leisure professional, because of his/her knowledge, information and technical expertise, took a strong lead in the formulation, translation and implementation of CCT policy. John (1998) confirmed that the policy process is permeated by the ideas, interests, views and beliefs of the individual actors and the courses of action and approaches taken by leisure professionals reflected their interests. The findings emphasised that this had positive benefits as the strong lead taken in CCT implementation enhanced the credibility and status of the leisure professional within the local authority organisation. The enhanced status was also allied to the development of new operational roles with increased levels of responsibility and leisure professionals were accorded significant credibility within the authority as a whole. 22 of the 26 respondents reported changes in responsibility with many of these taking on new roles. An important aspect of the development of the new operational roles was the use by one authority of the savings attributable to CCT to undertake new leisure and arts development work. New leisure development posts were created and sports and art events were introduced. The very positive move by one authority to use the savings to strengthen the leisure department, was seen by leisure professionals in this authority as a very sound operational move and it enhanced the work of the client unit particularly. There is thus very strong evidence to show that there was a significant impact on the leisure professional in terms of enhancing and extending their roles and spheres of influence and thus their status in the local authority.

ii) Working relationships

As noted in the discussion on the Second Aim, there were significant operational changes attributable to CCT implementation in terms of a functional split between client and contractor and within this split it has been possible to identify a range of cohesion/disparity. In an assessment of the impact of CCT on the individual leisure professional, it was imperative that the full implications of this split on the working relationships of leisure professionals were analysed as there is little evidence in the literature to suggest that this

issue has been previously researched in relation to leisure management CCT. Thus only parallels can be drawn from policy process literature.

Sabatier (1999) referred to the formation of 'differentiated policy advocacy coalitions' in policy process and emphasised the possibility of conflict in the workplace as each coalition endeavoured to exert power and authority over the other. There is extensive evidence in the research that the coalitions of client and DSO were often in highly conflictual situations and this resulted in severe difficulties in the working relationships between leisure professionals. In the split between client and contractor there were many reported instances of competing factions; the formation of power bases; open antagonism between colleagues who had previously worked together and resultant strained relationships. The impact on the leisure professional was in many ways traumatic. A polarisation of positions, the imposition of schisms and the hardening of attitudes led to 'open warfare' not only between functional units but individual officers.

Comments were made by Cooper (1991) on early experiences of the client/contractor relationship in grounds maintenance. This study demonstrated the extent and the consequences of the macho-clientism in leisure management CCT. It was very much in evidence and it imposed severe strains on officers, both personal and professional, and in some areas the level of service provision to the public suffered as a result. CCT thus was an initiator of changes of immense proportions with regard to the relationships, attitudes and working environments of leisure professionals.

Some officers felt disadvantaged in career terms as a result of the poor working relationships which had developed during the implementation of CCT. Evidence of bullying, the isolation of junior officers and the imbalance of power between client and contractor were all factors which resulted in the sense of disillusionment expressed by a number of officers. This again is an area which has not been touched upon in previous research. This study demonstrated that for some officers the consequences were extreme, as several reported being demoted or moved sideways in the organisation, CCT was thus seen as detrimental in personal and professional terms.

iii) Career impact

The findings demonstrated a divergence of views with regard to the impact of CCT on career opportunities. Opportunities for career enhancement through the introduction of flexible management regimes, decentralisation, restructuring (Harvey 1989, Lane 1995, Stewart and Stoker 1989) and the development of a multi-tiered labour market (Leach et al, 1994) into local authority management employment was stimulated by the implementation of CCT and this was certainly the case in leisure management. The research suggested that there were significant new career opportunities made available for those who survived the upheavals with new, additional jobs within or external to the authority; new roles and new structures were created and status was enhanced. A key fact of the findings was that the majority of officers during the period leading up to and post-implementation, enjoyed a buoyant job market and were on average in one job for two years with respondents also reporting a choice of career opportunities. It was apparent that the job market in local authority leisure management was very strong at the time of CCT and there were significant opportunities for career advancement. The interviewees were survivors of the process and as such had been able to manipulate and manufacture a successful career, particularly at the senior management level. A contrary picture emerged, however, in the responses of several respondents.

iv) Introduction of New Managerialism

The introduction of New Managerialism had a major impact at the individual level as it resulted in leisure professionals developing new generic management skills and techniques. The learning of these new skills enabled the leisure professional to undertake the complex and demanding work required under CCT. The managerial approach which emphasised the importance of working to tight targets within closely controlled budgets with cost centres, tasks and team work and with a leadership style which emphasised innovation, entrepreneurialism and flexibility (Harvey 1989, Lane 1995, Stewart and Stoker 1989, Wilson and Game 1994), equipped the leisure professional with techniques and skills which enabled him/her to operate effectively as a manager in a fast moving environment.

It was evident from the findings that leisure professionals appreciated the relevance and use of these new techniques and recognised that in many instances they had become generic business managers with less focus on technical issues and more focus on resource

management within a constrained framework. This confirmed the move away from 'Traditional Bureaucracy' (Leach et al, 1994) with professionally-based expertise and a detailed, technical overview to the 'New Wave Management' (Stewart and Stoker, 1989), with a flexible managerial approach based on new management techniques. This had a major impact on the leisure professional in terms of:

- a) Enhancing the status of the profession
- b) Providing the techniques which would enable him/her to undertake the necessary work
- c) Providing diverse career opportunities
- d) Imparting a greater sense professionalism

v) Increased pressure

Further consideration of the management literature identified that the transition from the Public Administration Model to the Public Management Model (Lane, 1995) was often accompanied by increased pressure to achieve. Wilson and Game (1994) argued that the fast rhythms of change, declining revenues, CCT, and the buying-in of services exerted pressure to succeed. This was supported very clearly in the results, where pressure to succeed was linked with increased workloads as officers endeavoured to assimilate new structures and systems of operation. The lack of time and the increased need to be more creative with diminishing resources, together with the desire to keep up to date, were all highlighted as being very stressful and in some instances cited as being detrimental to health.

A further characteristic of New Managerialism underlined by Lane (1995) and Harvey (1989), was the move to openness of procedure and information, which in itself imposed more pressure as reported by several respondents. Leisure professionals were placed under increasing scrutiny as the public became more aware of their rights, as expectation levels rose. They also came under closer scrutiny from leisure professionals in the 'opposing camp'. Increasing consumer sovereignty (Lane 1995, Stewart and Stoker 1989) was an important element in New Managerialism, but again the requirement to provide enhanced service levels for customers despite cutbacks (in terms of finance and staff), was a major source of stress and pressure, particularly for contract managers. One reported result was the withdrawal or scaling down of subsidised sessions for disadvantaged groups, as

commercial interests came to the fore. This caused considerable philosophical anguish for the respondent.

The consequences of increased pressure to succeed, as expressed by respondents, were frustration, health problems and reports of professionals leaving leisure management.

vi) Level of commitment

Closely allied to the concept of increasing pressure to succeed, was the expectation by institutions that leisure professionals should have a high level of responsibility and commitment to work. One of the key aspects of this was discussed by Stewart and Stoker (1989), who emphasised that New Managerialism was characterised by a decentralisation of decision-taking with 'hands off' control by managers who delegated responsibility to the large flexible periphery of workers. Expectation of high levels of commitment was a corollary - this modus operandum was found to be stimulating and re-energising by some respondents, but there were also contradictory reports of complete disillusionment. CCT imposed requirements for increased commitment by virtue of increased volume of work and exacting schedules that were either stimulating or harmful dependent upon the leisure professionals' particular values, interests and attitudes.

vii) Terms and conditions

An initial Treasury Report (1986) gave very early warning of possible detrimental terms and conditions of employment, resulting from CCT. It highlighted possible cuts in jobs, a loss of earnings and so forth. Several writers argued that CCT would impact significantly on the terms and conditions of leisure professionals (Cooper 1991, Henry 1993), with initial indications of reductions in pay and annual holiday entitlements. Later studies (Cooke 1994, Nichols 1995, Nichols and Taylor 1995,) emphasised the need by contractors to cut costs in order to win contracts managed within the contract price. The major area where cuts were possible was in staffing with the reduction of costs through the introduction of measures such as the flattening of management structures and the employment of large numbers of part-time and casual staff. This research study has provided considerable evidence of these measures being used to ensure the competitiveness of DSO. Reports of reduction in salaries and wages; introduction of new terms and conditions including loss of bonus payments for

overtime/Bank Holiday/shift working and a reduction in holiday entitlement were all emphasised as measures which had been resorted to in order to be more competitive.

These measures in a number of cases resulted in loss of trust and loyalty on the part of the manual staff in the managers and the authority. This way of operation, however, was very much in line with the New Managerial approach to labour with localising bargaining and flexible labour markets (Harvey, 1989), which gave more power to the managers. The impact on the leisure professional was immense. From all points of view it resulted in loss of security - no longer was local authority employment 'a job for life'. It represented a sea change in terms of attitude on the part of manual workers and junior staff and with loss of benefits and deteriorated conditions they became disillusioned. But for managers the ability to determine the terms and conditions of their staff at the local level was welcomed as it enhanced their role. There were thus disparate views on labour-related issues and the gulf between manual and senior staff.

viii) Job satisfaction

This was not an issue which has been addressed in the literature but it was, however, an issue which emerged in this research study as a number of respondents commented on the increasing restrictiveness of employment post-CCT with work closely specified; performances measured; achievements evaluated and shortfalls analysed. Officers felt freedoms were lost as greater demands were imposed and this significantly affected job satisfaction levels. Stewart and Stoker (1989) alluded to this loss of freedom as a result of control from a 'tight centre' in their analysis of 'New Wave Management'. With reference to this study, as a consequence of the greater demands many of the respondents reported a loss of job satisfaction. However there were several exceptions with interviewees reporting that despite the increased pressure, they enjoyed their work and felt a vocational calling to serving the public.

ix) The changing profile of the leisure profession

Empirical work undertaken by the author, confirmed that leisure management is an emerging profession, but in comparison with other professions such as Law and Medicine it is still relatively unsophisticated and has a lower profile in terms of status. Ten professional bodies were examined and categorised according to a series of criteria which had been used in

previous literature (Millerson, 1964) to analyse the extent of professionalisation of a professional body. Compared with the highly structural, codified, influential professional bodies such as the RCS and the Law Society, leisure management with its decentralised training and disparate education programmes, lack of a code of conduct and with a large number of small representative bodies in its rank, is still relatively underdeveloped as a profession. This concurred with Robinson's (1999) findings that it is a profession which is a diverse amalgam of managerial, technical and administrative skills and that it should be viewed as a 'semi-profession'. However, as Robinson (1999) pointed out, there has been an increasing emphasis on general management skills within the profession and has served to enhance the credibility and status of leisure management. The findings of this study supported the arguments of Robinson (1999), that leisure management is still a semi-profession.

With regard to CCT, respondents commented on the lack of relevant training in advance of and during CCT - an area which should have been fully addressed by the professional bodies. A lack of information on CCT was also recognised - another area the profession should have tackled. However, leisure professionals recognised that the status of their profession had been enhanced by the implementation of CCT. This supported Robinson's (1999) findings that the introduction of quality programmes as part of CCT implementation had given leisure professionals greater credibility.

The consequences of these findings are significant as leisure management, as a result of CCT, has gained in credibility in both the Public and Private Sectors and strengthened in status. The whole industry has sharpened its approach as a result of the marketisation of leisure - an adjunct of CCT implementation.

10.4 SUMMARY

10.4.1 Summary - key issues

This study concluded that the implementation of CCT had a profound and fundamental impact on the changing role of the local authority leisure professional. A salient factor in the changes attributable to CCT was the notion that leisure professionals were both participants and spectators to these changes and s/he operated as an initiator, communicator and implementer of CCT policy at the agency level. Thus this study has recognised and

underlined the importance of the actions and intentions of the individual leisure professional working within operational and institutional structures in policy implementation. The extensive involvement in the process has given an explanation of the very intense nature of the reaction by the respondents to the changes attributable to CCT as their involvement was all embracing and all encompassing.

It is evident in the study, that changes at the societal level in such dimensions as political outlook, economic environment, cultural and social associations and at the institutional level in aspects such as departmental hierarchies and functional responsibilities, provided the context for and mediated the activities of the leisure professional in the implementation of CCT.

The first aim to be addressed was the identification pre- and post-CCT of the dominant values in the cultural and political strategic environments in which leisure professionals operated. It was very evident that the rationale for CCT implementation was part of not only a political and economic initiative by the Government to reform local authorities, but part of the broader Thatcherite ideology to transform the relationship between central and local government. The implementation of CCT at the grass roots level in local authorities was 'enabled' by the Government's strategic flexible approach. This allowed the operationalisation of CCT to be determined and effected at the local level by members and officers. It was also enabled by the Government's 'championing' of public management strategies and techniques which gave leisure professionals new skills and facilitated CCT implementation.

The second aim to be addressed was an evaluation of the nature and causes of the changes in the attitudes, values, beliefs and roles of the leisure professional when comparing pre- and post-CCT leisure management working environments and regimes. Immense changes at the operational level associated with CCT implementation - particularly the functional split into client and contractor - caused radical changes in the working environments through the formation of new units and roles. The separation resulted in differentiated coalitions with considerable evidence of both conflict and harmony in the newly fashioned working regimes between client and contractor. This again had a profound impact on the leisure professional as this was the operational context within which they, as the instruments of CCT policy, had

to operate. The functional split provided the framework which shaped their attitudes, views, interests and interpretations of CCT and gave them the role which they had to play as essential actors in the policy process.

This leads on to the third and final aim which was addressed and which was the main focus of the study, i.e. an analysis of the significance of the impact of CCT on the changing role of the local authority leisure professional. The magnitude of this impact was evidenced in a multiplicity of responses, both positive and negative by the twenty six respondents. They demonstrated very clearly the implications of CCT i.e.

- i) The leisure professional was an extremely influential actor in the CCT process. In many cases s/he undertook all the preparatory work of writing documentation etc and this imposed considerable burdens on his/her workload. It also gave them a heightened responsibility and status not only within leisure services but in the local authority as a whole.
- ii) CCT resulted in a deterioration in the working relationships between leisure professionals. Officers who previously had been colleagues found themselves 'on the other side of the fence' in conflict with fellow leisure professionals. This was to have detrimental emotional and physical consequences for the individual and the service.
- iii) CCT enhanced, in many instances, career opportunities, through new roles, responsibilities and the adoption of generic management skills.
- iv) The introduction of New Managerial techniques and skills was accelerated by CCT implementation and it had the effect of enhancing the managerial attributes and abilities of the leisure professional and it equipped them to successfully deal with CCT.
- v) CCT implementation resulted in increased pressure on leisure professionals to succeed as time scales to achieve the huge workload were very tight in an area which was new.
- vi) There were very high expectations by the authorities that leisure professionals should be very committed to their work in the implementation of CCT.

- vii) The terms and conditions of employment for many leisure professionals deteriorated as many were forced to accept cuts in pay, holiday and sickness benefits and the job itself became insecure.
- viii) A lowering of job satisfaction levels was reported by many respondents.
- ix) The profile of the leisure management profession was heightened although it should still be regarded as a 'semi-profession.'

It is important to recognise that many of these changes were made even more challenging as the pace of the transformation was so rapid. The order was published in November 1989 and all contracts had to be awarded by January 1993, so in just over two years, leisure professionals had to take the lead in the implementation of CCT - a policy which was in some cases alien in ideology, principles and operations.

10.4.2 The contribution of the research to the understanding of contemporary local authority leisure services

10.4.2.1 Introduction

This study has been particularly concerned with the impact of the implementation of CCT on the role of the leisure professional. As such, the main focus was on the change at the agency level. But significant recognition was also given to the broader contextual environment of CCT. The research has therefore considered two aspects of contemporary local authority leisure services operation.

10.4.2.2 The contribution to the understanding of the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional

Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated a dearth of research on the impact of CCT on the role of the leisure professional. There has been considerable evaluative work in the first half of the 1990s based on statistical analyses (IPF, 1992 etc) which considered the impact of CCT from financial and economic standpoints, but these did not examine the human resource implications of CCT. The debate in the literature on the impact of CCT concerned issues such as the number of contractors bidding, the value of contracts, etc., but this was a managerialist view, a 'top-bottom' approach to analysis. It is evident that the analysis of CCT has lacked a 'bottom-top' approach in research terms with an emphasis on the leisure professional working at the 'sharp end' of CCT implementation.

The current research has endeavoured to adopt this 'bottom-top' approach and extend the knowledge of and understanding of the impact of CCT on the individual leisure professional from an agency point of view. The focus has not been on the statistics of implementation but on the issues which were important to the leisure professional i.e. 'take home' pay, holiday entitlement and job security. A distinctive contribution has thus been made by this study because

- 1) It has recognised the key role of the leisure professional in the implementation of CCT.
- 2) It has emphasised the onus of responsibility, the immense workload and the profound changes in the working environment of the leisure professional.
- 3) It has highlighted the impact that both 1) and 2) have had on the leisure professional in his/her role.
- 4) It has focused the attention on the human resource aspects of the CCT equation.

The richness, intensity and complexity of the material in the transcripts has borne testimony to the importance of the individual leisure professional in the CCT policy process. It has been through the beliefs, ideas, attitudes, values and interests, as expressed in these transcripts, that the courses of action adopted by leisure professionals in response to CCT implementation, were fully appreciated and the hugely political nature of their involvement understood.

10.4.2.3 The contribution of the study to the broader analysis of contemporary local authority leisure services

As outlined above, the main purpose of the current study was to contribute to an understanding of the impact of the implementation of CCT on the role of the leisure professional. Whilst so doing, the research has also provided an insight into other aspects of local authority leisure management and provision. This has been facilitated by the particular ontological approach adopted at the outset, which emphasised the importance of 'structure' and 'agency' (Giddens, 1979). The stance taken emphasised the interests and ideas of the individual, hence the focus on the leisure professional as a 'street level bureaucrat' determining and implementing CCT policy. However, the model emphasised the relevance of broader spheres of analysis and as a result, there are several ways in which the findings of

the study has contributed to the broader understanding of developments within local authority leisure services in the past 15 years. In a sense, this study complements the work undertaken by Robinson (1999) which identified a heightened importance in political terms of local authority leisure management and provision in the same period.

Thus one of the most significant factors identified in this period was the elevated political importance of leisure as a policy arena in its own right. Leisure policy in the 1980s became embroiled with the much broader ideological agenda of the Thatcher Government which aimed at reducing welfare provision, public spending, taxation and substituting private for public provision (Carnaghan and Bracewell-Milnes 1993, Parkinson 1987). The research demonstrated the relevance of government CCT policy as one of a raft of policies to achieve the objectives outlined above. Analysts such as Coalter 1995, Henry 1993, Nichols and Taylor 1995, emphasised the relationships of CCT policy to broader ideological perspectives and this study has supported their conclusions.

One of the main findings of the study was the importance of the Public Management Model (Lane, 1995) and the relevance of New Managerialism to the leisure professional and local authority management as a whole. The use of the new techniques and skills associated with New Managerialism enabled the leisure professional to guide staff and utilise resources within their authorities in CCT implementation. This study emphasised that on a much broader front, the introduction of New Managerialism, represented a move in local authority leisure management away from the Public Administration to the Public Management (Lane, 1995) style of government with a re-focusing at the corporate level on issues of customer service management where factors such as entrepreneurialism, and productivity were to become important. Thus leisure management has broadened its sphere of knowledge and wisdom. Bailey and Reid (1994) emphasised that the introduction of CCT into leisure services management resulted in major changes in process and procedure but it had far less of an impact with regard to outcomes. This has been supported by the findings of this study. However, despite this lack of impact concerning outcomes, CCT has been influential in that it has demonstrated that a local authority service can be successfully marketised and commercialised. It has been used as an example of 'good practice' policy by the Government and subsequent policy initiatives have been based on the premise that competition *'will continue to be an essential management tool for securing improvement in*

local service provision” (DETR 1998a, para 4.16). One of the current government initiatives is ‘Best Value’. This has superseded CCT but the intention is to abolish the compulsory element. However, competition is still to remain a vital aspect of this policy.

Thus the principles pioneered by services such as building maintenance (under the 1980 Land and Planning Act) and leisure management (the 1988 Local Government Act) in competing with other providers for the right to provide a service, have been taken forward on a broader front by the Labour Government through its ‘Best Value’ policy.

10.4.3 Further research

In terms of further research, it is recommended that the issue of the importance of the leisure professional in the policy process with particular reference to ‘Best Value’ be considered and that an analysis of the impact of this policy on the role of the leisure professional be undertaken. This would serve as an important comparator for this and other research (Robinson, 1999) into the changing role of the leisure profession in local authority leisure services.

A second area of research which would also be a progression from this study concerns the management of change and the human cost of policy implementation. It is evident from this project that insufficient recognition is given to the need to support, guide and lead people through periods of organisational change. This has immense personal and professional implications. It is suspected that not only CCT policy but policy implementation in general terms has a strong ‘top-bottom’ research orientation. Thus it is strongly advised that in studies of policy implementation, research should focus on the individual in the organisation and not solely on the statistical output of a given policy.

This study has demonstrated that focusing on the individual through qualitative analysis illuminates that which is relevant to the person in his/her own right. The future application of this approach in leisure studies research has the potential to contribute a fuller understanding of the impact of leisure policy, particularly at the agency level.

APPENDIX 1:

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Local Authority	Single provision	Private Co/DSO	Leisure facilities
Leicestershire			
1. Blaby District Council CON – CON – NOC	Yes	SLM	2 L/C
2. Charnwood Borough Council CON – CON – LAB	Yes	Serco	1 L/C 1 Pool
3. Harborough District Council NOC – NOC – NOC	Yes	Serco	1 L/C
4. Leicester City LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	11 L/C with wet & dry facilities
5. Melton Borough Council CON – CON – NOC	Yes	SLM	1 L/C
6. Oadby and Wigston Borough Council CON – LL/D – L/D	Yes	Circa Leisure PLC	1 L/C, 2 Pools
7. North West Leicestershire District Council NOC – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	2 L/C
Derbyshire			
1. Amber Valley Borough Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	4 L/C (3 stand alone; 1 – school site)
1. Bolsover District Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	1 S/C with pool 1 L/C
2. Derby City LAB – NOC – LAB	Yes	DSO	2 L/C 2 Swim Centres
3. Derbyshire Dales District Council CON – CON – NOC	Yes	DSO	1 L/C 3 Pools – 1 on a school site
4. Erewash Borough Council CON – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	4 L/C – one on a school site
5. High Peak Borough Council NOC – NOC – LAB	Yes	DSO	2 L/C
6. North East Derbyshire District Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	3 L/C
7. South Derbyshire District Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO until April 98 - SLM	2 L/C

Nottinghamshire			
1. Bassetlaw District Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	4 L/C – one is on a school site
2. Broxtowe Borough Council CON – CON – LAB	No		3 L/C all on school sites
3. Gedling Borough Council CON – CON – LAB	Yes	DSO	5 L/C – 3 on school sites; 2 stand alone
4. Mansfield District Council LAB – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	3 L/C; 3 Pools
5. Newark & Sherwood District Council NOC – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	5 L/C
6. Nottingham City CON – LAB – LAB	Yes	DSO	14 L/C; 2S/H

Key:

S/H - Sports Hall
 L/C - Leisure Centre
 Con - Conservative
 Lab - Labour
 L/D - Liberal Democrats
 NOC - No overall control

CON – CON – CON gives the balance of power in 1987, 1991 and 1995

Selection of local authorities

From these 21 local authorities, six were selected based on the following criteria:

- i) The local authority must have at least one leisure facility.
- ii) This facility/these facilities should not be joint provision/dual use. They should be single provision.
- iii) Political complexion i.e. from 1987 to the present time, there should be contrasting political backgrounds.
- iv) There should be or have been a leisure DSO in the authority.
- v) The local authority should have leisure officers who have been trained and qualified as leisure managers. (ILAM, ISRM, degree level or equivalent.)

**APPENDIX 2:
PROMPT QUESTIONS**

- 1) What is your Current job?
Grade
Responsible to
Dates
Areas of responsibility
Organisational structure
Client/contractor
Number of staff
- 2) What are your qualifications?
Left school
College/ university qualifications
Other work based qualifications
- 3) What were your previous jobs in sequential order?
Title
Grade
Responsible to
Dates
Areas of responsibility
Number of staff
Organisational structure
Client/contractor
- 4) Have you seen any changes in employment patterns in leisure management in the past 15 yrs?
- 5) Have you seen any changes in your own immediate employment patterns in the past 15 years?
- 6) What would you say were the dominant values in local government in the 1980s?
- 7) Were these reflected in the values of leisure managers?
- 8) Do these values differ from those apparent in the 1990s? (For both local government and leisure managers)
- 9) What do you think have been the most significant changes in local authority leisure management in the past 15 years?
- 10) Do you feel that your attitudes, values, beliefs as a leisure manager

have changed over the past 15 years?

- 11) If yes - what are these changes?
- 12) What have these changes been due to?
- 13) Have you changed in your attitude to work over the past 15 years?
- 14) If yes what are these changes?
- 15) What were the aims of CCT?
- 16a) When CCT was introduced, What was your job?
- 16b) Were you involved in the writing of the specification? How did you feel about having to prepare the documentation?
- 17) Did you have a change of role/job when CCT was introduced?
- 18) How did you feel about change of job?
- 19) What aspects changed most?
- 20) How did you cope with the changes?
- 21) What affected you most?
- 22) Were you instructed to liaise with the DSO/client on the preparation of specifications etc?
- 23) Did you/were you instructed to keep to the letter of the law with regard to the operationalisation of policy?
- 24) Was the policy implemented fully in your authority? Not distorted in any way? Any mistrust?
- 25) Were there any misrepresentations of policy / distortion / translation of policy in your authority?
- 26) Did your authority adhere to the deadlines or go out in advance? Voluntary adoption? Unwilling adoption?
- 27) Was implementation problematic?
- 28) Do you feel policy was formulated at the top (either by the government or your local authority) and translated down for you to implement. Did you have much

influence over the actual implementation? Would you have wanted to have an influence over the implementation?

- 29) Do you think that the implementation of centrally introduced policies suffered as a result of the mismatch of perceptions, aspirations, values, attitudes and motivations of all the public and private organisations and actors?
- 30) As part of this did you feel there was a hidden agenda? Gaps in the information you were given? Gaps in implementation? Distortion? A mismatch between the intention and the output?
- 31) Was there antagonism in your local authority? Was there a split between DSO/client. Was it problematic?
- 32) Were there any problems with the timescales, interpretations, enforcement? Technical problems? Problems with the staff? Problems with the politicians?
- 33) Do you feel that the way the Policy was implemented extended your professional expertise?
- 34) Do you feel through the introduction of CCT that leisure managers' status/role within an organisation became enhanced/more significant/gave the profession greater credibility or was there a detrimental effect?
- 35) In hindsight what were the outcomes of CCT / in technical terms? Quality of service? Jobs? Staff turnover? etc
- 36) What were the effects on you as a leisure manager? Effects on you as a person?
- 37) Did you have any involvement with consultations / negotiations between the Department of the Environment/ILAM/your authority in the period leading up to Local Government Act 1988 and the Order 1989?
- 38) Do you remember how opinion was formed? Conjecture, debate, interpretation, in advance. By whom? Who were the opinion-formers?
- 39) Do you feel that you modified /ameliorated the CCT policy in any way?
- 40) Do you feel that you have had an influence over CCT policy implementation - the content, the context, the nature of, the delivery etc?
- 41) Was CCT a problematic policy area? If not why?
If so why?

- 42) What was the impact of CCT on leisure management in local authorities
- 43) Do you think that the most significant changes in the role of the leisure manager have been as a result of CCT or do you feel that it has been the result of other forces? If so, what?

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