UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

FIONA A. GROSSART

Department of Sports Studies

New Right Conservatism and the Scottish Leisure Profession:

A Critical Analysis 1979 – 97

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis has been composed by myself, and that it embodies the results of my own research. Where appropriate, I have acknowledged the nature and extent of work carried out in collaboration with and/by others included in the thesis.

Signed: .....

Date: .....23/4/03.....

ABSTRACT

The nature of the leisure profession and the leisure professional has been re-characterised by a series of government policies first implemented by the Conservative government during the period 1979 – 97. Whilst the re-characterisation has been acknowledged by leisure professional bodies and also in an emerging body of literature, no systematic analysis of this process has been undertaken in the Scottish context. This thesis addresses this through an ideological analysis of New Right Conservatism and the impact of New Right policies in Scotland and on the Scottish Leisure profession. Scottish political and cultural traditions together with the notion of credentialism provide original dimensions to this critical analysis. Using a multi-methodological research approach, this thesis examines the link between New Right government policies and the Scottish leisure profession. It establishes whether or not the process of professionalisation is a coherent one that will underpin a collective legitimacy for the Scottish leisure profession. It is concluded that the New Right undermined the professionalisation of leisure management in Scotland. Leisure management has been restructured and generalised and the resulting professional anti-collectivism within the industry has left the standing of the profession in doubt. This original theoretically and empirically informed study of the leisure profession in Scotland makes a small contribution to the growing body of work on professionalism and professionalisation.

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADRLT	Association of Directors of Recreation, Leisure and Tourism
CCT	Compulsory Competitive Tendering
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COSLA	Council of Scottish Local Authorities
DLL	David Lloyd Leisure
DSO	Direct Service Organisation
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
FE	Further Education
HNC	Higher National Certificate
HND	Higher National Diploma
IBRM	Institute of Baths and Recreation Management
ILAM	Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management
ISRM	Institute of Sport and Recreation Management
MBO	Management By Objectives
NGB	National Governing Body
NPO	Not-for Profit Organisation
PE	Physical Education
PI	Performance Indicator
SADLS	Scottish Association of Directors of Leisure Services
SCOTVEC	Scottish Vocational Education Council
SED	Scottish Education Department
SHEFC	Scottish Higher Education Funding Council
S/NVQ	Scottish/National Vocational Qualification
SOEID	Scottish Office Education and Industry Department

SPRITO	Sport, Recreation and Allied Occupations National Training Organisation
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority
SVQ	Scottish Vocational Qualification
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
VET	Vocational Education and Training
WLL	West Lothian Leisure

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Introduction

This thesis explores the link between the New Right government, Scotland and the leisure profession during the period 1979 – 97. The thesis focuses upon three core questions: i) what is New Right Conservatism? ii) how did it affect the political and cultural dynamics that shape the environments in which leisure managers operate in Scotland and iii) what have been the consequences for leisure policy and management practice. The thesis establishes whether or not the process of professionalisation is a coherent one that will lead to a collective legitimacy for leisure managers in the sport and recreation sector.

The formalisation of public leisure service delivery took place in every local authority in Scotland as a consequence of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, which introduced a two-tier system of government – Regions and District Councils, each of which had varying degrees of responsibility for leisure and recreation. Within District councils the Act brought together galleries, libraries, museums, open spaces and sports facilities within the one department for the first time. The Local Government and Planning (Scotland) Act 1982 clarified the division in responsibilities and leisure and recreation became a District Council function almost entirely (Kellas, 1989, p173, ADRLT, 1987, p*v*). The ensuing growth in the number of leisure facilities was, as Henry (1993, p22) stated, impressive and public sector leisure services developed rapidly throughout the 1970s (Torkildsen, 1992, p183, Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, Houlihan, 2001, p1). Such investment reflected the welfare reformist perspective of James Callaghan's Labour Government, a Government whose White Paper, *Sport and*

Recreation (DOE, 1975) identified leisure and recreation as a major element of social policy and a welfare right.

When the New Right Conservatives came to power in 1979 amongst their values were enterprise, independence and individualism (Kay 1996, p90). The market economy advocated by the New Right impacted on the leisure industry in substantial terms. Prior to the 1980s the public sector was recognised as the principal provider of leisure services and owner of leisure facilities. In adopting the concept of enterprise as the underpinning of their model of citizenship, the New Right introduced policies which eradicated the public sector's monopoly in the delivery of leisure services as well as their right to manage public sector leisure facilities. As a consequence not only has public sector leisure management practice changed, but the structure of leisure service delivery has also changed. The commercial leisure sector has rapidly increased and is now considered by Coalter (2000, p170) to be the predominant provider. Local Government's response to New Right policies created the situation where leisure services found themselves integrated with a range of other services. According to Coalter (1986, p42) the structural changes which took place from 1973 onwards, including the reduction in District Council responsibilities as a consequence of the two-tier system of local government, influenced the professionalisation of leisure services. Coalter (1986, p42) argued:

> "Firstly, the reduction of the responsibilities of district councils has meant that, almost by default, leisure services have become a major item of expenditure. Secondly, integrated leisure service departments (although neither uniform nor universal) have established the

administrative basis for the development of a generic leisure profession."

In the case of sport and recreation and museums, local councils' are now creating not for profit trust organisations (NPOs) as the means through which they strive to deliver economically efficient services, thus upholding the relevance of Coalter's (1986, p42) argument in 2003.

The erosion of the social role of leisure, effected by the New Right's approach to the restructuring of society, has compounded the changing dynamics of the industry. This has thrown into question the traditional paternalist role of the leisure manager and consequently the sustainability of professional power accorded by structuring of leisure services via the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973. Until 1997 the residual social value was found in government funding of leisure (Labour and Conservative) as a means to combat social unrest and urban deprivation (Henry, 1993, p63). Enterprise culture dominated the period 1979 - 97 while New Right privatisation policies such as Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) and deregulation contributed to the creation of a society in which individuals would not participate without a guarantee of reward. The shift from citizenship to consumerism during the 1980s was so substantial that, as Coalter (1998,p29) claimed, the 1970s culture of welfarism was replaced by 'an emphasis on enterprise culture, with welfare rights being replaced by consumer rights'.

Like Coalter (1986, p42), Henry (1993, p22) has argued that the 1973 reorganisation of local government accelerated the professionalisation of a range of

public services, including leisure. The launch of the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management in 1983 (ILAM, 1983, p12) through amalgamation of smaller associations, further advanced the process of professionalisation of the leisure industry by aspiring to develop the attributes of a traditional profession (HMSO, 1986, 6.32, Friedson, 1994, p62, Coalter, 1990, p110). This process was substantially affected by CCT, introduced in 1989, which, according to Henry (2001, p156), not only split public sector leisure professionals structurally, but, potentially, ideologically.

Evidence of the on-going re-characterisation of leisure is quite apparent in Scotland's leisure industry, particularly in the sport and recreation sector where the incursion of the commercial sector is clearly evident in the establishment of health and fitness clubs by David Lloyd, Esporta and Next Generation. More recently the emergence of NPOs has further re-characterised the nature of public sector leisure service structures. Such developments raise the potential for additional structural and ideological splits. With such a range of organisational structures, environments and practices emerging, this thesis examines and questions the existence of a universal ideology in the Scottish leisure profession.

Organisation of Thesis

In order to determine the context of this examination this research critically analyses the principles and policies of New Right Conservatism during the period 1979 - 97. This is achieved in Chapter One through an examination of the similarities and tensions between traditional Conservative principles and their

significance in shaping a macro industrial environment. Whilst the New Right purported to hold true to the traditional one-nation tenet, claims were made that the New Right created a two-nation society in geographical terms as well as in economic terms (Jenkins, 1989, p372, Gamble, 1994, p218). Chapter Two undertakes an in-depth analysis of the impact of New Right policies in Scotland, with particular reference to the relationship between New Right policies and Scottish traditions in industry, education and local governance. Attention is paid to the political and cultural dynamics that shaped the macro-industrial and micro public sector domains in Scotland. The chapter also identifies the political dynamics that influenced the professionalisation of the Scottish leisure industry.

The principles of the New Right were characterised in part by the doctrine of enterprise which was progressed through privatisation policies. A key challenge to the Government was implementing policies unilaterally throughout the United Kingdom thus increasing Central control and, as a consequence, seemingly increasing the power of Government, rather than 'rolling back the State' as advocated by Margaret Thatcher. Interventionist strategies, such as CCT and performance indicators, were means through which this was achieved. Chapter Three assesses the impact of such actions on local authority leisure services. It considers the changing political role of leisure and the impact of the enterprise culture and together their combined influence on the nature of the Scottish leisure industry. The notion of professionalism emerging from the entrepreneurial and managerialist culture invoked by New Right policies is also examined in the leisure context. The initial conclusions are analysed in the context of the Scottish leisure

industry using relevant literature and primary research findings as a foundation for developing this argument. Consideration of the degree to which the model of leisure professionalism reflects New Right thinking provides the hypothesis to be tested in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter Four tests the conclusions of the previous chapter through case study analysis to determine influences on the perception of professionalism in the leisure industry in Scotland. To maintain as broad a perspective as possible, the analysis examines three differing models of leisure service delivery – traditional public sector service, not-for-profit public sector trust and commercial. Environmental factors influencing management practice and the notion of professionalism in each case study are identified. The chapter compares and contrasts the findings of each case study and draws conclusions in relation to New Right thinking in the process of professionalisation in each organisation and also the emerging common characteristics of leisure professionalism.

Issues raised in the previous chapters are discussed further in Chapter Five, which examines the concept of credentialism in the professionalisation of the Scottish leisure industry. This chapter examines in more detail the development processes of leisure education provision, particularly within the Further Education sector for whom leisure education was significant since Scottish universities showed little interest in this area despite the Yates Report (HMSO, 1984) and the Gunn Report (HMSO, 1986). The currency of leisure qualifications in the industry is appraised leading to assertions regarding the tensions between New Right

managerialism and the credentialising of the Scottish leisure profession. Consideration of the involvement and contribution of leisure professional bodies adds a significant perspective to the critique of leisure credentialism. Particular reference is made to the publications Leisure Focus (ADRLT, 1987) and Leisure Matters (ADRLT, 1995) which were landmarks in the defence of local authority leisure services by the profession. The chapter concludes by reflecting upon the impact of Scottish leisure education and professional bodies on professionalisation.

In drawing this thesis to a conclusion the final chapter revisits the core questions raised in this introduction. It offers comments on the current status of the Scottish leisure profession and the future role of professional bodies in perpetuating its legitimacy.

Notes on Method

The research methodology used in this thesis was grounded in the principles of multi-methodological enquiry. This approach was used because it provided the range of techniques that would elicit the detailed evidence necessary for examination of New Right Conservative policies introduced during the eighteen years in question and analysis of their influence on the professionalisation of the Scottish leisure to date. Three principal methods were used in the research, document analysis, interviews and case studies. The document analysis examined a range of sources including books, journals, government reports and relevant research reports. A series of interviews was conducted between 1998 and 2002 in order to gain a deeper understanding of New Right ideology and policy and the

implications for local government and leisure management practice in Scotland. Case studies enabled closer examination of New Right influence on Scottish leisure policy and operating environments and their relationship with the emerging model of professionalism. The strength of this thesis has resulted from an over-arching synthesis of the data collected.

The questions of 'how' and 'why' were particularly relevant to this research and therefore, as Yin (1994,p6) suggested, the use of histories and case studies were especially relevant as the links between policy and practice, rather than issues of frequency and incidence, needed to be traced over time. This led to an approach reflecting what Denzin (1994, p510) referred to as 'interpretive interactionism' where the researcher is able to illuminate key moments in a person's life through "recording their experiences in detail and listening to the stories people tell about them". All the interviews were therefore conducted in a conversational style and although based on a pre-determined set of questions, were relatively open-ended, a tactic advocated by Yin (1994, p84,) and Stroh (2000, p199). The interpretive approach drew out the range of meanings of events, experiences and texts to enable deconstruction of the multi-faceted nature of the professionalisation process of leisure. According to Cuff, Sharrock and Francis (1998, p291):-

> "deconstruction cultivates incongruities and paradoxes, highlights the ways texts are internally divided amongst themselves, showing how one part of the text counteracts the effect ostensibly found in another, and revealing especially where aspects of the text resist, confound and unravel the order which seeks to impose itself upon the text."

This approach required determination of differing perspectives that stimulated thinking and sensitivity so that recognition of additional properties in the data was effected (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p44). Reflection was therefore a key element in the interpretive process – 'interpretation of interpretation' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, p6). This was positively enhanced by the professional experiences of the researcher as it enhanced sensitivity not only to the interviewees' situation and environment but also to the nuances within the data. This view was supported by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000, p135) who claimed that: -

> "...it is necessary to consider not only what interview respondents mean, and how we can understand their conception of the world and their way of importing meaning to themselves and their situation, but also the totality of which they are a part and how, in combination with subconscious process, this represents constraints and 'noise' in the way meaning is developed and existence constructed."

A reflective approach necessitated that a narrative style be adopted throughout the thesis. Narrative analysis captured the uniqueness of the interviews and each of the case studies. Fulfilment of the research aim necessitated analysis of political ideology, New Right policies, leisure management practice and leisure professionalism. The predominantly qualitative nature of the subject matter influenced the methodology chosen. Document analyses highlighted generalisations and provided direction for further examination through primary research. Primary sources included Scottish local politicians, senior leisure managers and key figures in the education sector. A case study approach was utilised to explore the relationship between environment and leisure professionalism and the nature of credentialism within the professional models identified.

Whilst a considerable body of literature relating to New Right Conservatism, Scottish culture and UK leisure policy was available, very little existed pertaining to the Scottish leisure profession. In exploring the underpinning issues of New Right Conservatism a literature review was undertaken which focused on the views of key authors such as Gamble (1983, 1994), Hutton (1995), Mitchell (1990, 1998) and Midwinter (1991, 1993, 1995). Analysis of Scottish education and Scottish culture issues drew on the works of Fairley (1995, 1996,) Humes (1986, 1995, 1999) and Paterson (1993, 1994, 1997, 1998). The body of literature provided by Ravenscroft (1998, 1992, 1993, 1996), Henry (1986, 1993, 2001) and, in particular, Coalter (1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 2000) provided a foundation for developing arguments regarding the changing nature of leisure management and the notion of the leisure professional in the UK.

A source of interim data for the thesis was provided by a small number of individuals who were senior leisure managers during the period 1979 – 97. The individuals were selected because of their involvement in Scottish leisure professional bodies as well as involvement at Director level. Access to such individuals was facilitated through the author's own professional network, established and developed through her involvement with the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management. Whilst personal testimonies can yield distorted portrayals of events and biased perceptions, the opportunity for cross-referencing of experiences of the interviewees enabled such potential weakness to be minimised.

Some difficulty was experienced in accessing politicians relevant to the research. Approaches to two senior Scottish members of Margaret Thatcher's Cabinet were unsuccessful. Time constraints therefore influenced the ensuing decision to approach two political representatives from local government, one from the Conservative Party and the other from the Labour party. This provided a balanced and insightful interpretation of New Right policies and ensuing local government reaction. The individuals chosen were selected for their status within their respective councils and for their varied involvement as Convenor (in one case past Convenor) of their council's leisure services committee.

Potential interviewees in the education sector were the most easily identified. Secondary data and the author's professional experience identified that the sector most affected by New Right policies was the Further Education sector. Policies affecting this sector were determined by the Scottish Executive, based on advice of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools and qualifications were designed and administered by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). The ideal interviewee was the Chief Executive of the SQA, who had been Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools during the period of New Right governance. This interview was easily facilitated through the author's own involvement with the SQA. Leisure management qualifications in Scotland form part of a national framework of leisure/sport-related qualifications, which were designed by a consortium of FE colleges under the management of the SQA. The former Chair of the FE leisure management consortium was selected for interview as he had been a member of the Consortium since its inception in 1987 until 1999.

A case study approach was chosen to pursue the relationship between environment and leisure professionalism. The purpose of this approach was not to represent the world, but to represent the case (Stake, 1994, p245). Secondary sources identified the existence of three distinct organisational structures within Scottish leisure – i) traditional local council leisure service department, ii) not-for-profit sport and recreation organisation and iii) commercial leisure organisation. Time constraints determined that one example of each organisation should be studied. Pragmatism underpinned the selection of cases. Glasgow City Council's Cultural and Leisure Service Department was chosen because it is the only large traditional leisure service department remaining in the Scottish public sector. The two longest established NPOs in Scotland are Edinburgh Leisure and West Lothian Leisure. Since the author has a paid involvement with Edinburgh Leisure, West Lothian Leisure was selected. David Lloyd Leisure was selected since it is the longest-established commercial Leisure Company operating in Scotland. Access to each of these organisations was enabled through direct approach to the senior manager in each organisation. Three people were selected for interview from each organisation – a senior management representative, a facility manager and training and development manager. Attempts to achieve this in David Lloyd were unsuccessful due to the fact that the training and development manager was centrally based in London and proved inaccessible. Attempts to compensate for this were made in the inclusion of more questions relating to training and development during the interview with the facility manager in the company.

A systematic approach was used throughout the research that addressed the key issues from a generalist perspective in the first instance, and progressed to narrow the context of analysis to the Scottish environment. This simplistic approach facilitated a more objective assessment of the extent of the impact of New Right policies.

Whilst a considerable body of literature existed to inform opinion in the contexts of New Right politics and Scottish culture, little substantive literature was available pertaining to the Scottish leisure industry, Scottish leisure education and Scottish industry within the New Right context. Reliance on anecdotal evidence increased the necessity for objectivity in the interpretive analysis. Cross-referencing propositions emerging from the experiences derived from the interviews helped achieve this. Further cross-referencing with documentary analysis refined the objectivity of the author's interpretation. The methodology selected in this thesis represents the most logical and appropriate research mechanisms to address the challenges identified and the constraints of time and finance.

Whilst the difficulties stated were regarded as negative influences in one context, they were positive in another. The lack of existing literature in the fields of leisure management and leisure education in Scotland was a reason in itself for this thesis. It is original in the sense that no other piece of research has systematically mapped out the professionalisation of leisure in Scotland. Gunn's examination (1986) was primarily from the perspective of matching education opportunities available to management knowledge and skills required by leisure managers at the

time. It did not take into account the dynamics of the leisure industry, the changing nature of tertiary education or related Government policies. By examining the dynamics of British and Scottish political culture this thesis goes beyond the remit of Gunn and concludes with an assessment of the nature and components of leisure professionalism in Scotland, with reference to the role of leisure qualifications.

The terms 'leisure' and 'leisure and recreation' are used throughout the thesis in reference to the context of sport and recreation. As previously stated, organisational change effected by New Right policies has been most evident in this sector in Scotland, therefore prompting a particular interest in the changing role of the employees within it. In practice, managers in this sector are commonly referred to as leisure managers thus providing a more pragmatic rationale for adopting this terminology.

Chapter One Conservatism 1979 - 97

Introduction

The Thatcher administration and the subsequent dominance of neo-liberalist or New Right policies prompted many changes not only in the British political environment but also in public sector philosophy. By examining the principles of Conservatism and the ideals associated with Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) and John Major (1990-97), this chapter describes and critically analyses principles of Conservative thought during this period. It considers the divergence in Conservative aims brought about by Thatcher and Major and examines emerging tensions between central and local government. The specific aim of this chapter is to identify the political dynamics and principles which shaped the macro social and economic environment between 1979 and 1997. This chapter is structured around two key themes:

(i) the flexibility in political reasoning enabled by tensions between the principles of traditional Conservatism;

(ii) the one-nation tenet as a rationale for centralisation.

In the first instance examination of the principles of traditional Conservatism will determine the tensions therein and how these tensions consequently facilitated repositioning of Party policies to effect re-election. The ensuing discussion focuses on New Right policies and the New Right leadership, in particular that of Margaret Thatcher. Throughout the chapter the conflict between liberal and conservative inclinations is examined in the context of centralist policies.

Principles of Conservatism

According to Ludlam and Smith (1996, p5) Conservatism is open to various interpretations. Many people calling themselves Conservatives have held very different views of the world. Unlike the traditional Labour movement which has been associated with the ideal of freedom through equality of access (a tenet of Marxist theorists), the Conservative association with the ideals of Adam Smith has been subject to re-interpretation. This prompted views such as Mitchell's (1990, p123) who asserted that 'Smith's writing is more often assumed to be the basis of the New Right than is actually demonstrated to be so'. As a consequence, it is argued by some that Conservatism is cited as having not so much a consistent ideology but more of a series of ideas determined by the desire to maintain social order in an organic society (Scruton, 1980, p21).

By its very name the Conservative Party has traditionally communicated an underpinning philosophy which entails conserving that which exists. Traditionally British Conservatism was sceptical of an individual's capacity to reason and therefore believed that it was not possible for a government to implement policies, which were not based on evaluation of experience. Such a perspective leads to the conclusion that classical Conservatism is reactionary rather than pro-active and as such lacks the acumen to 'cure' the ills of the British State through preventative measures. Crisis management rather than strategic management is the likelihood of a reactive philosophy. This view is supported by Norton (1996, p80) who suggested that Conservatives are impeded by their scepticism of human reasoning and consequently have 'no shining vision of society which politicians can or should

pursue.' Lack of vision, lack of a priori reasoning as to what *should* be therefore prompts reaction rather than proactivity, and conservatism rather than radicalism.

Law and Social Order

The traditional Conservative Party was not a party seeking radical change. The Conservative perspective was that whilst change was inevitable, it should be gradual to reflect the organic complexion of society (Scruton, 1980, p51, Hayes, 1994, p5). Changes made should be to effect the conservation of what exists and is desired, not to destroy. Change should be in the interests of continuity, hence reform is not a word which motivates traditional Conservatism. In support of this tenet the logical adherence to the principle of law and social order is also advocated and, indeed, necessary if 'conservation' is to be upheld. It is this aspect of 'social order and rule of law' that is perhaps at the heart of British Conservatism.

The support of state and societal institutions is fundamental to the maintenance of law and order (Hall & Jacques, 1983, p37, & Jenkins, 1989, p73). There is an acceptance that people are not equal and that to attempt to make them so would impose constraints on individual liberty. People are, after all, unique individuals and, as motivation theorists have identified, each individual has his/her own aspirations and expectations. To impose expectation thresholds would be to erode the uniqueness of men. More specifically it is argued (Norton, 1996, p74) that:

> "There are natural inequalities. Men and women have different abilities, pleasures and interests. To try to make them equal by dictate from

> above is to try to impose a universal order that is impossible and a denial of the freedom through order shown by Conservatives. To the Conservative, order - born of adherence to the rule of law - provides a basic framework within which citizens can interact, pursue their own pleasure, achieve their own goals and ambitions, without direction from above."

One Nation

Complementary to social order is the belief in 'one nation' and the view that different sections of society should not be treated differently from others. It is perhaps in this aspect that the Conservatives constituted reform policies such as the Old Age Pensions Act 1925 as a means to enhancing social harmony, thus evidencing change in the interests of continuity. Traditional Conservatives (or 'wets' as they came to be known in the early 1980s) therefore acknowledge that there is a specific, albeit limited role for the State. In the maintenance of social harmony, loyalty to the State is viewed as a necessity. Without the belief in nationalism the binding thread of British society is lost in the eyes of Conservatives. To Conservatives recognition of British nationalism both at home and abroad is paramount to maintaining the 'greatness' of Britain.

Hierarchy

The natural hierarchy accepted by the Conservatives evolves from property ownership and wealth creation, property ownership being a facilitator of acquisition, a crucial component of capitalism. In allowing the free play of market forces freedom provides for growth in prosperity of both the individual and the nation. The generation of wealth is seen to encourage individual and corporate entrepreneurialism, the product of which is continuous refining of social order, thus

endorsing, once more, the Conservative's view that the role of the State should be to perpetuate the social dynamics of capitalism.

Presented in isolation, each of the basic principles of Conservatism reflects a Conservative view of society. Viewed as a set of collective principles the underpinning logic is less clearly identifiable. On one hand the Conservatives advocate social order through a free market with a limited role for Government, whilst on the other hand the principle of 'one nation' necessitates government intervention if social harmony is to be achieved. A degree of incompatibility exists between these principles. The State has the responsibility for protecting the freedom of the individual against constraints, a responsibility incorporated within the tenet of rule of law. In advocating a limited role for Government as well as greater individual freedom through enterprise, the State is also undermining the effect of upholding the rule of law. The greater the individuality within society, the greater the potential for anarchy. The Conservative State's interpretation of rule of law has focused on internal security and taking responsibility to maintain social order. This has resulted in increasing, rather than decreasing, the role of the State (Gamble, 1994, p241).

Conservative scepticism of the value of Government undermines the validity of the 'one nation' goal. The desire for individual growth further contradicts the advocacy of a 'one nation' society, whilst the ethos of conserving that which exists and, at the same time, acknowledging that society is organic suggests that the Conservative perspective of change is ambiguous. In choosing to ignore these

incompatibilities and in continuing the strategy of increased imposition of Central Government control the New Right clashed with civil institutions and the electorate (Jenkins, 1995, p16), further illustrating the ambiguity of its policies.

The tensions in the fundamental principles of Conservatism were evidenced by the growing disharmony within the Party culminating in the 'wet' and 'dry' divisions existing in the latter part of Margaret Thatcher's term of office. Such disharmony always existed within the Conservative Party as the emphasis shifted from one principle to another. Such tensions have not led to entirely negative consequences. The tensions in Conservative principles have facilitated a degree of flexibility in policy. The Party is not bound by the rigid political beliefs of the kind that could be argued to have stifled the Labour Party in the 1980s. The flexibility has enabled the Conservative Party to reposition its policies on several occasions and win more elections than any other party (Norton, 1996,p82) thus proving Ludlam and Smith's (1996,p5) observation of the flexible and changeable nature of Conservatism to be justified.

The New Right and Thatcherism

After becoming leader of the Conservatives in February 1975 Margaret Thatcher ascended to the position of Prime Minister in May 1979 and remained in post until November 1990 when her leadership was contested following Geoffrey Howe's resignation speech. She has been described as one of the most remarkable Prime Ministers in British history, the only one to become eponymous, 'an extraordinary phenomenon' (Evans, 1997, p1), 'an innovator, almost unique among

twentieth-century premiers' (Norton, 1996, p59). Remarkable, not only because of the success of her Government, but because such was the power of her personality, she commanded and received support from her colleagues even when latterly they did not agree with her policies.

Thatcher may have led the Conservatives, but they were not all Thatcherites. In 1979 Thatcher's Cabinet included several powerful sceptics from the Edward Heath era. It was, according to Riddell (1989, p103) 'the period of bitter Cabinet arguments over economic policy as well as regular leaks by ministerial dissidents to their Fleet Street friends…'. She regarded herself as a 'conviction politician' who would roll back the frontiers of the state (Jenkins, 1989, p54, Evans, 1997, p3). Cabinet reshuffles, such as in 1981, which saw the departure of dissidents Sir Ian Gilmour, Mark Carlisle and Lord Soames and the admission of loyalists Norman Tebbitt, Cecil Parkinson and Nigel Lawson, enabled Mrs Thatcher to pursue her conviction politics with less internal opposition.

This conviction was ideologically grounded in certain lower-class domestic virtues such as hard work, individual responsibility and prudence. These virtues were borne out of Margaret Thatcher's Methodist upbringing. She believed that the values of a free society came from religion and that 'duty' was fundamental to meritorious living (Young, 1989, p6). This power of conviction was seen to be the reason for lack of consultation both within and outwith the Conservative Party. While purporting to lead a Party which responded to the needs of the people and as

such had no clear ideology, what she created, in reality, was a Party with 'non-negotiable precepts' (Evans, 1997, pp2-4).

Thatcher's convictions of individual rights, private enterprise and strong leadership were not up for debate. Mobilising personality and policies produced significant changes in the United Kingdom, Europe and America during the 1980s and early 1990s. The Conservative government's politics changed the political environment of Great Britain by forcing through a range of policies designed to create the 'enterprise culture' which was regarded as necessary for the advancement of industrial Britain. The decision-making environs were changed through policies of decentralisation (Ludlam & Smith, 1996,p16).

Thatcherism – the enterprise culture

Britain's economic decline during the 1970s was attributed to Keynesian economic policies of the 1960s and 1970s which enabled Government interference in the name of 'protecting' the economy i.e. economic policies based on demand management. Consumer demand was encouraged to keep unemployment down. Government subsidy was a key utility of the era, a utility that adversely affected inflation (Powell, 1989, p83). The decline was compounded by welfare policies which inadvertently transformed domestic wants into rights, based upon what Hayes (1994, p37) identified as an 'ill-defined and elastic conception of need'.

These policies, realisations of a social-democratic administration, resulted in Labour's social democratic ideology coming under attack from almost all directions

(Gamble, 1994, pp23 & 34). Thus a constellation of deep-rooted organic crisis played a major role in the emergence of Margaret Thatcher as a Prime Minister in 1979 and added to the receptiveness of the 'new approach' to revive Britain's flagging economy. The New Right held the 'monetarist' view that a 'free economy' was the best way of organising society (Gamble, 1994 p46). Enterprise and individual responsibility were the criteria upon which social order would emerge. New Right values included 'individualism, self-sufficiency, loyalty, enterprise and independence' (Kay, 1996, p90). These values were regarded as the essence of a certain moral character whereas the secondary values of 'kindness, humility, sympathy, cheerfulness and gentleness' spawned dependence and moral decay.

This represented a fundamental shift from the traditional Conservative values that supported the notion of a social democratic consensus. This shift involved (Edgell and Duke, 1991, p47): -

> "..abandoning central government planning, on the ethical grounds that it infringes individual liberty and on the practical ground that it is less efficient than the free market. It also involved abandoning the associated corporatist approach to policy-making on similar grounds – namely, that it was undemocratic and therefore unethical to the extent that it bypassed parliament, and that it was ineffective and therefore impractical to the extent that it produced conflict rather than co-operation."

Freedom through enterprise became the leitmotif of Conservative governance from 1979. Freedom being specifically identified as the freedom of the market, allowing enterprise to set the parameters of individual and corporate success and thus to define the resultant social hierarchy. Allowing the free interplay of

market forces was justified as being 'both a guarantee of individual freedom and an essential dynamic of national prosperity' (Norton, 1996, p79). Economic responsibility was the new ethos in contrast to the outgoing perspective of democratic autonomy - 'paternalism and deference had been replaced by winners and losers' (Evans, 1997, p49).

The relative long-term success of the New Right's policies facilitated the establishment of a system of social ordering which was designed to obviate the need for a welfarist government i.e. a framework where capitalism could survive and 'freedom' be gained. A market economy was seen as the means to distribute power with inequality being the driving force to individualism. This notion of hierarchy is central to Evans (1997, p3) view that Thatcherism was not as radical as Thatcher, herself, liked to think. Traditional Conservatism viewed authority as a necessity to restore social and political order. Thatcher's politics were based on 'authoritarian populism' identified by Stuart Hall (1983, p113) as consisting of 'themes of anti-statism, anti-collectivism and anti-socialism'. Gamble (1994, p182) explained: -

> "It was populist because it drew upon popular discontent with many aspects of the social-democratic state to win support for the radical-right programme. It was authoritarian because in the implementation of its programme it further increased the central power of the state and weakened opposition to it."

In simple terms authoritarian populism enabled change to be directed from 'above', justified by populist support from 'below'. Traditionalists and the New Right shared the same vision of social order, but the means to achieving this order differed. Both the New Right and traditional Conservatives regarded socialism as the enemy, the principal cause of an unwelcome expansion of the public sector.

Gamble (1994, p34) argued that the New Right was, indeed, radical because it sought to change the views, assumptions and practices of the previous sixty years. More specifically Gamble (1996,p225) asserted: -

> "Thatcher made no secret of her wish to see socialism destroyed as an effective political force in Britain and a two-party system organised in which both parties fully accepted the legitimacy of capitalism and markets."

New Right policies instituted between 1970 - 1992 were closely linked with five key objectives identified by Gamble (1994,p227):

- to restore the health of economic and social life
- to restore incentives
- to uphold Parliament and the rule of law
- to support family life
- to strengthen Britain's defences

Recognition that public expenditure and government borrowing were significant causes of weakness in Britain's economy highlighted the need for an alternative basis for the structuring of society. The health of the economy via control of inflation and money supply was therefore a particular focus of the New Right (Powell 1989 p83, Crewe, 1989, p245 & Edgell & Duke, 1991, pp4 & 245). Further support for Gamble's (1994, p227) view is evidenced in Crewe and Searing's (1988, p361) argument that Thatcherism was based on the ideals of discipline, free enterprise and statecraft. The maintenance of robust military capabilities was at the forefront in the two New Right Conservative election campaigns (Freedman, 1989, p143). A restored economy and strong state were therefore fundamental characteristics of the New Right vision of an efficient and ordered society.

Restoration of the Economy

The fulfilment of the first two objectives listed above required the creation of an environment in which a free economy could thrive. In theory, at least, a free economy promoted enterprise, and successful enterprise created prosperity to enhance social life. This prompted progressive moves towards monetarist policies (Milton Friedman) and away from the Keynesian economic policies of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Control of inflation became the principal aim rather than the maintenance of employment levels. Privatisation and deregulation policies were implemented as a means to improve efficiency and so reduce public expenditure.

The flaw in the New Right strategy was in regarding labour as a commodity (Hutton, 1995, p103). The linkage between performance and pay emasculated the workforce, and refuted, for example, Herzberg's (in Beardwell & Holden, 1994, p502) view that employees are not all motivated by money. New Right emphasis on individual achievement was prioritised above egalitarianism in the workforce. This, in itself, was a contradiction of the corporate culture, the 'one-nation' approach Margaret Thatcher advocated. The failure to recognise the importance of the relationship between the workforce culture and productivity resulted in economic under-performance being explained as an outcome of distortions of the market i.e. trade unions, inflation etc.

In pursuing policies reflecting this thinking the New Right detrimentally affected social life rather than enhanced it. This argument is founded on Hutton's (1995, p111) assertion that the 'the firm' has particular significance to social life -

'the firm is not only at the heart of the economy; it is at the heart of society' and that it is 'corporate citizen, economic actor and social institution'. The 'firm' or workplace therefore defines people's lives in its deliverance of wages, occupation and, consequently, status. By imposing market rights and asserting individual duties, social rights and the health of social life were eroded, a view supported by Faulks (1998, p113) who also suggested that 'deregulation capitalism' created 'a weak concept of citizenship'. This weakening of citizenship was a consequence of the liberal individualistic approach which eroded the bonds of social obligation by encouraging people to think of themselves as 'disconnected from others' (Jarvie, 2003, p100).

Strengthening the State

The other three tasks identified by Gamble focused on enhancing the strength of the state, and creating the environment required for a thriving economy. Strengthening the state was seen as essential since monetarist economic policies effectively meant reducing the size of the public sector. The New Right recognised that without allegiance to sovereignty and social order the economic strategy would not be viable. The Conservative view identified by Scruton (1980, p29) was that citizens had no natural right which eclipsed their obligation to be ruled. The neo-Conservative perspective of an organic society hinted of a collectivist approach that clashed with individualistic liberalism. Balancing these tensions in New Right ideology was always going to be difficult for the Conservative Government. Whilst the free market was the mechanism advocated for maintaining a vertically integrated society, the New Right reinforced the traditional tenets of law and order to restore

public order. They instituted interventionist policies en route such as the Police and Criminal Evidence etc. Act, 1984 and the Public Order Act, 1986 that gave the police increased powers. The rule of law protected the power of State institutions which would regulate free enterprise and would 'subordinate all institutions in civil society to the pursuit of the national goals approved by parliament (Gamble, 1994, p240).

Protection of certain social institutions was also seen as essential to strengthening the state. By supporting family life the New Right aimed to stimulate what Gamble identifies as a 'moral regeneration'. The presentation of family as central to New Right philosophy - preservation of the traditional way of life, conservation of social order - rather than being radical, conformed to traditional Conservative thinking. The importance of the 'British family' was highlighted in its influence of educational reform where skills and values central to perpetuating family life were advocated.

The compatibility of this moral regeneration with neo-liberalist individualism is questionable. Without advocacy of the traditional tenet of law and order through the presence of rules, norms and sanctions, the morality valued by the New Right was, according to Dahrendorf (1989, p197) hard to conceive. He explained that:

> "To say there is no society but only individuals is fundamentally an amoral position. It puts individual interests in place of civic virtue, thus making it very hard to identify the sources of binding norms for all of us."

The last objective of strengthening the State involved Britain's defences. Strong defences were necessary to maintain access to the global capitalist economy. Priority was given to enhancing Britain's relationship with America rather than its relationship with Europe since integration with Europe was regarded as a threat to British sovereignty. Strengthening the defences in military terms was almost entirely related to a perceived threat from the Soviet Union.

In attempting to fulfil the five objectives identified by Gamble (1994, p227), the Conservative Government moved from demand to supply-side economic strategies in an effort to increase the efficiency of products. The argument was that if the supply-side issues were all in order then the ordering of macro-economic variables such as unemployment, growth, stable prices and balance of payments would evolve. The emphasis on increased productivity and efficiency was evidenced by privatisation and deregulation policies, with market forces and intervention of planners playing a major role in this (Jenkins, 1995, p55).

Whilst these policies were seen by many to be radical (Seldon and Collings, 2000, p23) this claim is challenged by the view that the policies were merely mechanisms to perpetuate property ownership and consequently wealth creation, a traditional Conservative objective. In purporting to increase 'people-power' the question of 'which people?' is posed. Those taking advantage of increased stakeholding opportunities were already reasonably financially stable and therefore these policies merely perpetuated traditional Conservative social order. They

widened the social and economic gap, thus eroding the one-nation conviction in the process.

A key principle of the New Right ideology was that the state would have less power and would, subsequently, be smaller. What started out as an attempt to 'roll back the state', became, according to Jenkins (1989, p155) a move to contain it. Deflationary measures (including deregulation and privatisation) resulted in increased unemployment, which subsequently increased public expenditure in welfare services. This degenerative loop was indicative of a fatally flawed strategic plan, evidence of remedial enterprise practice. The consequence was not only anticipated but acceptable to Margaret Thatcher (Evans, 1997, p20): -

> "In simple terms, Howe and Thatcher were prepared to create an economic slump in order to kill inflation and resurrect the simple notion of 'proper money' for the benefit of the British people."

Unemployment reached 3.2 million in 1985, subsequently increasing the tax burden on the employed (Evans, 1997, p29). An interventionist privatisation policy was implemented to stem this tide of increasing public sector expenditure. Privatisation was advocated as a means of reducing the influence of state regulation and control through wider share ownership and reducing government involvement in enterprise decision making (Vickers & Yarrow, 1988, p156). The sale of public assets was used to raise money to reduce budget deficit, whilst the contracting out of government services and deregulation of state activities reduced state monopoly. At the same time privatisation was also seen as a means to driving down wages.

The denationalisation policy was a contradiction in New Right ideology since the sale of public assets should have been motivated by restoring the market's role in resource allocation rather than capital acquisition. The privatisation of public utilities was identified as the enhancement of the 'Conservative business establishment'; "the country", claimed Hutton (1995, pp38-39) was "returning to the nineteenth-century tradition of rule by a private oligarchy of unelected Conservatives discharging public duties...". Rather than reducing the power of the State through privatisation policies Hutton (1995, p29) argued that the New Right under Margaret Thatcher awarded itself more power than any other government this century.

New Right thinking berated the public sector for its lack of entrepreneurialism and held up commercial business practice as being the solution to achieving economic efficiency - 'it was the spirit of enterprise that was lacking in the cities, it was the drug of dependency that was holding them back' (Jenkins, 1989, p378). This perspective was challenged by Mitchell (1990, p126) who attributed the regeneration of Glasgow to the 'effort of public policy'. He purported that it was the entrepreneurialism of Glasgow City Council that spawned a substantial increase in both public and private enterprise in the city and contrary to Government thinking laissez-faire did not prevail in Glasgow.

Regardless of examples such as Glasgow, Government continued its 'commercialisation' of the public sector through managerialist policies such as the Local Government Act 1988 (CCT) which devolved provision of services to the

market. It was this Act which opened up the public sector to commercialism and consequently demanded that local councils review their operations from all perspectives thus increasing the level of financial accountability placed upon them.

Much has been written about the performances of privatised utilities and the performance of commercial sector companies operating CCT tenders. There is consensus that it was the process of privatisation that enhanced operations, not the shift from public to private sector (Jenkins, 1995, pp23 &24, Savage & Robins, 1990, p41, Pirie, 1988, p255). CCT achieved similar enhancements to practices although claims that the nature of tender specifications was too rigid to facilitate development of services have been cited on a number of occasions.

Overall the New Right's managerialist policies may have brought an increased awareness of market requirements, however, the restrictions they brought to conditions of service etc. for employees contributed to increased labour unrest and to resultant problems and costs. These restrictions increased individual employee incentives to seek group rewards. The consequence was increased trade union activity and more vocal lobby groups such as farmers (Parry, 1987, p121), whereas what the New Right set out to achieve was the prevention of the 'formation of opposing collectives' (Kay, 1996, p89).

Through privatisation Thatcher succeeded in rolling the state back by £20 billion, which saw the transfer of 600,000 public sector employees to the private sector (Jenkins, 1989, p369). There were fundamental flaws in this economic

policy. The New Right believed that competition was a guarantee of individual freedom and an essential ingredient of national prosperity, a reflection of Adam Smith's view that monopoly was the antagonist of effective management (Norton, 1996, p79, Vickers & Yarrow, 1988, p156, Bishop & Kay, 1988, p89). Privatising and creating private sector monopoly did not increase competition or consumer choice. What Thatcher achieved was a mode of efficiency, at the cost of equity.

Effective competition and regulation measures were essential to maximise the potential of privatised public sector companies with market power, however the framework of privatisation was inherently weak. The whole privatisation programme was undermined right from the start because of the poor regulatory frameworks that were put in place. This situation, compounded by the reduction in investment especially in the public sector, suggested that the long-term benefits of such policies were questionable.

The Local Government Act 1988 (CCT) prompted further concerns about the long-term benefits identified by the Tory policies. Rolling back the state by means of privatisation, deregulation and social policies resulted in a substantial reduction in public services, some of which were essential to the administration of economic policies. Whilst the privatisation policy created a positive cultural change in terms of approved procedures and increased output, the costs of the privatisation process and the net loss of government assets offset the gains made (Green, 1989, p23). Whilst Britain's manufacturing base declined, growth in the service industries of the private sector substantially increased. These were not tradeable outputs to

counteract the fall in production investment and the resultant situation placed Britain in a weak position on the international market. In support of this view Vickers & Yarrow (1988, p428) stated:

> "The desires to privatise speedily, to widen share ownership quickly, and to raise short-term revenues have stood in the way of devising adequate measures of competition and regulation for the industries concerned.....short-term political advantage may have been won, but longer-lasting gains in economic efficiency have been lost."

Local Government

Success of free market entrepreneurialism was dependent not only on a healthy economy, but on a model of citizenship based on self-reliance. Increasing public expenditure was compounded by what Thatcher regarded as an over-reliance on the welfare state and inefficient public sector management at national and local level. As previously discussed, privatisation assisted in transferring some of the national public sector financial burden into the private sector. Local government expenditure therefore became an obvious focus of concern. Efforts were made to roll back the local state as a means of eroding firstly the financial burden and, secondly, as a means of eroding the fiscal power of local government, which was seen as a basis for resistance to New Right policies. According to Young, (1989, p124) the 'attack' on local government was expressed: -

> "...in a consistent drive towards constraining the existing role of local government, displacing it from the centre ground of policy implementation and setting its future development within the limits of the public's willingness to pay. In short, the subordination of local government to the political market-place and to a central authority that claims a more valid mandate than is to be found locally."

This manoeuvring of local government began in the early 1980s with the 1980 Housing Act forcing local authorities to sell council houses to tenants who had held leases for three years or more. This move may have merely been a reflection of the basic tenets of traditional Conservatism - that of property ownership, wealth creation and a limited role for government. The policy not only reduced the assets of local authorities, but also gave Central Government greater reason for cutting local government subsidies in the hope of curtailing local government expenditure. An alternative perspective of this policy is that in increasing the number of house-owners the New Right was not, in fact, following the Conservative principles outlined above. In attempting to increase its constituency, (its constituency being an increased electorate with the middle-class values prompted by home ownership which would identify with Conservative thinking) the New Right was fulfilling an even more traditional objective - that of re-election. This is supported by Kavanagh (1997, p70) who claimed that Conservatives regard election to office as 'proof of their political wisdom', therefore increasing their potential for re-election is a principal aim.

In the pursuit of liberalist ideals the Government got the balance between state support and the liberation of entrepreneurialism wrong. The lack of traditional Conservative scepticism in New Right thinking caused the Government to overlook the 'uniqueness of man'. There was a lack of recognition that not every individual was sufficiently enterprising to capitalise on this 'new system of morality' (Mitchell, 1990, p123). Rather than increasing support for Government policy and decreasing responsibility of local government, the sale of council housing provided

more sources of criticism and increased expectations of the State. Council housing was, as Jenkins (1995, p177) claimed, a 'symbol of the community's role in determining the character of its neighbourhood and the welfare of its citizens'. The sale of its houses left the abilities of local councils to fulfil their community welfare responsibilities severely limited. The cost of maintaining council housing rose along with the costs of housing the homeless (Hutton, 1995, p210, Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p174).

In aspiring to roll back the state, the monetarist policies adopted were seen as 'the ultimate triumph of ideology over common sense' (Evans, 1997, p20). It has been demonstrated that economic liberalism breaks up communities thus endangering the social order that engenders loyalty to the State. The fundamental weakness of so many of the New Right's policies was short-termism, more specifically identified by Hutton (1995, p21) in his assertion that: -

> ".... the New right reforms since 1979 have tackled the consequences, rather than the root causes of Britain's decline. The attack on trade unions and the public sector was addressing a second order problem; the real problem was the systematic failure to invest in ideas, people and innovation. This shortcoming was not based on over-mighty unions or excessive public expenditure, although both magnified the underlying problem, but on the fact that the British private sector has always demanded too high a real rate of return on its investment. So it is that Britain's capital stock per worker is the lowest of the leading industrialised nations."

Privatisation provided a short-term return, and the sale of council houses was a means to increase the New Right's 'natural constituency' thus increasing its potential market share of the electorate. In only tackling the consequences of

Britain's decline the liberalist aspect of the military values of Thatcher's conviction politics proved subversive (Marquand, 1989, p164). The existing tensions between economic liberalism and democratic socialism were, again, not new, but were merely a repetition of similar battles evidenced in nineteenth century Conservatism.

Since many local elections produced anti-government majorities in local government Thatcher deliberately set out to eradicate opposition within local government by consistently stripping back its powers. According to Seldon and Collings (2000, p76) Margaret Thatcher regarded local government as 'wasteful, unaccountable and ultimately undesirable'. They postulated further by claiming that cuts in local government grants were met by Labour-controlled authorities raising rates, justified by the rationale that many of their voters still qualified for rebates and that the subsequent financial burden fell on more affluent Conservative voters. This action was met with the response of 'rate capping' in 1985 which, compounded by the Local Government Scotland Act (1994), finally saw the creation of a local government with little fiscal policy-making role of its own. Traditional Conservatism recognises the importance of local representation (Evans, 1997, p58); therefore the New Right local government policies may be regarded as radical. This view may be debated since Thatcher's actions could be interpreted as following the principles of Conservatism in seeking to reduce the powers of the state. The policies that effectively shifted service provision to the private sector or into the community were another means to force individual rather than collective responsibility.

Thatcher saw society as competitive rather than collaborative. She regarded collectivism as the 'corroding culprit for both economic failure and moral decay' (Jenkins, 1989, p67). Local authorities were therefore severely marginalised to ensure that the welfare state was substantially reduced and social order was established via the open market.

The sale of council houses was followed by deregulation of public sector transport services via the Transport Act (1985), which evidenced the key New Right tenet of enterprise. The introduction of CCT in 1988 was the highpoint of interventionist strategies implemented by the Government to alter the role of Local Authorities. It effectively altered their role from one of service provider to one of 'enabler' and in so doing illustrated the most radical of Thatcher's policies. It is argued by Black (1993, p119), for example, that CCT significantly reduced the independence of local authorities, asserting that the New Right's aim of CCT was to challenge the monopolies within local government and roll back the state. An alternative view is that CCT increased the responsibilities of local government as a consequence of the essential planning, financing, monitoring and evaluation required by the managerialist policy. The economic goals of the New Right were not achieved as the CCT bids became less competitive and as a result prompted a review of its aims in the latter period of New Right governance in 1997.

The reduction of Local Authority power was not the only consequence of New Right managerialist policies such as CCT. Another significant consequence was the dilution of the traditional perspective of career-oriented public sector

professionalism (Pollitt, 1993, p82), a view supported by Houlihan (2001, p4) who suggested that the paradigm shift in public sector management:

> "...drew heavily on the perceived attributes of generic management with the consequence that broad-based management skills and qualities took precedence over service specific professional knowledge and skills."

The public sector professional's role was substantially changed from one highly involved in policy-making to that of service quality manager. This is clearly illustrated by Coalter (1990, p109) who stated that:

> "Rather than the development of an independent body of practitioners with a distinct social and professional philosophy, professionalisation is viewed in terms of increasingly efficient planning, administration and resource management. Such a perspective is concerned more with economic efficiency than effectiveness and even less with social equity."

Coalter (1990, p109) suggested that it is relationships with others that validates the status of the professional. It is likely that the shift to a generalist role in local government undermined the professional status of many of its managers. The constraints of CCT on the decision-making potential reduced the opportunity to exercise professional judgement or demonstrate autonomy, arguably key characteristics of professionalism. In an effort to maintain a professional status, some public sector managers may have given a positive response to managerialism. This would support a claim that the emerging model of professionalism was one borne out of defence.

The Tories introduced more than forty Local Government Acts during the 1980s that gradually increased central control at the expense of local autonomy (Kay, 1996, p88). The authoritarian management of local government between 1979 and 1997 resulted in local authorities being relegated to a peripheral role of Central Government servant, carrying out its bidding within increasingly constrained economic and political limits. In carrying out this strategy, Thatcher successfully achieved the one thing she purported to dislike - a central government that had more power than any previous government. In achieving that, she was radical by contravening the principles of traditional Conservatism.

The growing dissatisfaction with the economic and social policies within the Conservative Party culminated in Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher being ousted from office in November 1990. Many thought that the ensuing election of John Major as Prime Minister would merely realise a continuation of Thatcherism, Thatcherism being predominantly neo-liberal in nature. It was thought he would endorse the much documented free market and entrepreneurialism and, in relation to citizenship, a negative conception of freedom (i.e. freedom from constraints) whilst continuing to ignore the neo-liberal view that good fortune played a part in the market (Hayes, 1994, p62).

Whilst the new Prime Minister maintained the agenda of Thatcherism i.e. a market economy and social policies, he restated the 'indispensability' of Government to the provision of education, health and security, thus indicating a partial return to traditional Conservative principles. His self-initiated contribution

to the New Conservatism was the increased focus on the consumer and his/her rights. He did this by broadening the Thatcherite interpretation of citizenship to include public accountability to the consumer, an objective achieved through managerialist policies such as the Citizen's Charter which took Thatcherite reforms much further (Smith 1996, p164).

Such a policy was indicative of traditional Conservative scepticism returning to the New Right through the recognition that Government's view of society was not necessarily the right one, a position that Thatcher contradicted with her highly interventionist policies. Kay (1996, p90) argued that this was merely a means to 'vilify state service over private provision in the aim of self-interest' a view supported by Pierson (1996, p148) and Faulks (1998, p136) who also asserted that aspects of Major's citizenship were not new. The principle of consumer interest is, after all, the very essence of the marketing concept. The substance of the Citizen's Charter was tenuous as no additional resources to support its delivery were evidenced. Inappropriate comparisons were made with private sector equivalents, therefore John Major's perspective of citizenship was, as claimed, a party political ploy, not a long-term plan to create efficient and effective public services. Malcolm Bruce in Pierson (1996, p219), states: 'it is no consolation to people who go into the housing department [of the local authority] to be told politely, quickly, efficiently and courteously that there are no houses available to meet their demands'. Major placed an emphasis on the management of public services. Due to lack of Government investment, however, he did little to enhance their legitimacy in real terms. According to Norton (1996, p64):

> "In his political beliefs he (Major) was a fiscal conservative and a social liberal, but willing to be persuaded on issues and to subjugate his beliefs to what he saw as the greater good of the party."

Underpinning the philosophy of the Citizen's Charter was the concept of market testing, a fundamental principle of business enterprise. John Major based his reforms in education, health and welfare on this concept, each sector's performance being measured by consumers, whilst, at the same time, being pressurised to operate within tightening financial limits. A consequence of this was greater public awareness of the weakened state of public services, evidenced in public sector lobbying against public sector cuts. As public criticism was rising so too was the level of discontentment in commerce. Economic policy was criticised for the decline in manufacturing and the driving of trade overseas. The reduction in Britain's industrial base now focused greater attention on the nature of the workforce - 64 per cent of the British workforce have no vocational qualifications, compared with 26 per cent in Germany (Hutton, 1995, p5).

Derision at the failure of government to develop 'human capital' was asserted in Hutton's view (1995, p8) that "efforts at improvement are hamstrung by lack of resources and an inability to build a national consensus on training". This view may be partially rebuffed by the Conservative initiated development of Scottish/National Vocational Qualifications. Justification of the claims of under-resourcing, however, has been evidenced by the slow progress made in implementing these qualifications and the reticence with which they have been met

in individual organisations and across some industrial sectors (Beaumont, 1995, p43).

The New Right movement has been charged with creating a two-nation society during its eighteen years in Government. Jenkins (1989, p372) suggested that while one part of the nation lived within a market economy, in outer estates there was a local economy which subsisted entirely on state provision and 'administrative fiat'. Tax relief on mortgages and savings incentives such as TESSAs meant that those with higher incomes fared reasonably well under the New Right governance. These incentives were of little value to many council house tenants and as Jenkins (1989, p373) asserted, their level of income rose more slowly than their cost of living.

As previously stated, the striving for efficiency was at the cost of equity, whilst the creation of opportunities resulted in inequality. Both the consumer and industry embraced the neo-liberalist ideology with the paradoxical consequence of undermining the social order required to make the free economic market work, a view supported by Halsey (1989, p174): -

> "The resurgence of economic liberalism and not the recrudescence of the Militant Tendency is what threatens the social order at the end of the twentieth century"

The failure of the New Right to recognise the importance of 'community' until it was too late created as many losers in the enterprise culture as winners. The

reliance on the free market mechanism to establish social order reflected a Darwinist perspective of survival of the fittest (based on material/economic criteria). Too much emphasis was placed on winning and not enough on the positive outcomes of the experience. The anti-collectivist era has spawned a society in which many individuals will not participate unless they are guaranteed success at the end.

The legacy of Thatcher's Conservatism is an economic and socially ordered society which necessitates the continuation of highly interventionist strategies to re-introduce the cultural values necessary for the sustenance of social and economic order in the longer term. The New Right may have been radical in its methods, however its underpinning philosophy of social order through hierarchy was consistent with the traditions of old Conservatism. Supremacy over others remained the Conservative hegemony (Hutton, 1995, p4).

In adopting the ethos of a free market, the New Right set themselves the task of ensuring a balance between state welfare and market welfare if the optimum economic and social environment was to be maintained (Alcock, 1996, p16). By attempting to roll back the state, the New Right Conservatives upset that balance and therefore failed to create the optimum environment for successful individual and corporate enterprise. For neo-liberals the role of government is based on what they think the nature of public services *can* be, with the market providing the rest (Pratt, 1997, p35). The New Right, dominated by Thatcherism, failed to identify these public goods sufficiently early in their period of Government and, as a consequence, failed to temper what a government *should* be doing with what it *could* do. The

hegemony of the New Right gave way to vulnerability because it tried to create the impossible - a system of morality and social order based on individual and corporate enterprise. The exclusion of social sympathy and empathy was a fundamental flaw in New Right thinking and this weakness was a significant factor in the evolution of a 'two-nation' society.

Conclusion

The ethos of the New Right was based on monetarist economic principles. The free market mechanism was advocated as the mechanism through which society would be re-ordered. This Chapter drew comparisons between traditional Conservatism and New Right Conservatism whilst evaluating claims that the New Right was radical in its policies.

Traditional British Conservatism holds social order and rule of law at its heart and while change is inevitable, it should be gradual thus reflecting the view of society as an organism. The role of the State should be a limited, but important one, ensuring the maintenance of the social disciplines of capitalism. The tensions between the tenets of Conservatism and the incompatibility identified created a Conservative philosophy that is extremely flexible and open to interpretation. Both traditional Conservatism and New Right Conservatism supported the notion of hierarchy and social order, and therefore whilst the means to achieving this may have differed, there was nothing radical in the New Right ethos. The actions of the New Right merely exploited the flexibility in the Party's thinking. Although the New Right perspective of individualism may have been at odds with traditionalists,

ensuing policies were based on traditional objectives of social order and wealth creation. Indeed, many of the policies of privatisation were based on the traditional Conservative principle of a limited State role.

It has been stated that a fundamental aim of Conservatism is to retain its power in Government. New Right policies of home-ownership and Citizen's Charter were merely a means to fulfilling this aim. In pursuing managerialist and consumerist policies, rather than reducing the power of the State, the New Right succeeded in creating a central government which had more power than any previous government. Rather than enhancing the specialist perspective of public sector management, these policies substantially diluted it, so eroding the traditional role of the public sector professional. Additionally, the New Right failed to adhere to the traditional perspective that man's (*sic)* reason is unreliable and behaviour irrational and therefore the consequence of free enterprise was the creation of a two-nation, rather than one-nation society. Margaret Thatcher's attack on opposing collectives suggests that she was neither neo-liberalist nor neo-conservative. She was too liberalist, too uncompromising, too rootless and, ultimately, too powerful to be classed as either. Whilst initially meriting claims of being proactive, and thus radical in Conservative terms, the New Right regressed to the reactionary stance of traditional Conservatism justifying claims that the New Right were not so radical in nature after all. Supremacy over others has remained the hegemony of both traditional Conservatism and the neo-liberalist politics of the New Right.

The comparison of traditional and New Right Conservatism has provided the backdrop to policies instituted in Scotland. Increasingly centralist policies and free enterprise were the means through which a culture emerged which excluded social welfarism and distinct identities. This was of particular consequence for Scotland, where national pride and civic welfare were central to its culture. As the New Right's model of nationalism became more explicit so competing nationalisms were roused. This was evident in Scotland where, according to McCrone (1992, p209), "Thatcher's success in England had its counterpart in electoral unpopularity". The ensuing chapter will examine the Scottish dimension of New Right politics and, in particular, Scotland's reception to the New Right's economic and social policies.

Chapter Two The New Right in Scotland

Introduction

The preceding chapter identified a fundamental aim of Conservatism to be the perpetuation of power through the exploitation of 'every nook and cranny of the constitution' (Hutton, 1995, p32). The Thatcher Government enhanced its executive control of Parliament through such measures as increasing the number of office-holding MP's to over a hundred, these people being obliged to support the Government. Such measures and excessive application of centralised policies fuelled a renewed Scottish nationalism and a perception of threat to the constitution, thus compounding the two-nation perspective discussed in the previous chapter (MacCreadie, 1991, p45, Norton, 1996, p230); the north-south divide was real, rather than a metaphor (Jenkins, 1989, p330).

Little attention was paid to Scotland by the New Right (Mitchell, 1990, p123), which prompted questions in Scotland about the one-nation concept on which the New Right's centralisation approach was based. The basis of such concern was identified by McCrone, 1992, p172 and explained by Gamble (1994, p218) who stated that:

> "The Conservative nation now is no longer the nation of Empire and Nation. The appeal is directed much more towards England, and towards certain regions of England, the old metropolitan heartland of the Empire."

This view was supported further by McCrone (1992, p209) who argued that the Conservative notion of 'British nationalism' was 'an empty shell, or at least was indistuishable from English nationalism'. The lack of cognisance given to the distinctions in the Scottish political, economic and social environment, and the consequences of such action were evidenced in Scottish industry, education and local government in particular.

In the first instance this chapter examines those New Right policies which had particular consequences for Scotland. The discussion focuses on New Right involvement in Scotland and tensions between its policies and Scottish cultural characteristics. Particular attention is paid to the impact of New Right governance on Scottish industry, education and local government during the period 1979 - 97. The aim of this chapter is to identify how cultural and political dynamics shaped the environments in which leisure managers operate in Scotland.

Scotland and Traditional Conservative Principles

Law and Social Order

The previous chapter identified that traditional Conservatism purports that loyalty to the State and a limited role for the State are essential for the maintenance of social order. By not acknowledging in its policies the requirements for a distinctive role for the State in Scotland, New Right Conservatism unthinkingly reawoke the nationalist spirit of the Scottish people and thus inadvertently thwarted their efforts to apply traditional Conservative principles of one-nation and a limited role for government. In interpreting the concept of 'nation' as a reflection of

traditional Unionism i.e. sovereignty, the argument that Scotland has a right to determine its own future as part of the British nation is valid. The perceived imposition of UK, rather than Scottish policies, therefore robs Scotland of this right thus perpetuating antagonism towards New Right thinking.

One Nation

Scots regard themselves to be Scottish first and British second thus creating a culture that went against the 'one-nation' principle of Conservatism (McCrone, 1992, p198). The distinctiveness of Scotland is endorsed in more tangible terms in Scotland having its own executive, legislative and judicial branches of Government as well as its own education systems, media and aspects of religion (Kellas, 1989, p4, Mitchell, 1990, p131, Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p5). Dual-identity and political dimension therefore underpin Scottishness. The advocacy of British policies as opposed to distinct policies for Scotland (and other home-nations) created the portrayal of New Right Conservatives as anti-Scottish (Jenkins, 1989, p330). In allowing the anti-Scottish perception to grow and be maintained the Conservatives ignored the seeds of social disharmony which, as shall be discussed later, created the rocky foundation upon which New Right policies faltered.

Hierarchy

The policies relating to property acquisition and wealth creation have been a major focus of Scottish scepticism of Conservative ideology. Scotland is a country with substantial social divisions derived from the existence of both high wage levels and high levels of long-term unemployment. Whilst the problems created by this

are not especially distinctive, they could be claimed, nevertheless, to be more extreme. With high levels of unemployment fewer people were able to purchase property or be successful entrepreneurs. The forces of traditional Conservative social ordering were therefore not as powerful in Scotland as elsewhere, which consequently presented a weak foundation for New Right policies. Lack of understanding or acknowledgement of this scenario was cited by Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell (1991, p180) to evidence the Conservative ignorance of the needs of the majority in Scotland. The north/south divide was subsequently widened and eventually caused the New Right to assume a greater rather than lesser State role in Scottish affairs (Brown, McCrone & Paterson, 1996, p42). Social order was therefore driven by government intervention rather than liberal individualism.

The New Right and Thatcherism in Scotland

The apparent tension between traditional Conservative principles and Scottish cultural attributes limited the potential for Conservative success in Scotland. This tension was exacerbated by the imposition of New Right values of individualism, self-sufficiency, loyalty, enterprise and independence (Kay, 1996, p90). The fact that Margaret Thatcher was a woman, bossy and English was argued by Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) to have further disadvantaged the New Right Government. Such a notion suggests that Scotland was not only parochial and consensual but also patriarchal thus supporting Meek's (Interview 15. 6/2/02) thesis that patrician Tories of previous eras, such as Harold McMillan, were more easily accepted by the Scottish populous. This is evidenced in the Conservative Party's

electoral history in Scotland which, according to Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02), was quite unique: -

> " The Conservative Party is the oldest Party in Scotland and there is something very curious about it. It is the only Party, which has ever managed to get more than 50% of the Scottish vote. Now you will find that extraordinary when you think that there is great swathes of Labour MPs and MSPs and all the rest of it, but Labour never had 50% of the Scottish vote. They normally come in at about 47% - 48% and the first past the post system just connives to give them the seats. In 1951 the Conservatives got 50.7% of the Scottish vote and so it's a strange historical fact that only the Tories have ever had a majority in voting terms in Scotland which is amazing.. So we almost, if you like, start from that point because that was the days of Harold McMillan, who was followed by Douglas Home, who was followed by Edward Heath and so it went on."

Margaret Thatcher had, according to Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) 'great difficulty in understanding the kind of social history of Scotland' which welcomed old Conservative patriarchy in the form of benevolence and beneficence. Thus the replacing of paternalism and deference by winners and losers (Evans, 1997, p49) generated a more negative response in Scotland than England.

The Scottish perception of New Right Conservatism was, according to Marr (1995, p168) that Thatcherism "was viscerally and intellectually opposed to the post-war Scottish consensus" and was "characterised by the domination of the public sector and a quasi-socialist tone in urban public life generally". A cultural tradition in Scotland has long been one of consensus and corporatism (Hutton, 1995, p28, Paterson, 1993, p3, Findlay, 1998, p113). In their attempts to be radical in the destruction of a dependency culture, the New Right contradicted the Conservative

tenet of tradition by seeking to 'slay the dragon of collectivism' (Hutton, 1995, p28). It was the clash of such an action with Scottish culture that empowered Scotland's political nationalism.

An underpinning source of discontent amongst Scots was the challenge by the new Conservatism to the investment Scotland had made in economic and social consensus from the post-war period until the Conservatives came to power in 1979. In the years prior to 1979 a collectivist approach to welfare and a focus on national and regional planning and high public spending had evolved in Scotland, and it was this approach and inherent strategies that Scotland saw being challenged by the economic policies of the New Right. This view was further explained by Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell (1991, p18) who stated:-

> "Government economic strategy in the 1980s had important implications for Scotland. With high unemployment and poverty, higher levels of public employment and public housing tenure and an outdated industrial structure, Scotland was affected by the reduction in intervention, subsidy and many categories of social expenditure. Changes in welfare benefits had a direct effect on Scotland's households. The failure to increase many benefits in line with average earnings excluded many from the increased national prosperity of the late 1980s. Increasingly, these issues have come to be seen as territorial, rather than in purely class or sectoral terms, strengthening the sense of Scottish identity and it political significance."

This analysis makes clear that the policies of the New Right were in conflict with Scottish collectivist conventions. According to Fry (1987, p251) it was the threat to 'the machinery built for collectivism' which was a key worry for Scots.

Collectivism as an identifiable part of Scottish political culture highlighted the conflict between New Right politics and Scottish culture.

Margaret Thatcher's philosophy was that in order to strengthen Scotland she had to make it less dependent on the State, her assumption being that Scots enjoyed a culture of dependence and that, consequently, the Scottish spirit of enterprise was latent (Norton, 1996, p231). Such an assumption prompts the question of who were, in fact, the dependants who were constraining Scotland - the working class or middle class? One view purported by Midwinter at al (1991, p166) was that it was those people reliant on subsidies who were the dependants. This was supported by Paterson (1994, p165) who stated that "only the secure middle class can easily afford to weaken the safety which an efficient bureaucracy has seemed to offer".

An alternative perspective is that it was the middle-classes that had become dependent because such was their power of influence in the collectivist machinery that their continued prosperity depended on it. A more realistic stance is that both tiers of Scottish society were dependent on the existing political machinery remaining intact, each having their separate advantages to protect. Scotland is said to be a corporate society, a society which, having achieved a high level of self-governance, found itself subject to increased central state powers (Brown, McCrone, & Paterson, 1996, pp42 & 95). The imposition of centralised control conflicted with the Scottish sense of responsibility towards the civic role which traditionally administered a welfare system formed by notions of citizenship and democracy rather than the dictats of the market (Hutton, 1995, p307).

The apparent significant reliance on the welfare state was at the root of Scottish antagonism towards the market-driven ideology of the New Right. Scotland, for example, had a larger share of rented housing and, therefore, Scotland had more to lose than other parts of Britain. Only a minority could afford to take advantage of the sale of council houses whilst a great many were being affected by cuts in benefit.

From this scenario evolved an increasing perception that the needs of the majority of the Scottish population were not being met, nor were the people being consulted, and thus the New Right's perspective that they were a 'People's Party' was deemed invalid by the Scottish populace. The anti-collectivist approach was again at odds with the type of majority dominance evident in Scottish culture at the time. An authoritarian populist approach was clearly not appropriate to the Scottish political or social situation.

Margaret Thatcher met opposition from within her own Party in Scotland in attempting to introduce New Right policies. Indeed, few of the Scottish Conservative MP's supported her. George Younger, the Secretary of State at the time, was noted for his unwillingness to implement Thatcher policies (Brown, McCrone & Paterson, 1998,p100). He was from the old patrician style of Conservatives and Thatcher viewed him as having 'gone native' (Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02). Both George Younger and his successor Malcolm Rifkind fought against the closure of Ravenscraig steelworks, although they lost the battle in 1992 when the works were closed. Ian Lang, Peter Fraser and Michael Ancram,

backbenchers in 1979, were also critical of Thatcher's leadership in the early years of New Right governance (Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p25).

The traditional Conservative aim of maintaining power remained the focus of Scottish Conservatives and therefore policies, which were likely to upset the majority of the electorate, were seen as a threat to continued Conservative governance in Scotland. Younger regarded his key task to be keeping Scotland quiet, recognising that the implementation of policies which the Scottish people were dead set against might only rekindle nationalist passions thus increasing anti-Conservative feelings in Scotland (Fry, 1987, p251). It was Thatcher's view that " Tory electoral failure in Scotland was accounted for by the lack of Thatcherite rigour in the Scottish Office rather than its surplus" (Midwinter, Keating, & Mitchell, 1991, p25). Disappointment in her 'wet' Secretaries of State was redressed by pleasure in the election of Michael Forsyth as MP for Stirling in 1983. Thatcher saw him as 'one of us', his views closely mirroring those of her own, as Humes (1995, p113) explained: -

> "Forsyth saw the dominance of the Labour party in Scotland, most evident at local government level, as profoundly damaging. In his view, paternalism was coupled with inefficiency – evident, for example, in housing policy - and the result was a social malaise in which citizens had little opportunity to exercise choice or take on responsibility. A 'dependency culture' had developed which was harmful both to individuals and to society as a whole."

Thatcher personally appointed Michael Forsyth as a junior Scottish Office Minister in 1987. Over the next ten years he became the driving force of New Right ideology in Scotland until he failed to retain his seat in the 1997 General

Election. There is little doubt that Forsyth was a dominant political and personal force during his time in office (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/03, Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02). He followed Thatcher's general suspicion of the autonomy of civil society, regarding it as a source of corporatist conspiracy against the individual consumer. He eroded the independence of agencies that were the bulwark of Scotland's autonomy in the welfare state (McCrone, Brown & Paterson, 1998, p61, Midwinter, 1995, p58, Humes, 1995, p113).

The autocratic style with which Michael Forsyth attempted to implement Thatcher's policies in Scotland undermined his success. His style was recognised as a distinct disadvantage by his Scottish peers. According to Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02): -

> "One of the difficulties we faced as a Party was Michael Forsyth because Michael Forsyth was seen as the enforcer. He was the guy who was told to go and get on with it. I worked for him for couple of years. He was an amazing chap, I've never known anyone with so much manic energy. He was a slight man, who must have only slept for about two hours or something, because he had about thirteen different ideas every day. I've never met anyone in politics quite like him. He was driven. Not all the things he did were bad either.....But he was not good, nor was Mrs Thatcher, at actually being able to persuade the Scots that this was the direction they should go in."

The New Right attack on the 'dependency culture' in Scotland was evidenced not just in welfare reform, but also in industry and education as a failure to create a culture of individual responsibility and enterprise. To examine this aspect it is appropriate to return to the objectives of restoring the economy and strengthening the State (Gamble 1994, p227).

Restoration of the Economy – Industry in Scotland

The monetarist perspective held by the New Right resulted in what was arguably a paternalist role of Government being replaced by enforced individual economic responsibility (Evans, 1997, p49). The consequences were greater in Scotland because of problems such as the high tax burden. The implementation of a market-driven 'winners and losers' scenario realised a collapse in the manufacturing base and a substantial drop in investment. Given that there had been a high State involvement in Scottish industry, the blame for the collapse was placed firmly with the Conservative Party. This blame was rebuffed by Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) who claimed that the difficulties in industry existed before the Conservatives came to power in 1979. According to Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) it was in the preceding period of Labour governance that things were most difficult: -

> "After Heath lost in '73 we went through this very strong Labour period when Wilson and Callaghan were running governments, where you had, in Scotland, Wullie Ross as the Secretary of State, who was a kind of, I think, a Governor General sent from London. Although he hated Scottish Nationalists, and hated Tories, he was a hugely powerful figure. He ran the Scottish Office like a provincial government of a colony. So the Scots were, if you like, almost cut off from a lot of what was happening in England. We were also going through a very difficult industrial period, as you will know, because all of the industries which were Scotland's pride when I was a boy were all in terminal decline – ship building, coal mining, heavy engineering – all of these things. So, Scotland was faced with a very difficult choice. Remember some of the things we tried; we tried to make our own cars, we tried to make the Hillman Imps at Linwood and that kind of thing. A disaster. .....Every time there was a review of pits you always knew there was another five pits who were going to come out. So, Scotland went through a really traumatic time in my view during the Wilson/Callaghan years and it was very difficult and a lot of people lost their jobs. It was the start of a huge rise in unemployment."

Perhaps surprisingly Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) supported Meek's interpretation that Scotland's industrial decline began prior to 1979, although, less surprisingly, she claimed that decline was becoming evident even before the Labour Government came into power in 1973. According to her it was during the time when Edward Heath's Conservative government was in power that instability set in. In speaking about Glasgow Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) claimed: -

> "..between 1975 and the mid 1980s. even before that, maybe the late 1960s, early 70s right through, we, in a period of twenty years, lost everything that made this city great, in terms of our profile. We were thought of as the industrial heartland of Scotland....and that took a long time to build up. In ten to fifteen years we lost it all. When I was a girl there were seventy-two shipyards in the Clyde, now there's two..."

Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) developed his argument by asserting that Scotland had become isolated from what was happening elsewhere before the New Right came into power. He insisted that Margaret Thatcher was merely trying to encourage the same greater economic efficiency in Scotland's industry as she was in industry elsewhere. There is some support for this notion in Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) belief that some of the things Thatcher did "could be said required to be done". It was her conviction and intervention that generated antagonism. She set about creating a new Scottish industrial climate in a pragmatic manner. Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) explains: -

> "she [Thatcher] came to Scotland and she listened to all the woes about Scottish engineering, that we've not received enough help in preserving the traditional industries and she said 'that's a lot of rubbish, you don't want to preserve an industry just because it's a tradition, you have to have a lean industry'.

Whilst Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) acknowledged that Thatcher didn't handle the situation very well and that this engendered resistance from those with 'entrenched interests in keeping the industrial structure the way it was', the voice of resistance was not a forceful one. The reason for this was the revolution was very much confined to industry and as Bell, (1984, p17) explained: -

> "It did not cause a reordering of the power structure of Scottish society. Thus industrialists never became a dominant force in Scottish politics. Therefore, unlike other industrial nations which have been forced to change their institutions and aspirations, Scotland has tended to a position where those who use their advocacy to support the cause of greater industrial efficiency and production have been heavily outweighed by the apathy and hostility of other sections of society."

The major effects of the loss of control of these traditional industries were two fold - the rise in unemployment and the subsequent creation of a substantial barrier to economic development and growth, self-sufficiency and independence, key aims of New Right governance. The reduction in the manufacturing sector left Scotland's economy in a weak position, a relationship acknowledged by the Scottish Office (1988, p29) when it stated that "the health of the Scottish economy is closely linked to the performance of its manufacturing sector".

The Scottish economy was already starting to decline prior to the New Right being elected to government. Such decline was attributed to a slowing down of the world economy and compounded by a rise in the exchange rate just as North Sea oil came into production (Ingham & Love, 1983, p23, Mitchell, 1990, p106). New Right exploitation of North Sea oil gave rise to Scotland bearing as many costs as

benefits as a consequence of the impact on the exchange rate. By boosting the value of the pound overseas British exports became even less competitive and such effects were more extreme in Scotland than in England. Such action was further evidence of unitarist, rather than unionist New Right thinking. New Right policies affected Scottish industry even more detrimentally than south of the border because of the linkage and multiplier effect. The decline in steel making, for example, affected those companies in the supply chain, not least of all the mining industry. Reduction in investment in plant, equipment and people, and inefficiencies compounded by restrictive union practices resulted in many firms becoming 'losers' in the New Right market-driven economy.

The multiplier effect was further realised in higher transport costs, small plants being too small to reduce costs further, and the high proportion of branch plants existing in Scotland increasing their vulnerability (Ingham & Love, 1983, p25). The move from Keynesian economics to a monetarist stance was the means through which plants such as Linwood and Bathgate, and latterly Ravenscraig met their demise. The New Right did little to retrieve the situation since plants such as Linwood etc. were seen as 'monuments to interventionism' (Fry, 1987, p252) and, as such, were the antithesis of the New Right vision. Furthermore, the Thatcherite perception of a Scottish dependency culture and low electoral support further detracted from New Right attention given to the consequences of their policies in Scotland. The subsequent evolution of a two-nation industrial society, with disproportionate negative consequences for Scotland, was recognised by Brown,

McCrone & Paterson (1998, p76) and by Lewis & Townsend (1989, p53) who stated:

> "...what has emerged is.... a politics of inequality wherein certain groups, such as unionised labour, unskilled and traditionally-skilled manual workers, public-sector employees, inner-urban residents and the working population in the industrial 'north' have been required to bear the main costs and destructive aspects of restructuring; while other groups, particularly the private-sector professional managerial, technical, scientific and clerical classes, especially in the 'south' have been the chief beneficiaries of the government's economic programme."

The New Right's adherence to market-force ideology created an imbalance between social costs and benefits and industrial costs and benefits.

Although government economic strategies failed to halt the decline in Scotland's manufacturing industries, financial institutions benefited from the New Right's deflationary measures. This situation, according to Harvie (1994, p202) compounded the weakening of the Union because the financial world was 'unconcerned either with the 'trickling-down' of wealth to the lower orders, or any such notion of society being held together by sympathy'. This view was supported by Lewis & Townsend (1989, p53) who argued that the New Right affiliated themselves with high technology, financial services and internationally tradeable business services. They saw this as a means of re-establishing Britain in the international economy and simultaneously fulfilling the aim of restoring economic life, a key objective of New Right thinking.

The shift to a service-based, market-driven economy highlighted the fundamental weaknesses in the New Right industrial policy. Scotland's economy was heavily dependent on the food, drink, tobacco and construction industries (Scottish Office, 1988, pp21 & 29, Pollard, 1992, p398). With the erosion of the government support mechanism for industrial growth the manufacturing supply chain to these services was economically inefficient and thus weakened the viability of the New Right's 'new economy'. In addition, the effect of the exchange rate on the value of the pound overseas compounded the rising costs since the supply chain in Scotland had foreign components. The lack of relevant supply-side economic policies implemented by the New Right threatened the sustenance of demand. This was partly explained by Savage & Robins (1990, p43) who stated that it was:

> "..one of the most basic dilemmas of Thatcherism in 1990 that these high interest rates, needed to control the inflationary tendencies of the late 1980s, will also depress much needed overall investment in the supply-side of the policy."

It was not only the commercial sector that was affected by New Right policy. Whilst manufacturing was considerably reduced, service based industries were also affected. Nationalised industries became inefficient in static and dynamic perspectives, a situation attributed to the frequent overruling by the government striving for "short-term political gains" and investment policies based on more global, macro-economic influences (Parker, 1993, p226). Nationalised industries such as British Aerospace and British Steel were privatised and immediately became more vulnerable to the power of the market, although Bishop & Kay (1988, p82) argued that the businesses concerned became more operationally efficient.

Nevertheless, the increased vulnerability led to the closure of Ravenscraig steelworks, Lanarkshire, in 1992 thereby compounding the unemployment situation in a geographical area already classed as economically deprived.

With higher levels of unemployment fewer people in Scotland were able to exploit the deregulation capitalism (Faulks (1998, p113) which underpinned New Right facilitation of wealth creation. The sale of council houses was an integral part of the process of restoring the economy. The policy proved to be much less successful in Scotland with just 5 percent of houses being sold in Scotland in comparison to 15 per cent in England and Wales (Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p174). Those taking advantage of house purchasing were skilled workers thus reinforcing traditional social ordering rather than restructuring social order via entrepreneurialism. Consequently the reliance on welfare, or the culture of dependency as Thatcher perceived it, was maintained rather than eroded thus further undermining attempts to restore the Scottish economy.

Public sector policies such as competitive tendering also attempted to influence the nature of the service sector. New Right desire to reduce state monopoly, drive down wages and reduce public expenditure provided significant justification for the contracting out of government services and deregulation of state activities. The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1988 legislated for the submission of various public services to competitive tender and consequently altered the role of local authorities from one of service provider to service enabler. This opened the door for commercial sector stakeholding in public services, a situation that

contradicted traditional Scottish values of civic welfare and collectivism (Fry, 1987, p251).

Scottish corporatism provided the means through which Scottish local authorities attempted to resist the consequences of CCT by putting such a substantial range of services together in one tender that few commercial companies were motivated to bid. Whilst a limited number of tenders were awarded to commercial companies, the majority of the tenders were won by companies set up by the local authority i.e. Direct Service Organisations (DSO) (Stevens & Green, 2002, p130). This, in effect, eroded the unity within local authorities and achieved New Right aims of reducing local government power and introducing a commercial ethos into public sector services.

As the range of services put out to tender was increased, the number of private companies set up by local authorities increased. The reorientation to economic rather than social outputs placed local authority services such as leisure in more direct competition with the commercial sector. The increased competition between public and commercial organisations was further compounded by the effects of Government support in the development of small and medium enterprises (SME's) through the Enterprise Area policy. The product and price range of commercial organisations widened, whilst economic constraints necessitated price increases in public sector services (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01).

Restoration of the Economy – Education in Scotland

The previously stated view that Scotland differs in identity, polity and self-perception is often exemplified by its education system (Humes 1986, p5, McPherson & Raab, 1988, p37, Kellas, 1989, p230, Paterson, 1994, p126, Paterson,1998, p7). The 1707 Union ensured protection of a distinct Scottish system and consequently provided a long-lasting mechanism for self -governance which came to be a focus of attack under the New Right government (McCrone, 1992, p172, Humes, 1995, p122, Paterson, 1997, pp139 & 147, Paterson, 1998, p7).

The importance of education to achieving the aims of the New Right was illustrated by Brownstein (1989, p11) who stated that:

> "The thrust of the government's proposals is to transform the education system into an instrument whose primary utility to the country will be to turn out trained fodder for the capitalist machine."

This notion was further endorsed by Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) who identified the increasing significance of qualifications with regard to 'life-chances' and that there was:-

> "rightly or wrongly, a strong association between a strong education system and strong economy. So both these things conspired to make education and training a fairly high political priority from about early to mid-80s onwards".

The New Right recognised the significance of Scottish consensus in resisting its policies and values. It therefore set out to break the consensus within Scottish

education politics (MacKenzie, 1999, p89) through instillation of a consumerist culture into education via education management reforms. Efforts were made by Government to influence the policy communities in Scottish education by putting its supporters into influential positions within these communities, or, as Paterson (1997, p147) suggested, by disregarding the traditional channels of communication. This was met with some resistance within the Scottish Office itself (Tuck, Interview 14 5/2/99). According to Tuck (Interview 14 5/2/99) the increasing political interest in education posed challenges for the Education Ministry at the Scottish Office:-

> "They had to work hard to preserve its independence or relative autonomy and that wasn't just self-seeking. It was because officials in the DFEE, as it is now known, often made the mistake of forgetting that it wasn't just in England and therefore policies with a UK stamp on it would appear at the quite late final draft stage and the Scottish Office had two days to comment. It is that kind of thinking that I think began to sting the Scottish office officials to want to take steps to preserve their degree of policy autonomy. And so it goes on to this day in the Scottish Parliament to some extent. Even now in training policy there are Scottish Office/DFEE tensions in the sense that there is always a tendency to forget Scotland's different."

Michael Forsyth, appointed Junior Scottish Office Minister in 1987, was the principle advocate, or enforcer, of New Right policies in Scotland. Forsyth regarded the Scottish policy-making community as the backbone of consensus in Scottish education policy and worked hard to erode its power. He brought in a series of reforms affecting all sectors of education: creation of school boards, opportunity for schools to opt out of local authority control, national testing, devolved school management, removal of F.E. from Regional control, and teacher appraisal. He also modified the role of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools to

reduce their impact on policy-making. Underpinning these reforms were the principles of choice, competition and accountability, components of Thatcherite consumerism.

There is no doubt that increased centralisation of control of education affected the nature of Scottish consensus. That schools no longer exclusively served their local communities was seen as an erosion of Scottish civic responsibility by Bryce and Humes (1999, p41), an argument which supported MacKenzie's (1999, p91) thesis that New Right policies actually destroyed the old consensus. Pignatelli (in Humes & MacKenzie, 1994, p86) and Weir (1999, p279) argued against this in their perspectives that the consensus remains, albeit in an altered form. They suggested that Scottish consensus and tradition of partnership protected Scottish education from the most negative effects of New Right reform and adopted its positive aspects to ensure Scottish needs were met. Scottish consensus may have been altered but not to the detriment of its overall power and in this, New Right liberalism was successfully resisted, a view supported by Weir (1999, p279) who stated: -

> "For a long time the intimate educational community in Scotland has been aware of its ability to subvert those intentions of a Westminster government which were not supported by the Scottish people..... no matter how determined the government was to bring a 'manpower' solution to the secret garden of education....there was an equally determined alliance of representative bodies of Scottish local government, trade unions and professionals which could ensure that the more acceptable features of Scottish education ....still dominate the school curriculum."

The scrutiny of New Right policies by the Scottish education community increased during the period 1979 – 97. According to Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99): -

> "....particularly in the 80s and 90s there was a reasonably strong consensus about the overall values which then enabled policy-making to take place in a reasonably consensual way. Although I think that the atmosphere of suspicion, which had begun to emerge during the latter half of the Conservative administration, meant that even proposals that were intended to be benign were looked at very carefully and suspiciously before the education community said 'well, yes, we accept that proposal."

The apparent authoritarianism in education, exerted on behalf of the New Right by Michael Forsyth, placed Thatcherism at the centre of educational policy-making, rather than at its periphery. Until the mid-1980s there hadn't been a strong political interest in education (Tuck, Interview 14, 5/2/99). Aspects of managerial reform, particularly school management, failed to substantially alter the collectivist traditions of Scottish education. Curriculum reform was, arguably, more successful in progressing the aims of New Right ideology. This was illustrated in the government's introduction of vocationalism into education, another key policy through which the New Right sought to instil the values of independence and self sufficiency. Vocationalism was seen as fundamental to the capitalist requirements of New Right understanding of social order, participative citizenship and economic regeneration. In this regard Watts (1985, p15) asserted that intrinsic educational values were subordinated to the extrinsic need to provide tickets to employment.

The initial focus for a vocationalist policy in Scotland was Further Education and specific training schemes were introduced through Government funded

initiatives. These training schemes were seen as a move to reduce the high levels of unemployment created by the New Right's economic policies and also as a means by which to increase the skill level of the workforce. By attacking the welfare state the New Right aimed to make working a necessity. The government assumed that the population would welcome a vocationalist underpinning to the education curriculum, thus putting pressure on decision-making communities within Scottish education.

The New Right's introduction of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) bypassed the usual channels of Scottish Government. The policy was legislated for through the Industrial Training Act 1981, which abolished sixteen of the Industrial Training Boards and replaced them with Non-Statutory Voluntary Organisations. The pressure to implement TVEI in Scotland was immense. The policy-making community (Scottish Education department, local government, teachers unions, representatives from key education agencies) exercised its powers however, and successfully blocked the implementation of TVEI for a year, during which time the Scottish Education Department introduced its own initiative (Paterson, 1994, p125). According to Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) ; -

> "Even TVEI... was really sort of quite tamed by the Scottish educational system to make, in a sense, vocational purposes, but always general vocational purposes.....It left itself open for a general soft interpretation that could be incorporated into some Scottish traditions about breadth of general education."

In 1983 the publication of *16-18s in Scotland: An Action Plan,* which subsequently became the *16+ Action Plan in Scotland*, set out a strategy for vocational education and training in Scotland that led to the creation of the Awarding Body the 'Scottish Vocational Education Council' (SCOTVEC) in 1985. The creation of the Action Plan was purported by some, most notably Humes (1999, p77) to be 'a defence against English intrusion', thus supporting the view that democratic will was a key force in resisting attacks by Thatcherism. This view was supported by Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) who claimed the Action Plan was "really as a way of seeing off the MSC". In contrast, Halliday (1999, p589) argued that the creation of SCOTVEC could be interpreted as a subversive move to dilute Scottish consensus under cover of national identity. This is refuted by Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) who asserted that Scottish consensus was, in fact, strong and that it was merely exploiting the SCOTVEC mechanism because it had nothing else. It was not accepting vocationalism wholeheartedly. Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) stated: -

> "I'm not sure that there ever was much time for vocationalism in school education in Scotland. .....In Scotland you certainly had the use of SCOTVEC modules mainly in S5 and S6 but also in S3, S4, but, in the main, these weren't particularly vocational. They were just really, as it were, general education based and the main reason schools used them was they had nothing else for S5 and S6 who were now staying on but weren't capable of doing Highers. So I think it's only relatively recently with the kind of 'education of work' policy that there has been a very conscious attempt to make schools more vocational. ...The thrust of the Action Plan was largely to solve FE issues...."

What the creation of both mechanisms achieved was a contribution in 'raising Scottishness from mythical status to consciousness (Brown, McCrone & Paterson, 1996, p36, Mackenzie, 1999, p91).

The Vocational Education Training (VET) policy was another example of a British policy created in response to English problems, rather than Scottish problems (Raffe, 1993, p55), reinforcing the view that the New Right under Thatcherism was more unitary rather than Unionist in its thinking. The New Right's apparent ignorance of potential differences in need existing north and south of the border, contributed to a level of resistance to TVEI by the Scottish education community. In attempting to implement a centralist vocational education policy as a means to achieving economic goals the New Right inadvertently provided another source of antagonism between Scotland and Government.

The desire to achieve economic goals through a paradigm shift in educational philosophy led to education becoming engulfed in the enterprise culture with 'parents and pupils as consumers' (Kay 1997, p15). Professional bodies such as the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) saw vocationalism as undermining the universality of Scottish education (Paterson, 1994, p127). As Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) suggested in discussing Further Education, the power of the student as consumer now strongly influences the nature of FE qualifications rather than the Scottish education policy-making community or the industrial community. This aspect has a particular significance for the professionalisation of industries, including leisure.

Scottish Further and Higher Education

The distinctive, consensual approach to policy formulation and educational management was clearly evident in the Further Education sector. The management

of Further Education was under the control of Local Government and consequently reinforced the strength of local government and Scottish identity at a local level. The managerialist strategies, in particular, substantially affected the management of Further Education (F.E.). The Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act 1992 brought both these sectors of education under centralised control of the Scottish Office. It removed F.E. colleges from the management of the Regional Councils and put the funding of Higher Education into the domain of a new body - the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council (SHEFC). Further Education colleges became incorporated bodies managed locally by college-appointed (but Scottish Office approved) Boards of Management; a move argued to bring education policy decision-making in Scotland closer to the control of central Government. The move was also seen as an attack on the power of Regional Councils (Tuck, Interview 14, 5/2/99).

A counter-argument is that through incorporation colleges were granted greater autonomy than had been given under Regional Council control and that they have blossomed as a consequence (Tuck, Interview 14, 5/2/99). The resultant real-cost burden, however, would seem to have increased the reliance of colleges on Scottish Executive support since the majority of colleges have not been able to bear the real costs of operations under incorporated status. Failure to meet financial targets set by central government has, as in the case of Reid Kerr College, been addressed by direct intervention in the management of the college by the Scottish Executive. Whilst autonomy may be seen to have been given, penalty for failure has resulted in greater intervention and financial stringency. Incorporation brought

centralised regulation of college budgets and how these budgets were spent. This situation mirrored the New Right's approach in the management of local councils. The degree of decentralised power granted was therefore much less than purported by central government. This increase in Government power through such a centralist policy contradicted the New Right's tenet of a limited role for the State.

The ethos of the 1992 Act brought market-forces to bear on education design and delivery with increased emphasis on accountability to customers (Fairley & Paterson, 1995, p15, Halliday, 1996, p67); a mechanism through which social order in the tertiary education community was to be established. One difficulty for Further Education management especially, arising from placing education in the market place, lay in identifying the customers and as a consequence faced potential difficulties in setting the strategic objectives of the Further Education 'business'. New Right economic policies suggested that the customers were the consumers of the education programmes i.e. the students. An alternative view is that the customer or client was, and remains, the Scottish Office, which controls the budgets for Further and Higher Education institutions and that colleges were merely the contractors. The consequential increasing competitiveness and fragmentation of the F.E. supports Fairley's view (1996, p57) that consumer demand is the driver of development. Economic survival has become a driving force in Scottish Further Education development which adds credence to Hutton's view (1995, p310) that the enterprise culture of the New Right allowed education to be dominated by 'gentlemanly capitalists'. Market-place ideology has required that emphasis on specific aspects of the marketing-mix (product, price, place, promotion, people,

process, and physical environment) be increased i.e. that promotion and price be prioritised above product.

With survival dependent upon revenue rather than solely upon grant allocation, it would seem that Further Education colleges have been transformed into agencies. The Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act 1992 defines the contract and SCOTVEC (now the SQA) prescribes and controls the quality assurance mechanisms relating to course design, delivery and management. Audit has become the 'god' of institutional success (Fairley & Paterson, 1995, p13), the demands and constraints of which contradict market-place ideology, thus highlighting a tension between the two New Right policies. The Scottish tradition of consensus and corporatism has been detrimentally affected by the competitive individualism arising from the financial demands of the new incorporated status, thus undermining the strength and autonomy of Scottish Further Education.

It seems that the degree of power conferred through incorporation has outweighed the local power of Scottish consensus and corporatism and resulted in the isolation of colleges at a local level. According to Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) the New Right offered a lead to FE through its incorporation policy and although it was resisted it's "now pretty well accepted". Whilst the New Right may have partially succeeded in breaking the local collective power of the Further Education community, the disorder created by competitive individualism shows the managerialist education policy to have undermined the New Right goal of social order (McPherson and Raab, 1988, p39). In the post-incorporation further education

sector, colleges are faced with the paradox of collaboration and competition and, as Leech stated (1999, p52) excessive managerialism 'stifled creativity and dialogue and undermined the professionalism of lecturing staff' which, in turn, 'led to industrial relations problems'.

Whilst Further Education bore the brunt of the consequences of New Right managerialist policies, Higher Education was also affected. The New Right government did not really know what it wanted from Higher Education, only that it knew what it disliked about it (McLean, 1990, p161). The paradox facing the government was that whilst it 'disliked' Higher Education it was, according to McLean (1990, p162) difficult to deny that the sector was 'extremely efficient'.

Intent on introducing the notion of enterprise as widely as possible, the difficulty facing the Government was how to introduce competition into a sector of which it was the main funder. As in the case of local government, the New Right turned to a managerialist approach. In 1994 a process of quality auditing was introduced into Higher Education (in line with processes of accountability in Further Education (Jenkins, 1995, p153). Research funding was allocated via the Research Assessment Exercise, a process deemed to quantify the inherently unquantifiable (Jenkins, 1995, p133). This was an attempt by Government to place universities under greater State political control through funding mechanisms and thus provide a route through which the Government could impose its vocational policies. The movement of Higher Education into the political arena (originating with Kenneth Baker in 1986 as Minister for Education) saw a new balance having to be struck

between the vocational aspects brought about by the re-designation of polytechnics and the academic perspectives of the traditional universities.

The setting up of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, chaired by Sir Ron Dearing exemplified this point. The publication of what became known as the Dearing Report in July 1997 brought recommendations for greater unification of Further and Higher Education, and for greater opportunity to progress from one sector to the other. This is stated explicitly in the recommendations of the Scottish Committee of Inquiry, chaired by Sir Ron Garrick, (THES, July 25, 1997) which as part of the Dearing Report states in its first recommendation that:

> "We recommend to providers of higher education programmes in Scotland, the quality Assurance Agency, the Scottish Qualifications Authority and the Scottish Advisory Committee on Credit and Access that they should together consider and adopt an integrated qualifications framework based around level of study and Scottish Credit Accumulation and Transfer Scheme credit points."

As such, there was a requirement for greater integration of vocational and academic perspectives, thus supporting Jenkins' (1995, p134) view that:

> "The Thatcher and Major governments centralised power over the content and organisation of education in a way that seemed the antithesis of everything for which Conservatives traditionally stood.....They had imposed the will of government on a previously diverse system to make it more uniform. They had done so with draconian powers over the organisation and content of education that a future government might use to further quite different ends from its own. This was the real irony."

The Dearing Report highlighted the fact that polytechnics had not so much become universities, but that universities were being 'encouraged' to become more polytechnic in nature. This was evidenced in recommendation 18 of the Report (THES, July 25, 1997) which stated that "institutions should...identify opportunities to increase the extent to which programmes help students to become familiar with work...."

A fundamental distinctiveness of Scottish education lies in the pluralist approach to education policy decision-making. Similarities of structure arising out of New Right educational policies were not seen as a dilution of Scottish educational distinctiveness partly because the insular nature of Scottish education did not easily facilitate discourse across the Scottish border (Kellas, 1989, p227). It was this pluralist tradition which conflicted most with New Right strategies to implement its policies. In summarising the influence of the New Right government on Scottish education Tuck (Interview 14, 5/2/99) stated: -

> "I think...the Conservative government had a strong influence on the organisation and management of schools and FE colleges. Most of that probably worked and some didn't. In terms of curriculum and qualifications Scotland has largely pursued it's own agenda and at the end of that period remains just as distinct from England as it was before, in some ways perhaps more so. I think that in many ways, without being at all complacent, Scotland for its size is able to pursue certain kinds of goals in terms of bringing the system together into a single comprehensive whole that England and Wales would probably adopt if they could. So that far from Scotland being anglicised, I think that in England and Wales there are a number of people who would like to see their systems scotified".

Whilst a similarity in structure between the education systems north and south of the border increased, there remained a tension in the mission of education. The New Right's demand for vocational relevance (Jones, 1989, p126) conflicted with the SOEID perspective that education can bring stability, progress and innovation to a society through the creation of wealth (1997, p18). The tradition of corporatism and civic welfare was lacking in New Right education policy thus creating further tension with Scottish values; the anti-collectivism permeating Scottish Further education as a result of incorporation providing stark evidence of this. The success of the participative citizenship inherent in vocationalist policy was reliant on the reward of employment being guaranteed - a factual impossibility.

A consequence of New Right education policies was fragmentation of Scottish education provision, especially in the Further Education sector. It is Further Education, which has traditionally played a major role in creating and maintaining an appropriately skilled workforce in Scotland.

Strengthening the State

The increasing division between Scotland and England undermined the New Right's capability to strengthen the state. Whilst allegiance to sovereignty was not in doubt especially, allegiance to the British State came second to allegiance to Scotland (Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p5, McCrone, 1992, p198,). Failure to reinforce the notion of one-nation through recognition of distinctive/local needs in its policies resulted in the New Right arguably weakening rather than strengthening the Scottish state and consequently the British State.

The concept of participative citizenship was not new to Scotland where civic and individual welfare is central to Scottish citizenship. The Darwinist approach seemingly underpinning economic and education policies was at odds with the collectivism on which this citizenship was based. Consequently the position of the Scottish State was weakened in that voluntary compliance was not achieved in Scotland. In contrast, the position of the British State was strengthened because of the necessity to introduce interventionist strategies to facilitate the imposition of its policies.

Strengthening the State - Scottish Office and Local Government

Economic policies of privatisation, competitive tendering and deregulation made the aim of strengthening the State a difficult one to fulfil in Scotland because the success of these economic policies was dependent upon allegiance to sovereignty and social order. Economic regeneration and strengthening the state was partially reliant upon reducing the number of unemployed and raising the skill level of the workforce. As identified, these objectives prompted interventionist strategies.

In order to implement these highly interventionist policies the Government relied heavily on the Scottish Office. Although it was the Conservatives who originally established the Scottish Office, it was never set up to initiate policy. There was therefore a certain irony in the fact that had the Conservatives not created the Scottish Office in the first place, the New Right would not have had to acknowledge the Scottish Office as a 'meaningful political unit' (McCrone, 1992, p23). In attempting to minimise the perceived value of the Scottish Office as a

political unit the polity had constrained the Scottish Office to be the means through which policies are merely implemented in the Scottish setting, without regard to the needs and demands of the Scottish people (Mitchell, 1990, p127, Brown, McCrone,& Paterson, 1996, p42). As stated by Harvie (1994, p207): -

> "What was still in the 1970s a complex range of institutions and assumptions had by 1992 come closer to the nationalist notion of a system of exploitation of the Scots by the English. The corrosive factor was not initially the SNP or the oil. It was the political sclerosis of the British metropolis, and an intellectual laziness which inhibited any move towards a longer-term solution."

This view partially contradicted Fry's (1987, p256) claims that it was the ineffectual patronage and 'stagnant bureaucracy' within the Scottish polity itself that was the principal constraint. The notion of 'bureaucratic sclerosis' within Scottish Office administration was endorsed by Mitchell (1990, pp127 & 101), who suggested that the Scottish Office was developed to give the impression of Scottish control of Scottish affairs when, in fact, it could only operate within the perameters set by Westminster and Whitehall.

In succeeding in constraining the powers of the Scottish Office to that of policy implementation, as exemplified in the 1992 Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act, the New Right turned their attention to local government. The shift to supply-side economics increased the significance of local government accountability. Whilst improved financial and managerial efficiency underpinned New Right public policy, the high degree to which Scottish local government is ingrained in Scottish culture made these policies difficult to drive through without

addressing the impact on the Scottish way of life itself. As a consequence New Right policies met with resistance from not only Regions and Local Councils but also the Scottish people. For example Regions and Councils demonstrated their opposition to the sale of council houses by delaying the implementation of the policy, an example which supports Brown, McCrone & Paterson's view (1996, p94) that local policy-making elites still held 'a significant level of power in the process of policy interpretation and implementation'. Consequently in 1984 some councils had budgets cut under the penalty system for failing to increase rents as a means of cutting spending and also as encouragement to tenants to buy. By 1988 only 5 per cent of houses in Scotland had been sold, compared with 15 per cent in England (Midwinter, Keating and Mitchell, 1991, p176).

The power of the larger local authorities was clearly evidenced through acts of resistance. Strong local government leadership enabled some resistance tactics to be quite successful (Cameron Interview 16, 18/3/02). The most major resistance came from Glasgow City Council for whom 'the worst aspects of Thatcherism could have been a thousand times worse in the impact on the city had there not been a very strong leadership at that time' (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02). In addition to resisting raising council house rents, Glasgow created housing associations for which it received government support. The move reflected an entrepreneurialism which bridged the ideological cap between New Right social ordering and traditional Labour socialism by creating a mechanism which allowed tenants to access improvement grants available for the private sector (Midwinter, Keating & Mitchell, 1991, p177).

Glasgow was seen as a bastion of resistance to the New Right. Speaking as a Conservative, Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) exemplified this in his statement that :-

> "It wasn't a communist regime in the sense that it wasn't a central Soviet, but in fact the Council in Glasgow was, in fact, Soviet, in that it decided what all the policies were going to be and you could have, as they used to say, when the revolution comes, you could have any colour your liked as long as it was red."

In believing that Glasgow could be transformed by money, Glasgow's 'entrepreneurialism' was rewarded with several grants. The New Right policies weren't implemented however. Glasgow 'parried with Government' (Cameron, 2002) and took the money but didn't implement the policies the Government wanted (Meek, 2002). Glasgow used the notion of entrepreneurialism to resist New Right policies rather than support them.

Regional Councils demonstrated further acts of resistance. Strathclyde Region held a referendum on the privatisation of water and demonstrated to Government that the public did not support this policy. From 1986 the Government did not control any large Councils in Scotland and implementation of their policies at local level became increasingly difficult. Kerley and Urquhart argued (1997, p33) that: -

> "In some cases the decline of the Conservative Party in local government was so pronounced that the niceties of democratic politics were stretched to almost breaking point. In some districts there was no opposition to Labour in some years."

The Government's strategy in this situation was to undermine the power of local government. Strathclyde Region and Glasgow City Council were enterprising in practice and whilst enterprise was a New Right tenet, it seems the Government did not like the power the Region and Council gained as a consequence, especially if such power was one of resistance. According to Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02): -

> "There's always been a resentment and an acknowledgement that local government provides another power base and if you've got the opposite power in control at the centre and you've got the opposition to that control in localities then it makes for conflict. That's how I saw it working with local government. It was stripped, it was denuded of it's powers but it was a gradual thing and the fact that Glasgow, I believe, and Strathclyde seemed to be subverting all these things is one of the reasons why 250 Acts had to be passed to curtail the activities of local government."

Arguably the greatest demonstration of Scottish and Scottish Local Government resistance to the Government came when Government introduced the community charge or poll tax (as it became more commonly known) in 1989. Whilst the policy of financial penalties, such as grant penalties and rate capping, reduced local government spending, the issue of rates was increasing in political significance. The revaluation of rates in 1985 had detrimentally affected some businesses and middle-class home owners resulting in protests from what were arguably components of the New Right constituency. By 1986, Thatcherism was more widely accepted amongst Conservatives and 'traditional Tory pragmatism and caution was thrown to the wind as a radical reform was proposed' (Midwinter, 1995, p33). As Midwinter, (1995, p33) explained: -

> "The solution was to make business rates a national tax, and replace domestic rates with a flat-rate community charge, with rebates for low-income households. This would provide electors with a 'clear incentive to consider the costs and benefits of extra local spending (DOE, 1991)."

The poll tax was a significant example of increased rather than decreased centralisation for in 1989 the Secretary of State for Scotland provided estimates of what the charge should be. Until that time the amount charged lay in the domain of the local council. As with rate capping, the poll tax was implemented in Scotland first, an action that was met with stiff resistance and which further widened the north/south divide. The reception to the poll tax was one of extreme and active resistance. Both the Scottish people and local councils regarded the New Right as using Scotland as 'a guinea pig' (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02). This perception was supported by Evans (1997, p59) in his assertion that the New Right felt safe in 'experimenting' on the Scots since so few were Conservative voters anyway. Glasgow City Council was totally against the poll tax and evidenced its resistance by not releasing information to the Government until they had to or face a penalty (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02). An alternative explanation of the initial introduction of the tax in Scotland was provided in Meek's (Interview 15, 6/3/02) account that the introduction of the tax in Scotland before England was at the behest of a Scottish Conservative MP. Regardless, the policy failed as a consequence of so many people failing to put themselves on the voting register.

The larger tax burden was placed on those with low incomes whilst the 'wealthy' suffered little change (Evans, 1997, p63). Since Scotland had a higher percentage of its population on low incomes the level of resistance to the policy was

substantial. Resistance was evident within the Conservative Party itself. An example of this was illustrated in Meek's (Interview 15, 6/2/02) attempt to challenge Thatcher directly on the integrity of the tax gathering process where he:-

> "..tried to argue the case that we should exempt students and student nurses from the poll tax, or at best should charge them something like 20 per cent because it was actually costing thousands of pounds to recover hundreds of pounds chasing these people all over the place. And Mrs Thatcher gave me a lecture as though I was some kind of communist who had been parachuted from Moscow. How dare I challenge this policy and, of course, four years later they had to run from this because it was just unworkable, and yet if she had remunerated them slightly, if she had recognised that young people were going about the place to different universities, who were they going to pay tax to, where were they going to pay the poll tax, where were they going to be registered – it might have been different. ...It was just a nightmare."

Thatcher's advisers supported Meek's (Interview 1, 6/2/02) perspective (Evans, 1997, p63). Such was the strength of feeling against not only the policy, but most substantially against Thatcher, the policy which was aimed at further reducing local government expenditure succeeded in fuelling the fire of Scottish nationalism and increasing the potential for public disorder. The voluntary disenfranchisement by the Scottish people exemplified the 'sociological brake' on policy that also reinforced the cultural distinctiveness of Scotland (Brown, McCrone, and Paterson, 1998, p116). Brown, McCrone & Paterson (1998, p116) also suggested that despite public protest against the poll tax, 'respectable Scottish professionals were getting on with more of the business of government in a thoroughly uncontroversial manner'. Such differing responses evidence the apparent failure of the New Right re-ordering of society where the strength of the voice of the common electorate outweighed the voice of the wealth-creating professional and business community.

The poll tax was subsequently axed following John Major's appointment as Prime Minister in 1992.

Nevertheless the failure of the poll tax increased moves to bring much more accountability into local government. The privatisation policy and subsequent empowerment of the private sector constrained local authorities from becoming stronger in economic terms (Fairley, 1996, p109). It may be argued that the strength of local authorities was not as depleted as Fairley's view infers. In England many authorities were unsuccessful in winning CCT tenders thus reducing their control over public service development and therefore supporting Black's (1993, p119) claim that the independence of local authorities was subsequently reduced. This was not the case in Scotland where private contractors won comparatively few tenders. Once again, the New Right underestimated the strength of corporatism existing in local government. Local government is an inherent part of Scottish identity and a common approach of drawing up large unwieldy contracts was successful in reducing the amount of bids from the private sector (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01 & Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01). Such is the strength of common identity in Scotland that it binds networks of communities in common causes, in this case local authorities pulling together to fend off impeachment by the private sector.

The success of Scottish resistance to the poll tax and in reducing the potential loss of direct service delivery through CCT exemplified the depth of the power of both Regional and local councils. When John Major succeeded Margaret

Thatcher as Prime Minister in 1990 he instituted a review and subsequent reform of local government (Local Government (Scotland) Act 1994). The two-tier system of Regions and Districts was expensive and many Regions were too powerful and local authorities too small to be effective. The rationale for subsequently moving to a single-tier system was weak and supporting empirical evidence 'notable for its absence' (Midwinter, 1995, p92). Indeed Brown, McCrone and Paterson (1998, p104) described how the proposed reform was disadvantageous: -

> "The biggest regions had been able to take advantage of economies of scale, and of some limited powers to redistribute resources from richer areas to poorer. These were not available to their successors. For example the abolished Strathclyde Region covered both the wealthy suburbs of Glasgow and its impoverished inner city; it could justify redistribution because the residents of the suburbs used city-centre services when they worked or shopped there. In the new system, Glasgow Council has been deprived of its relatively affluent hinterland, and so has a limited local tax base."

Such a view weakened the argument put forward by the Secretary of State at the time, Ian Lang, that Local Authorities would, in fact, have more power (1994,p 22). Whilst Lang was supported, in part, by Fairley (1995, p41), Fairley also claimed that the new unitary authorities would not convey the power that some Regions accumulated as a result of their sheer size, a view endorsed by Brown, McCrone and Paterson (1998, p104). Fairley continued by claiming that 'arguably democracy is healthier when local government is able at times to offer a check to aspects of central government action'.

The Central Government managerialist policies discussed above were so stringent that the perameters within which Local Authority policies and plans had to be formulated effectively diluted the power advocated by Lang (1994, p22). Accountability to central government dominated the structure and constrained local political autonomy which contradicted the aim of creating a 'less remote government' (Midwinter, 1993, p69). Indeed, Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) argued that this was the real motivation for local government reform. She claimed that the real reasons for dissolving the Regional Councils were 'getting more Tory councillors, which failed miserably, and getting rid of the last, as they saw it, big bastion of socialism, which was Strathclyde'. The financial clout of Regions cannot be denied. Lothian Region spent £500m a year, a budget which was bigger than some countries, whilst Strathclyde Region's budget was several times larger (Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02). By 1995, however, the argument based on cost savings was declared to be unproven (Midwinter, 1995, p105) thus adding some weight to Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) assumptions.

The shift of local government from service provider to service enabler, via the reform, was a further move away from the consensual approach identified earlier as being inherent in Scottish culture. The likely consequences of the reform were summarised by Midwinter (1993, p70) in the following terms: -

> "What is on offer is the fragmentation of accountability, not its clarification; a further centralisation of power, not greater choice; further political instability, not consensus over the changes".

The issue of increased power was questioned further when analysis showed the basis of local authority restructuring by the Conservatives to have had subjective foundations. The subjectivity was based on deep suspicion, the suspicion cited by MacWhirter (1994, p111) as being: -

> "that the government's primary motivation was not a desire for good government, or even to save money, but a Thatcherite distaste for competing powerbases. The Scottish Regions were...Labour strongholds, the Tories holding none of them, and were constant reminders of the government's continuing failure to win the hearts and minds of the Scots."

Where Conservatives had little political strength, as in Fife and the Highlands, the basis of new political boundaries were socio-economic patterns and administrative simplification, while in those areas which were Conservative strongholds, (Eastwood and Stirling), these areas remained unaltered (Midwinter, 1993, p61, Hutton, 1995, p39).

In national rather than local terms the reform enhanced the role of the Scottish Office through its acquisition of responsibilities, such as Further Education, which formerly belonged to Regions and local authorities (Fairley, 1995, p46).

The dissolution of the powerful Regional authorities eased the path of central government control and, in doing so, prompted more concerns in Scotland about the state of the Union. There was no consultation in Scotland regarding the proposals to reform local government whereas in England the Banham Commission was set up to test opinion (Denver & Bochel, 1995, p38). This concern

compounded previous worries created by the reduction in Scottish representation in Parliament and a change in formula to calculate public expenditure which disadvantaged Scotland (Mitchell, 1998, p126).

The previous chapter highlighted traditional Conservatism thriving on the scepticism of the individual. The implementation of policies such as the poll tax and, arguably, local government reform in Scotland, in the face of strong public resistance and substantive counter argument, illustrates previous claims that Margaret Thatcher moved contemporary Conservatism away from its traditional basis of scepticism. The policies of reform implemented in Scotland by John Major suggest that Conservative scepticism may have returned. Much more of this scepticism would require to be evidenced, however, if the pluralist approach, deemed by Mitchell (1990, p130) as necessary to meet Scottish needs, was to evolve.

Scotland posed a problem for Conservatives who embraced organic and gradual change, for quick and substantial change was what was really required if the so-called dependency culture was to be overturned at a pace necessary to prove monetarist policies valid. The actions of Glasgow City Council illustrate how the council was distracted by its desire to resist Government policies. Had Margaret Thatcher been more consultative in her management style and more open to compromise the efforts of local councils may have realised the desired cost savings. Consultation, compromise and consensus are inherent in Scottish corporatism. Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) interpretation of Thatcherism was that: -

> "...it was certainly repressive and authoritarian.....they were certainly against local government and particularly they seemed to be against the kind of social way that we in Scotland look upon our politics and democracy.... However, we had to cope with all that, a very strongly controlled centre which was inimical to this bastion of what they would call municipal socialism ....."

Had the New Right, as both Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) and Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) suggested, been less interventionist and retained a greater degree of traditional Tory scepticism, they may have met less resistance and eroded the emerging nationalist movement in Scotland. Conviction rather than reason was the undoing of the Margaret Thatcher in Scotland.

New Right action for Scotland, implemented from England, may have been a *pis aller* from an English perspective, but constituted an irrelevant 'radical, unnecessary and undesirable change' in Scotland (Mitchell, 1990, pp7 & 8). Major's concept of participative citizenship did little to regenerate Scottish support, a consequence which may be explained, in part, by the conflict of his philosophy with the Scottish tradition of citizenship which has been defined by equality of welfare rights. It was suggested by Hutton (1995,p311) that Major's advocacy of participative citizenship was 'merely Thatcher's stakeholder capitalism', a view this thesis supported in the previous chapter.

The rise of Scottish nationalism as a challenge to the authority of the State forced the New Right to shift Scottish policy to maintain the apparently disintegrating Union. John Major rededicated the Conservative Party to the Union advocating that the Union was far greater than the sum of its parts (Harvie, 1994,

p232). The depth of this commitment may be questioned when considering the extent to which the New Right changed the decision-making processes in Parliament. The Scottish Grand Committee, a permanent feature since 1907, exists to take the committee stages of Scottish bills and on occasion to debate Scottish matters. Membership is made up of Scottish MPs. Manning the Committee presented the Conservatives with a particular challenge, however, since by 1987 they only had ten Scottish members. Consequently, the Government included Scottish clauses in English bills rather than retaining separate Scottish legislation on certain issues. This, in effect, downgraded the status of the Grand Committee and reduced potential for a distinct approach in addressing Scottish issues. The situation exacerbated the perception that this Government was anti-Scottish. The extent to which traditions and cultures can be united under what some perceive to be quasi-democratic procedures remains open to further debate. The view held by Norton (1996, p233) and supported by Mitchell (1998, p136) was that "the Conservative principles governing the Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of England, Scotland and Wales now seem to be dangerously inconsistent".

Conclusion

Scotland differs in identity, political dimension and self-perception. Its distinctiveness derives from religion, law and education. Pride in these aspects, together with pride in its historical industrial meritocracy is the force that binds the network of communities and decision-making communities in Scotland. This chapter examined the relationship between these Scottish cultural characteristics and

New Right policies with the aim of evaluating its importance to the successful implementation of central Government policies in Scotland.

The New Right government led by Margaret Thatcher attempted to impose British policies in Scotland thus implying that the characteristics of Scotland and Scots were the same as those of England and the English. It was in Scotland, especially during Margaret Thatcher's leadership, that Conservative hubris set in. It was in Scotland, however, that the New Right Conservatives met most resistance. The New Right failed to recognise the existance of the infertile ground created by a Scottish, hegemonic, socialist culture. This subsequent resistance movement, enhanced by the political machinery existing in Scotland, opposed 'the increasingly selfish and competitive south of England' (Paterson, 1993, p3). Nationalist spirit in Scotland was consequently galvanised thus undermining the one-nation policy and increasing antagonism towards New Right centralist policies.

It is the perceived attack on the very institutions inherent in Scottish identity that generated hostility to New Right policies; especially those implemented during the Thatcher years. Margaret Thatcher set out to destroy the Scottish collectivist tradition and perceived dependency culture through reduction in subsidy and social expenditure. Policies implemented to address this were less successful in Scotland. Fewer Scots could capitalise on the sale of council houses. Nevertheless, the few 'winners' emerging in Scotland allowed the New Right spirit of enterprise to creep into areas of Scotland.

Economic policies had a far greater negative impact on Scotland's manufacturing industry as a consequence of the lack of government measures to aid their regeneration and assimilation in the evolving 'new' economy. Cuts in government subsidy through re-designation of assisted areas and criteria for grant-aid exacerbated the industrial weaknesses caused by the rise in exchange rates. The subsequent substantial size of the reduction in Scotland's industrial base consequently retarded its economic recovery. Whilst resistance to attacks on the welfare state was strong, resistance to the restructuring of Scotland's industrial economy was not. Lack of involvement in Scottish political life by its industrialists was the main reason for this. In this case Scottish tradition did not support resistance to New Right policies.

Collective resistance was evidenced in Scottish local government where Labour dominated. This was met by increasing government imposition of centralist, managerialist policies. Financial penalties for non-compliance were the means through which compliance was sought. Whilst this was fairly successful, equally successful entrepreneurial resistance strategies used by Strathclyde Region and Glasgow City Council illustrated how some aspects of New Right thinking were creeping into local government practice in Scotland. The introduction of CCT placed greater emphasis on economic outputs thus conflicting with Scotland's tradition of civic responsibility and corporatism. Whilst the erosion of Scottish local government independence was limited through tactics of protectionism that were almost anti-competitive, there was erosion of local government paternalism and a substantial change in the nature of public sector management. The shift to

demand-driven local government services and to the role of enabler rather than direct service provider shifted the emphasis of local government from needs identification and satisfaction to resource management and accountability.

Further to the attack on Scottish local government traditions, the New Right also intervened in Scottish education as a means to achieving its aims. Introduction of market-driven ideology in education, especially Further Education, eroded the traditionally Scottish corporate, coherent nature of education provision. Vocationalism, with its inherent participative citizenship, was reliant upon the reward of employment and in Scotland such a reward was unrealistic.

This examination of the impact of New Right Conservative policies in Scotland explained the political, economic and social climate existing in Scotland. It highlighted tensions between UK, Scottish and Scottish Local Government, and those created in Scottish Education and Scottish Industry. New Right policy in Scotland was resisted by the people and by local government. The collectivist tradition was successful in resisting the most negative elements of New Right policy. Nevertheless, the thesis shows that in spite of such resistance elements of New Right thinking crept in through the imposition of managerialist and economic policies. Scottish industry was remodelled and became service rather than manufacturing based. Traditional local government paternalism was constrained by demands for financial expediency and Scottish Further Education, in particular, saw its collectivism attacked and undermined by incorporation.

In the next chapter the issues raised above are examined in-depth in the context of the Scottish Leisure Profession. Issues relating to the reform of Scottish education are explored further in Chapter Five where the development of Scottish leisure-related qualifications and their contribution to the professionalisation of leisure is considered.

Chapter Three Leisure Management in Scotland: Conservation and the New Right

Introduction

The outcomes of the changing generic context were also reflected in the leisure industry. In the early 1970s there was a limited range of facilities provided by the public sector (Jones, Interview 8, 21/10/98, Mockus, Interview 1, 20/3/98). The considerable capital investment in the 1980s (Ravenscroft, 1992, p21, Roberts, 1992, p9, Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01) effected the emergence of a new occupational group of leisure managers (Houlihan, 2001, p1).

The specific aim of this chapter is to identify the impact on leisure management in Scotland of the New Right policies discussed in previous chapters. The chapter focuses on three key themes:

(i) the tensions between the changing political role of leisure in the 1980s and 1990s and New Right ideology;

(ii) new structures for delivering leisure services

(iii) models of professionalism emerging as a consequence of New Right managerialist policies.

The Formalisation of Public Sector Leisure in Scotland

Prior to 1975 leisure services did not have a formal structure to its public sector provision. Local Government consisted of many small district councils whose services and facilities included swimming pools, libraries and parks. Each of those services and facilities generally operated on a 'stand-alone' basis with little

co-operative working between them and few councils operated them under a single leisure department (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, Mockus, Interview 1, 20/3/98). In Scotland the Commonwealth Games held in Edinburgh in 1970 were seen as an impetus to the development of a service which could deliver the facilities and administration necessary to support the Games (Foreman, Interview 12, 12/2/02). The facilities built for the event left Edinburgh City Council with the task of sustaining the management and use of these facilities thereafter (Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02). The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 created the structural framework in which leisure could develop in most Local Councils within a dedicated leisure service department. In Scotland, leisure was designated a statutory service (in contrast to England and Wales where it remains discretionary). The Local Government and Planning (Scotland) Act 1982 provided for the redistribution of related responsibilities between regional and district councils. This redistribution of responsibilities further enhanced leisure's political value in Scotland as a consequence of social work being put under Regional control. According to Cruttenden, (Interview 9, 1/11/01) the transferring of social work to Regional control left district councils with only leisure services as "the major service that had a real impact upon people's votes was leisure"

Cruttenden's perception of leisure as a major service (subsumed within Coalter's (1990, p14) 'amorphous notion' of a social service) is entrenched in the White Paper, *Sport and Recreatio*n (DoE, 1975) which advocated leisure as a welfare right. The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, together with its equivalent in England and Wales, clearly placed leisure in a municipal socialist role.

This firmly stated its value to be social in nature (Henry, 1993, p19, Clarke, 2000, p187). Indeed the English Recreation Management Training Committee, set up in 1976 under the chairmanship of Anne Yates, reinforced the welfarist perspective of leisure in its identified recreation management priorities (HMSO, 1984, 2.60):

- the identification of people's leisure needs and desires;
- the reconciliation with these different needs within a balanced programme of opportunities for recreation

The power of being entrusted with needs identification gave a high status to the leisure manager, a traditional professional status. This status was further endorsed by the experiences of officers such as Cruttenden, (Interview 9, 1/11/01) and Jones (Interview 8, 21/10/98) who wrote their local authority's first leisure strategy. With increased responsibility, greater access to resources also followed (Henry, 1986, p193). The professional power accorded the leisure professional, evidenced in the autonomy Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) and Jones (Interview 9, 21/10/98) experienced, suggests that political influence was minimal. Both officers appear to have fulfilled the paternalist role in identifying the needs of their community. Jones (Interview 9, 21/10/98) asserted that it was his assessment: -

> ".....of what was on the ground and what was needed. It was my assessment of the development schemes I have currently been involved in.....and it was looking at what was being provided by the private sector in Inverness, the public sector and where there were gaps."

Recognition of the leisure professional's expertise was the rationale for local councillors giving power to senior leisure officers which was in contrast to the early

1970s where such expertise was difficult to find. In recalling his time as Chairman of the Recreation Committee in the City of Edinburgh Meek (Interview 15, 6/2/02) stated:-

> "..we have these facilities that we had inherited from the Commonwealth Games, Meadowbank, the Commonwealth Pool etc. We merged the libraries, museums and parks with the leisure department and called it the Recreation Department. You know I couldn't find anyone to run this department because nobody was qualified. Who was qualified? How did they manage to run the libraries, or the museums, but nobody to run the sports centres – they didn't have the faintest idea. Eventually we had to take the Clerk to the Committee. We made him Director of Recreation because at least he listened to all the discussions as we went along, but there were no professional recreational people who said I have been a Director of Recreation and I can see the whole picture."

For this period leading up to the election of the New Right, the leisure officer was perceived to have specialist knowledge, enabling him/her to fulfil a paternalist role in policy formulation. Formal recognition of this was evidenced in the Report of the Recreation Management Training Committee (known as the Yates Report) which stated that 'there is, we believe, a central core of knowledge which is common to all recreation managers'. Scottish political support for this notion and that of an identified leisure profession followed in the commissioning of the Working Party Report 'Management Training for Leisure and Recreation in Scotland (known as the Gunn Report, HMSO, 1986).

New Right policies and Scottish Leisure Services

Public sector leisure policy in the 1970s concerned itself with recreational welfare, adopting redistributionist values to facilitate optimum access for all.

Following election in 1979, the New Right's perspective of leisure was determined by the current social context. In pursuing the tenet of social order the New Right shifted the focus of leisure policy to what Coalter (1990, p16) described as 'recreation as welfare'. Coalter's justification of the description, supported by Bramham & Henry, (1985, p13), was based on the view that 'recreation provision was supported because of the 'externalities' or benefits which were associated with it'. The redefinition of welfare professions as 'producer interests' justified their move to the periphery of political debate (Houlihan & White, 2002, p30). Support for this claim was provided by Hooper, (Interview 7, 25/2/02) who stated leisure was seen increasingly as a utility by the New Right as the intrinsic value of leisure was replaced by economic and social values. This was evidenced in the Government's funding for inner-city recreation such as that which followed the riots in Toxteth in 1984 (Tomlinson, 1987, p332). The funding of such initiatives was used by the New Right to direct local government effort towards particular social problems.

Targeted Funding

A targeted funding approach was implemented through initiatives such as Urban Aid and Community Development programmes, paralleling targeted initiatives such as the Enterprise Zone policy discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Initiatives such as these illustrated a degree of tension in the New Right approach to social ordering. It was argued in Chapter One that the New Right established a system of social ordering which was designed to obviate the need for a welfarist government. The 'recreation as welfare' policy, identified in the targeted funding

initiatives, could be interpreted as the New Right acting as a welfarist government, using the term 'leisure' or 'recreation' services as a substitute for social services. As such, the New Right adopted a similar approach to the previous Labour government in utilising leisure in the way advocated in the 1977 White Paper, A Policy for the Inner Cities, i.e. as a means of 'soft policing', as a means of encouraging social conformity. As Hargreaves (1985, p225) argued, the targeting of specific groups enhanced social disunity thus undermining its social ordering strategy and one-nation tenet. The role of public sector leisure was constrained to be a control mechanism rather than as a medium for expression. Consequently leisure managers were caught in the tension between the neo-liberalist ideology of the New Right and its social policies.

An alternative view is that local authorities and QUANGOS were already practising the policy of targeting initiatives but that their distribution of funding was inequitable. The New Right intervention in the policy, according to Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) set out to redress this by increasing the range of targets. This is explained in Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) perspective that: -

> "..... Thatcherite policy was to spread it [money] across. That targeting that was taking place was coming through certain local authorities that saw that as important and it had also been encouraged by the Sports Council. I'm not sure that it was a Thatcher policy. The Gateshead Leisure Centre had Urban Programme money towards its construction and development. So you had, even in those Thatcher years, where local government expenditure was quite tight, there were programmes that enabled money to be spent in urban areas where there was deprivation in terms of capital development."

Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) portrayal of Government intervention in determination of targets may be justified as using leisure as a means to encourage participative citizenship. According to Houlihan and White (2002, p34) participation in recreation was a driving force for government investment in sport and recreation, although participation was more a means to social ordering. Houlihan and White (2002, p34) explained that:-

> "...in the early 1980s the dominant definition of participation was one that continued to take the identification of under-participating groups as central, but which increasingly targeted groups that were also perceived to constitute social problems and where sport could be seen as fulfilling an ameliorative function..."

Such action also provided further evidence of Government constraining local government freedom in resource allocation. It may be regarded as a further undermining of confidence in the actions of local government. The constant in Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) argument was the external benefits justifying the case for investment in leisure, both social and economic. This added tension to the leisure manager's environment as the value and freedom previously accorded them in formulating strategy (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 11/2/02, & Jones, Interview 8, 21/10/98) was undermined by lack of recognised expert value in a State-driven social and economic agenda. A consequence of this was the beginning of erosion of their professional power in the public domain.

Targeted initiatives such as those identified created tension between the initiatives' goals and local authority leisure services. In presenting the local authority perspective Cruttenden (Interview 10, 1/11/01) asserted: -

> "The biggest criticism of those programmes was that they tended to be short-term. So many of those programmes were picked up, run with and then dropped for a new initiative and someone else was left to pick up the pieces afterwards.....I think there were some tensions between Community Education and the leisure sector, in particular, moving into the late 1980s/1990s as a result of revenue financial impacts on leisure. Having gone through this massive growth at the same time you've got budget cuts certainly slowed down increases in expenditure. Certain aspects of the services, like in the sports side, got into increase in prices."

The involvement of community education, education and social work in these central government initiatives weakened the status of leisure management. Whilst problems with social order led to an enhancement of the professional role of leisure managers, the community recreation approach underpinning the targeted initiatives appeared to give greater political power, and subsequently professional power to community development rather than leisure specialists (Yule, 1997, p147, Houlihan & White, 2002, p38). Failure of local councillors to provide political recognition to the role of leisure in fulfilling social objectives exacerbated the negative effects of dual state decision-making on the status of the leisure professional.

Previous arguments support the notion that professional power was generated by leisure's contribution, albeit an assumed contribution, to the cultural and social capital of a local community. New Right emphasis and imposed local

government emphasis on the economic externalities of leisure, together with increased local government financial accountability, altered the basis on which the power of the leisure professional could be sustained. This was illustrated in the Gunn Report (1986, 2.8) in the statement that it regarded leisure and recreation managers as "only those persons who have a significant impact upon the use made of L & R resources". Such a perspective illustrated a shift from leisure professionalism as paternalism, to professionalism as power over resource allocation. Managerialism therefore became the underpinning of modern professionalism.

Volunteerism

The loss of professional legitimacy and erosion of the paternalist role was further undermined by the increase in voluntary leisure organisations. Previous discussion examined in detail the growing divide between north and south of the border and the increased polarisation of social and economic extremes in British society; these divisions created, in the main, by the series of deregulation and privatisation policies. The New Right encouraged volunteerism and took account of it in decision-making processes related to social objectives (Henry, 1993, p169, Coalter, 1990, p12, Houlihan & White, 2002, p30). An emerging consequence was the political and financial support given to community based and self-help groups, reflecting the participative citizenship ideology evident throughout New Right governance. The New Right saw leisure as playing a part in the politics of encouraging a new type of lifestyle to be evidenced in the hegemony of consumption and experience (Ravenscroft, 1996, p171, Henry, 1993, p109). The

underlying encouragement to express demand placed leisure in the government's political machinery to create market-led public services and encourage commercial enterprise.

It was in the mid-1980s when voluntary organisations constituted a key sector of the leisure industry that the monopoly of specialist knowledge and skill was undermined further. Many volunteers and non-specialist workers in the targeted funding initiatives formalised their leisure management knowledge through organising events, and facilitating leisure activities, albeit on a relatively small scale. The authority of professions according to Fournier (2000, p75) relied on the creation of boundaries between the professional and the client. Volunteerism, encouraged by Government, eroded such boundaries, negating the obscurity of knowledge deemed so significant to the traditional notion of the professional (Friedson, 1994, p15, Fournier, 2000, p70).

Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT)

Throughout the 1980s the Government increased its efforts to increase competition, and increase efficiency in the public sector. The notion of individual achievement was applied to the public service in the form of service achievement. Privatisation policies were not relevant to leisure since many leisure activities were not commercially viable. Nevertheless clear problems were identified in local government leisure services. In its report 'Sport for Whom? Clarifying the Local Authority Role in Sport and Recreation' (1989, p7), the Audit Commission identified problems such as objective setting and performance monitoring in local

government services. It concluded that local authorities had 'a poor understanding of local needs and how they were changing'.

In 1989 the government imposed compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) in sport and leisure management following its consultation paper Management of Local Authority Sport and Leisure Facilities (1987). (It may be suggested that the publication of the Audit Commission's Report in 1989 was, perhaps, more than a coincidence since CCT in sport and leisure was imposed also in 1989). This managerialist policy may be seen as supporting the Audit Commission's conclusions in that the professionals, in this case leisure professionals, did not know what was best for the community. This perspective adds to the previous argument that erosion of the professional power of the leisure manager progressed when the balance of political support lay with community education professionals in targeted funding initiatives. This was exacerbated by the community recreation approach which, as Henry (2001, p154) stated: -

> "..applied decentralisation of provision and of decision-making which had implications for the notion of the professional as 'expert', implying a partnership approach, making policy decisions in close co-operation with community groups, particularly those which might have felt alienated and unserved by centralised, 'expert', decision-making."

Increasing participation and stakeholding by non-leisure experts in leisure-related decision-making processes continued the decline of professional status and perceived intrinsic value of leisure.

CCT in sport and recreation increased the focus on demand-led service strategy, thus further supporting the New Right aim of reducing the welfare state. CCT exemplified claims made earlier in this chapter that perceived producer-led welfarist services were pushed to the margins of political debate. It signified a concerted effort to subordinate the claims of traditional professionalism to managerial efficiency and to erode the perceived negative power of 'self-serving producer monopolies' (Flynn, 1999, p19, Clarke, Gewirtz and McLaughlin, 2000, p9, & Malin, 2000, p79).

The move to a contract-driven service shifted the emphasis more explicitly to economic issues and increased central control (Ravenscroft, 1988, p150,). It also evidenced another means to legitimate capitalism through the enforcement of collaboration and partnership resulting in further erosion of local government power/monopoly in delivery of local services. Interestingly, this is, yet again, reflected in the Audit Commission Report (1989, p2) which stated: -

> "...authorities do not always consider the full range of options, concentrating on direct provision and overlooking co-operation with the private and voluntary sectors and with other authorities"

Until CCT was introduced and contracts awarded (in 1992) leisure could be seen as a service where economic inequalities were relatively unimportant. The introduction of market ideology undermined the social welfare, paternalistic role of leisure and pushed it towards a service that met expressed need rather than latent demand. This highly interventionist policy changed the nature of leisure service

management and delivery. The changes, as Aitchison (1997, p86) claimed, were substantial: -

> "Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) in sport and leisure thus exemplified the wider and social principles in Conservative public policy since 1979 and a major point of this ideology centred around bringing the disciplines of the market to the public sector in order to increase efficiency, effectiveness and economy whilst simultaneously increasing the power and choice of the individual consumer. Therefore, activities and functions which were previously seen in a social or political context were now viewed in an economic context. Within local authorities this shift in public policy represented a transition from local government as provider to facilitator or enabler."

A more sceptical interpretation of the New Right aims presented by Ravenscroft (1988, p150) contrasted with the altruism reflected in Aitchison's statement. Ravenscroft (1988, p150) argued that: -

> "Whilst making rhetorical reference to the recognition of citizen rights, the primacy of the market and the benefits of transparency, therefore, CCT is increasingly seen by both local councillors and officers to be part of a wider, concerted attempt to reposition local government. It is viewed predominantly as a tool in the dismantling of local democracy, but one dressed cosmetically in the clothes of a new 'enabling' culture, replete with notions of managerial efficiency, choice and consumer sovereignty."

The discipline of the market was used to increase efficiency in the public sector etc. Coalter's (2000, p170) view that leisure activities take place within a mixed economy and are freely chosen raises the question of whether CCT was the most appropriate mechanism to achieve efficiency gains. Both Cruttenden, (Interview 9, 1/11/01) and Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) asserted that such

gains could have been achieved through voluntary efforts rather than making tendering compulsory. According to Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01): -

> "Just as a general comment on CCT, as a whole, I do think that probably the mistake of the Government was to make it compulsory. If they had been more patient they would have actually got many of the benefits of CCT through voluntary approaches and squeezes on revenue expenditure.... It might have taken them twice or three times as long to get there but I think they might have had something which would have lasted."

Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) continued the argument by asserting that the compulsory element undermined the sustainability of the benefits, his justification for this assertion being that required structural splits of 'Client' and 'Direct Services Organisations' (DSO) within local authorities were dropped following the introduction of Best Value. He argued that this action illustrated the point that certain aspects of CCT were only practised because it was required, rather than being proven to be beneficial. It may also be suggested that the lack of success in attracting bids from outwith local councils strengthened the argument that scrutiny of working practices rather than competition lead to increased efficiency.

Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/02), Campbell, (Interview 4, 28/2/02) and Houlihan (2001, p5) suggested that the fragmentation in the service caused by the client/DSO split lead to competition of a negative kind between leisure professionals themselves. Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/02) explained this in his claim that the reasons for a hard or soft split between client and DSO was: -

> "...partly down to the personality issue and the professional cold shoulder – you know, 'I'm better than you are'. There was this kind of game of one-upmanship and that's not just a kind of personal experience thing. I've worked now in five local authorities since CCT has come in, always as a client...I've seen it everywhere – the one-upmanship about not wanting to be regarded as the lesser of the mortals".

This view is supported by Ferlie et al (1996, p173) who identified this "embryonic competition between professionals being evident in other services exposed to CCT". This undermined the efficiency of delivery as some relationships between client officers and DSO officers deteriorated and the objectivity of the contract monitoring process was subsequently endangered. The CCT process requirements further undermined the efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery. CCT required prescription in aspects of service delivery that could not be prescribed and consequently the shift to quantitative performance criteria reduced attention paid to the quality of leisure service provided (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02). These consequences support the argument stated in the previous chapter by Midwinter (1993, p70) that fragmentation of accountability rather than clarification was inherent in the New Right managerialist policies thus creating further instability.

The New Right was determined to devolve commercially viable activity to the private sector to reduce the burden on the State. There was tension, therefore, between the policy of creating internal and external markets for leisure services through CCT and that of supporting leisure through initiatives such as Urban Aid programmes. It seems that it was the structure through which recreation as welfare was achieved which was changed, whilst the output of the revised structure remained relatively unchanged. In accepting this view, CCT in sport and recreation

was a mechanism to reduce the fiscal power of local authorities and the power of the professionals. This may be evidence of traditional Tory scepticism where the rationale is supported on the basis of assumption of value rather than a true conviction of market ideology.

CCT and the introduction of market forces do not appear to have increased access and opportunity, especially for disadvantaged groups (Ravenscroft, 1993, p38). Rather than increase equity of opportunity, CCT created leisure winners and losers and consequently reinforced the traditional Conservative social hierarchy, rather than realising the individual liberalism of New Right Conservatism. According to Coalter (1998, p2) leisure's role in a liberal democratic model of freedom was now very limited and that 'a person's means' had 'become the politics of leisure'. Practitioner support for this argument was provided by Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) who explained that the budget cuts imposed on local authorities consequently reduced revenue budgets in Scottish leisure services, the impact of this being exacerbated by virtue of following a number of years of substantial growth in provision. He continued by claiming that this necessitated price increases in sport and recreation services in particular and consequently "a lot of these people in poorer circumstance couldn't then afford to take part in sport". Cruttenden justified the price increases by rationalising that if this had not happened many facilities would have closed because of lack of funds to maintain them. Absence of notions of resistance to such closure in Cruttenden's response is further evidence of New Right emphasis on economic rather than social priorities. In such circumstances the leisure services evolving through CCT conflicted with the New

Right's perspective of the public sector role. The resulting services were not catering for the disadvantaged, but, instead, were providing a service for those who, arguably, could afford to purchase these services elsewhere.

CCT placed the burden of social conscience specifically on the shoulders of Local Authorities. In Scotland, this was of particular significance, since the majority of local councils were (and still are) dominated by Labour. CCT placed particular emphasis on measurable outputs leading many local authorities to place economic rather than social objectives at the head of leisure contracts. According to Stevens and Green (2002, p128): -

> "An administrative orientation predominated, concerned with improving the efficiency of the administration and delivery systems of sport and recreation services, rather than asking the crucial and fundamental questions about the rationale for spending public money on sport and recreation provision."

As Coalter (1995, p11 & 1994, p1) outlined, this was 'a lost opportunity' for local authorities to maintain leisure's welfare role; they did not exploit the chance to include more socially focused objectives in the CCT contract specification. It was claimed that local authorities did not know what they wanted to achieve through leisure services (Stevens & Green, 2002, p129, Jackson, 1992). Consequently, no mechanisms were put in place to measure the social effectiveness of service. Henry & Bramham (1986, p196) argued that it was conflict in the nature of decision-making which was the key issue. They suggested that local government decision-making was pluralist and consumption orientated in nature while central

government was corporatist and production-orientated thus placing local authorities in an almost impossible position. The lost opportunity identified by Coalter (1995, p11) may not have been lost deliberately, therefore, but through lack of choice. Constraints on budgets, reinforced by regulative policies such as rate-capping policy demanded that local government priorities were subordinated to national priorities, i.e. economic efficiency.

An alternative perspective is that opportunities to achieve social goals were lost because of weaknesses in the implementation of CCT in local councils. An example of this was provided by Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) in discussing his own council's strategy:-

> "[this council] introduced CCT very badly, seriously badly and very inefficiently. It was so badly economically, that it has just been a nightmare. But the kind of political protections that were built in for the then DSO managers were so hard to break and I've managed just about to get there in five years. But that has not been without cost and the cost has been the conflict between myself and a whole range of managers in the DSO which has been viewed very negatively and very critically by people who don't understand the CCT environment.....Other departments' clients feel equally difficult with their contracting counterparts. Slowly, very slowly we've managed to identify serious weaknesses and inadequacies and it will be changed certainly within the next nine months."

The exposure of many public services to market forces was the means through which the New Right sought to transform the public sector from "its staid bureaucratic paternalism into a dynamic and effective series of organisations able to deliver 'value for money' services on a competitive basis" (Newman & Clarke, 1994, p15 & 23, Exworthy & Halford, 1999, p4 & 8, & Flynn, 1999, p26). The lack

of social objectives inherent within sport and recreation tender documents led to a skewed definition of 'value for money' with income and aggregate throughput dominating performance indicated (Coalter, 1994, p5).

CCT and the Scottish Leisure Resistance Movement

Resistance to the imposition of CCT in sport and recreation came from Scottish local government. There was 'absolute resistance' from local councillors to CCT, although most of that resistance was expressed verbally (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01). More substantial actions of resistance came from leisure managers. Tender specifications were consciously made more complex than need be or had such tight specifications that it was almost impossible to deliver. Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) explained that the first contracts that were written: -

> "....were as close as they possibly could be to being anti-competitive.....there was a small industry developed in terms of how you by-passed these things and how you got over them. I would be also admitting, in terms of having worked largely for Labour local authorities, that it was not in your interest to develop a contract that would generate or stimulate a great deal of competition."

Such actions made it obvious that local authority leisure services personnel did not want to work with outside contractors and consequently many potential bidders were deterred (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01). Contract size in Scotland averaged £926,000 – 60% higher than in England, resulting in 92% of contracts being awarded in-house without external competition (Coalter, 1994, p5). Directives from the Scottish Office stated that

packages were to attract as wide a range of interested parties as possible and that anti-competitive conduct should be avoided. In Scotland 49% of contracts contained three or more types of facility compared with 22% in England (Coalter, 1994, p6). The conclusions of the previous chapter suggested that this evidenced Scottish corporatism and traditions of civic welfare rather than anti-competitive behaviour. It could also be regarded as an attempt to stem the fragmentation of the public sector leisure profession. The New Right aspiration to create a more vibrant market for sport and leisure management through CCT was never fulfilled in Scotland.

With regard to the fragmentation of the public sector leisure profession, one questions why there seemed to be so little resistance to CCT from the professionals themselves. As discussed earlier in this chapter, leisure management has struggled to gain political recognition of its value to society. The entrepreneurial spirit blossomed in the 1980s realising a boom in commercial sector activity and the developing mixed economy of leisure and range of leisure services provided created a volatile industry. It also made leisure managers receptive to new ideas as they sought to establish leisure management as a distinct field of operation. This may provide some explanation of why public sector leisure managers were so receptive to CCT.

Each of the practitioners interviewed for this paper expressed the view that CCT had, in general, been a good thing for leisure services. The benefits were explained by Coalter (1990, p73 and 1994, p1) who suggested that CCT

'represented an opportunity to clarify the objectives of sport and leisure services'. This view was supported by Mockus (Interview 1, 20/3/98) and Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) who added that CCT also prompted a review and evaluation of service operations. Interestingly, Jones (Interview 9, 21/10/98) felt that the actions imposed through CCT should have been carried out anyway to ensure that the needs identification process was valid and that those needs were being met i.e. that best value was being provided. This questions, again, the need for the compulsion to tender and draws a similar conclusion about the process of CCT to that stated by Vickers & Yarrow (1988, p 156) regarding privatisation - that the process was more productive in achieving New Right aims than the actual policy itself.

Performance Measurement

The emphasis on the quantitative outputs that CCT imposed indicated the strength of New Right conviction in terms of the role accorded local government. The lack of welfarist indicators illustrated the loss of professional power of the leisure manager. Managerialist perspectives superseded the values of the service evident in the 1970s and early 1980s. According to Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) and Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) the statutory performance indicators (PIs) imposed on public services were a distraction and the mechanisms required to prove the PIs were being met wasted valuable time. CCT strengthened the role of the audit and as Houlihan (2001, p4) suggested, the growth of the audit culture reflected a culture of distrust. The perceived doubt of central government in the ability of public sector professionals to self-regulate the quality of their services

further evidenced the reduced value of professional expertise and autonomy of local government. To some extent there was some agreement with the New Right's view but whilst there was general support for the philosophy of performance measurement the mechanism chosen to achieve it was regarded as inappropriate. According to Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01): -

> "I think the philosophy was right. I think the tool was wrong. The statutory performance indicators for leisure are not good. The fact that we have not demonstrated a willingness over the last ten years or so, maybe more than ten years, twelve to fifteen probably, a willingness to engage with the Accounts Commission and Audit Scotland now to change them and make them better doesn't reflect well on us. The Accounts Commission....have been very willing to work with the profession to develop new and better ones and we have been either unwilling or incapable of actually developing something that suits the service. I'm not sure why that is. I don't think we are very good at generalisation. I don't think we are very good at assessing what we do. I think it's still too much of an afterthought and we clearly need to be better at it and the emphasis is not going to change. If anything it will get worse in terms of measuring and assessing and evaluating and quantifying in order to justify what we do and how we do it."

CCT altered the concept of management in local government and benchmarked the managerialisation of public sector leisure management. Managerialism enhanced the depoliticisation of local government, replacing the political role of councillors with a management role where they awarded contracts and reviewed management reports to ensure that PIs were being met (Laffin & Young, 1990, p58, Henry, 1993, p116, Adams, 1991, p57, Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01).

The emphasis on performance monitoring and quality control reflected two models of management (i) neo-Taylorism, focusing on efficiency, and (ii) new managerialism, focusing on excellence (Newman & Clarke, 1994, p15, Flynn, 1999, p26). The presence of these models signified further tension in New Right policies. Whilst aspiring to free the spirit of enterprise, the control mechanisms imposed in public sector were too efficiency orientated and, arguably, stifling to entrepreneurialism. These mechanisms, together with the lack of welfarist objectives in CCT tenders resulted in a high degree of stagnation in service development (Coalter, 1995, p4, & Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01).

'New managerialism' brought a different set of criteria to the notion of professionalism. These criteria were exemplified by customer satisfaction, understanding of markets, enabling fulfilment of employee potential. Such a shift in professional traits further removed leisure services from the traditional recreation welfare ethic. According to Clarke (1994, p172): -

> "The terminology (of CCT), the criteria and the tests are alien to the conception of recreational welfare, being more concerned with the strategic management of the business organization rather than the equity of the process involved in the development of the services. The sense of missionary zeal which inspired many early developments has been excommunicated from the body of the new leisure orthodoxy."

This thesis has already argued that power over resource allocation is a major contributor to professional power. On the surface, CCT enhanced senior leisure managers' power in this domain. The imposition of performance indicators in the early 1990s provided the real direction in which resources were to be allocated, not

the leisure professional. The increased bureaucratisation of public services therefore further eroded the traditional professional legitimacy of leisure managers in Scotland.

Restructuring of Leisure Service Delivery in Scotland

The generalisation of public sector management was reinforced by the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1994, which abolished Regions in favour of local unitary authorities. The reform of local government in Scotland in 1995 prompted structural reforms of existing departments, which had a substantial impact on leisure service departments. Many local councils integrated leisure services with other services to form 'community services' or 'education and leisure services' etc. Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) suggested that there was little evidence of strategic thinking in the restructuring processes of Scottish local councils. He regarded the processes as "a round of wonderful experiments of management structures, which are still working themselves out", prompted by central government initiatives and the local Labour Party "trying to sort themselves out".

The integration of leisure services with larger services was extremely detrimental to the identity of leisure and leisure professionals. This happened at a time when leisure and recreation was in a particularly strong position to delivery quality services and therefore the negative impact of local government re-organisation was felt all the more as Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) explained: -

> "In my view at the time of re-organisation with the capital spend and despite the restraints on revenue budgets, leisure and recreation never

had a better facility base. It had never had as high a level of revenue expenditure even with the constraints. ....[now] it's no longer a high profile service. Loss of middle management, general reduction in staff levels, swingeing budget cuts, new structure, declining in quality standards probably brought about by reducing staff and budget structures, feelings of disaffection and for many I think the service is no longer a vocation, it's just a job."

The concept of leisure was lost in the re-organisation (Foreman, Interview 12, 12/2/02) and so too were many leisure professionals. According to Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01): -

"The obvious impact was that it significantly reduced the number of corporate-tabled leisure professionals that existed. The amalgamation of departments at the time, fairly crude amalgamations of education and leisure or community services amalgams, meant that leisure was being delivered in local authorities and managed at senior level by non-leisure professionals. So I think in some cases it dropped leisure off the corporate agenda. It meant also that those who had been bypassed in the new structures had been lost to the profession."

The restructure confirmed the shift of leisure services as a social priority in the early eighties (Tomlinson, 1987, p332, & Clarke, 1994, p164) and local vote-catcher to a de-prioritised service with substantially reduced political kudos (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, & Woodcock, Interview 12, 9/11/01). It also confirmed the loss of traditional professional power. The latest phase in the de-monopolisation of expert knowledge in leisure management took place on a very public stage.

As with CCT, a means of resisting the worst effects emerged in the form of alternative models of service delivery which maintain the discrete identity of leisure,

or more specifically, sport and recreation. To date the most common form considered has been that of a not-for-profit trust. The first two sport and recreation trusts, Edinburgh Leisure and West Lothian Leisure, were established in 1997 and 1998 respectively. Both these trusts were set up to manage sport and recreation facilities on behalf of their local councils. This became possible when the New Right, under John Major, called for a review of the compulsory element of competitive tendering. The establishment of trusts was identified as a means of protecting specific leisure services, of a) getting it out of the control of local politicians and b) "solely a move from the politicians' point of view to save money" (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01). Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) elaborated this point by stating that: -

> "The trust sector seems to be quite a vibrant sector. The difficulties in many local authorities were really why the trusts have been born in a sense. I mean, in many cases, it may be the only way forward in those local authorities where leisure services have been cut back too much financially, it's got no space to grow and no flexibility and money to invest. Freedom in terms of operating practices that enables it to be quite vibrant. It feels like a vibrant sector. It may be a bit more insular than I would like."

Regardless of initial motives the identity of the leisure service management within a 'trust' environment is higher than it had been as part of an integrated department. This suggests that a re-establishment of leisure professionalism may be emerging; that the traditionally asserted right of self-direction may be resumed within the trust environment. Nevertheless, Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) comment regarding the insular nature of trusts may indicate further potential for

fragmentation and even competition in the leisure profession. This presents an issue to be explored in the next chapter.

Whilst local government leisure was being exposed to many pressures, constraints and structural changes, the commercial sector in the interim continued to boom with the rapid growth of health and fitness companies, in particular. This development justified, in part, the exposure of the market to services such as leisure. The increasing economic importance of commercial leisure legitimated its professional power within the commercial sector. The changing fortunes and nature of public sector leisure services was succinctly expressed by Coalter (2000,p170) who stated that: -

> "In leisure there is no public sector monopoly and activities are freely chosen and take place within the mixed economy of leisure, in which the commercial sector is the predominant provider."

The oligopoly existing in commercial sport and recreation is now, arguably, reduced. In the health and fitness sector key players such as David Lloyd and Living Well etc. still have a significant role. New players like Esporta, Next Generation and more recently Bannatynes have made high impact entries into the Scottish market place thus increasing competition within this sector. New Right support of enterprise created the environment for this.

The term leisure professional has therefore broader interpretations than those made in the 1970s and early 1980s. In those earlier years, the term was

predominantly public sector orientated. In the late 1990s the term applies to local authority based leisure managers, not-for-profit trust managers, and those leisure managers in the growing commercial sector.

Professionalism and Professional Representation

At a local level there was variation in the degree of co-operative working between client and DSOs across local authorities in Scotland (Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01, Sports Council, 1993, p5). Within the theoretical framework of professionalism purported by Friedson (1994, p62) this fragmentation undermined the coherent, professional identity of the leisure management profession in the UK. Henry (1993, p136) suggested that client officers could continue to reflect the liberal welfare perspective of the leisure professional role, whilst the DSO or outside contractor would adopt the industrial perspective, focusing on economic efficiency. This dual-identity was highlighted further in comparison between the public sector leisure professional and the commercial sector professional.

In the report 'Recreation Management Training Needs (The Sports Council, 1990, p75) Coalter et al highlighted the increasing emphasis on generic management skill with 'commercial' skill requirement of public sector leisure in response to CCT, whilst commercial sector managers required a balance of generic management and leisure/sport-specific skills. This suggested that the emerging notion of professionalism post-CCT was pluralist in nature with public sector professionalism being underpinned by conformity, standardisation and outputs, whilst the commercial model reflected creativity and management skill.

The emerging generalist nature of public sector professionalism undermined professional expert power. Flynn (1999, p27) asserted that: -

> "Cost efficiency, consumer responsiveness and supplier competition were core objectives in this [managerialisation] process, and these all necessitated the subjugation of professionals to managerial authority."

The professional identity of leisure managers was also eroded (Coalter, Long & Duffield, 1988, p144, & Coalter, Potter & McNulty, 1990, p75, Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01).

The paternalist role was fundamental to the professional status of leisure managers in that it reinforced their technical authority. The recommodification of leisure successfully ensured that leisure policy and programming were dominated by capitalistic efficiency (Hargreaves, 1985, p224). Consequently, the role of the leisure manager was characterised by the implementation of business, rather than leisure practice, the role being "to generate demand against market segments who can buy into particular life-styles and who can consume interpreted cultural experience" (Yule, 1997, p149 & Bacon, & Pitchford 1992, p177). Professionalism was therefore remodelled within leisure to incorporate more managerial tasks, just as was happening in other services. The view that sport and recreation managers accepted the redefinition of their role (Houlihan, 2001, p5) was supported by Jones (Interview 9, 21/10/98) and by Mockus (Interview 1, 20/3/98) who stated that CCT was a good thing and that "the experience of finance and man-management" was a key criterion of being professional. The term 'professional administrator' (Jones,

Interview 8, 21/20/98) succinctly described the manager's role post CCT. Increased accountability encouraged professionalism within the leisure sector (Mockus, Interview 1, 20/3/98); a view endorsed by Bovaird (1992, p160) in his suggestion that the credibility of public sector managers was symbolised by objective-led management which created the mechanism of accountability necessary to the new legitimisation of public action.

The creation of the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM) in March 1983 (ILAM, 1983, p12, ILAM, 2003, p4) from the unification of several smaller disparate groups, was the foundation of the profession (Clarke, 1994, p168). The creation of the professional body suggested that leisure managers actively pursued the traditional model of professionalisation, following the examples of other liberal welfare services (Bacon, 1989, p238 & Henry, 1993, p111). It signified support for collectivism amongst leisure professionals which tasked its representative body with "strengthening the political recognition of its constituency" (Henry, 2001, p152). However, such was the strength of government conviction towards the managerialisation of local government, that it was difficult for professional bodies representing the leisure industry to make a substantial impact in an advocacy role.

In Scotland the Association of Directors of Recreation, Leisure and Tourism (ADRLT) attempted to reaffirm the role of public sector leisure's services in its publication Leisure Focus (ADRLT, 1987). Whilst acknowledging the economic role of leisure the publication emphasised the particular importance of its social

role. Criticisms of the New Right approach by the Association were inherent in the statement (ADLRT, 1987, p*v*): -

> "Short term cut-backs in leisure services may be a false economy and cause increasing expenditure on the personal social services and by the forces of law and order. If local authorities are to fulfil their statutory duty of "ensuring adequate [leisure] facilities" and work constructively with the commercial and voluntary sectors, then central government will require to enable adequate funding to take place."

Leisure Focus was updated in 1995 and published under the title Leisure Matters (ADRLT, 1995). This later publication, again, demonstrated some resistance to New Right thinking by explicitly stating a role of the local authority to be that of provider in the contexts of social and community development and lastly, economic development. There was also explicit acceptance of New Right thinking in the recognition of the role of local authorities as 'enabler' thus providing further evidence of how New Right thinking crept in to Scottish culture. Although such publications were well received within the profession, their lack of influence on the development of the PIs associated with public sector leisure services in Scotland illustrated the lack of power held by professional bodies (Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01).

Professional advocacy was also further undermined in Scotland by a distinct lack of Scottish corporatism evidenced in the approach that the Scottish branches of the Institute of Sport and Recreation Management (ISRM), ILAM and the ADRLT. Cruttenden (Interview 9, 1/11/01) expressed regret that these organisations could not have presented a more united front in addressing the perceived threats to the

professional status of their members. He elaborated by saying that while he was Chair of ADRLT 'there was amongst the membership no willingness to co-operate with ILAM'. Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) supported Cruttenden in his statement regarding the Scottish Association of Directors of Leisure Services (SADLS), the body that superseded the ADRLT, in which he claimed: -

> "SADLS has since probably the late '80s, early '90s, ...failed to play the role they ought to have been playing due to lack of resources, perhaps even lack of ability, confidence, or whatever, but they have failed to do that simply because the world changed and we didn't change with it in terms of having dedicated resources, upping the anti to join perhaps at a time when maybe a collaboration with another professional body was on the cards. We need to work much more in harmony with other people who have the same interests in mind and if that means change of identities and so on then so be it."

This reinforces Coalter's (1990, p109) theory that it is the set of relationships which supports the notion of identity. The apparent unwillingness of the professional bodies to form inter-relationships did nothing to promote a leisure profession ethic or united institutionalisation of leisure management. This can convey an apparent lack of distinct expertise to non-specialists, thus reinforcing the erosion of the professionalism within the sector.

The apparent dismantling of dedicated leisure service provision which ensued in Scottish local government re-organisation in 1995 prompted the professional bodies to reconsider the issues of unification. In June 1997 ILAM Scotland, ISRM Scotland and SADLS called a joint meeting of their members to discuss the issue. Support was given to the respective Executives to develop a

common agenda and programme of action to address the perceive threat to the profession. As these discussions progressed over the next four months, once again, SADLS was unwilling to fully commit to a unified mechanism to fulfil the advocacy role identified. As Chair of ILAM Scotland at the time, the author of this thesis witnessed, first hand, the difficulties in developing collegiality in the leisure professional ranks. Even leisure professionals cannot, it seems, agree on the criteria underpinning the leisure specialism. It must therefore be concluded that it was not managerialist policies alone which altered the notion of the leisure professional, but also the lack of commitment to the common good on the part of the leisure managers themselves which compounded the negative impact of New Right policies. Such action contradicted traditional Scottish corporatism.

Maintenance of the leisure profession requires continuous political activity. Such activity can be provoked by the profession itself in the form of lobbying etc. The continued failure of the professional bodies to establish clear leisure values and a subsequent identity has facilitated the process through which the model of leisure professionalism has altered from being traditional in nature, to pluralist and essentially general in nature. Following CCT, Ravenscroft (1992,p30) claimed that:-

> "For as it (the welfare state) is rolled back it becomes patently clear that leisure, perhaps even more than health and education, has rested on its laurels and has consequently failed to establish its political legitimacy or its social need."

It seems that this view remained valid throughout the 1990s. It also seems that the strong corporatism remaining *between* rather than *in* Scottish local authority leisure services departments was a more effective mechanism for protecting the identity of public sector leisure management through its resistance to CCT than professional body representation. Emergent professional anti-collectivism borne out of territorialism and insecurity has weakened the leisure managers' claim as a profession.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the impact of New Right policies on leisure management in Scotland. Prior to 1979 public leisure managers played an important role in identifying the recreational needs of the community. The value of leisure was entrenched in recreational welfare with acceptance of the intrinsic value of leisure. During the period 1979 – 97 government intervention in the form of privatisation and managerialist policies redefined the role of public sector leisure as 'recreation as welfare' (Coalter, 1990, p16) and in so doing reshaped the nature of public sector leisure management.

In its pursuit of the external benefits of leisure, the New Right policies of targeted funding and volunteerism increased the mechanisms through which leisure services were delivered. CCT brought further structural changes to leisure services delivery. The tensions arising between the goals of community recreation initiatives and local authority leisure services, then between client and DSOs fuelled the fire of

competition between leisure professionals. This sowed the seeds of fragmentation in the profession.

The political power given to community recreation undermined the status of leisure services and, consequently, leisure managers. Volunteerism eroded the boundaries of expert knowledge and aspirations to create a traditional leisure profession were severely constrained. Failure by local councillors to exploit the opportunity in the CCT policy by including social objectives further reduced the political value of leisure and its managers. The integration of leisure services with other departments, following local government re-organisation in 1994, provided further evidence of political devaluation of the service and erosion of professional status. The creation of NPOs, borne out of financial expediency, has served to perpetuate the discrete identity of leisure. These NPOs, and the range of local authority structures, together with the increasing number of commercial sector operators has led to a more complex structure within the industry. This has the potential to fragment the profession even more.

Whilst the structure of leisure services was altered by the New Right, so, too, was its nature. CCT imposed stringent accountability over operational efficiency. This shifted the basis of leisure professionalism from being paternalist to one of power over resource allocation. The traditional traits of professionalism were subordinated to managerial efficiency, reinforced by the imposition of performance indicators that were primarily quantitative in nature. Leisure management was

therefore generalised and its professionalism underpinned by managerialism. Its economic utility was reinforced and its social utility ignored.

Whilst New Right policies prompted mechanistic changes which subsequently altered the nature of the leisure manager's role, the professional anti-collectivism within the profession itself undermined any efforts to resist the perceived worst aspects of Thatcherite policies. Although Scottish traditions of corporatism assisted resistance to CCT from within local government, lack of corporatism and collective advocacy within the leisure professional community contributed to the on-going erosion of status and professional power. The failure of the ADRLT publications to influence a change in the political perception of leisure illustrated this point. The shift in power away from the leisure professional and from local government and the lack of unity amongst leisure professional bodies emphasised the significance of Coalter's (1990, p109) thesis that it is the set of relationships with others with generations status and not exclusivity of a discrete occupational group. The significance of the lost opportunity of CCT (Coalter, 1994, p1) should not be underestimated. Had local authorities maintained leisure's welfare role in the CCT contract objectives, the paternalist role of the leisure manager may have continued. Thereafter, the political support needed to sustain the more traditional professionalisation of the industry may have been maintained (Laffin & Young (1990, p8). It seems that failure to establish relationships compounded the detrimental effects of New Right policy on the professionalisation of leisure.

The political and operating contexts seem paramount to shaping the model of professionalism in an organisation. Responses to New Right policies created new structures and environments for leisure service delivery. The ensuing chapter will test this thesis in an examination of the professionalisation processes existing in differing leisure management environments operating in Scotland.

Chapter Four Leisure Management in Scotland: Politics, Principles and Professionalism in Practice

Introduction

This thesis concludes that there is no single model of professionalism in leisure. The existing pluralism appears to be perpetuated by a range of factors, not least of which is the influence of the New Right Government on the operating environment and the subsequent influence of the operating environment on the management of leisure services delivery. The aim of this chapter is therefore to explore further these relationships in the three Scottish case studies, each of which exemplifies differing environments: traditional public service department; not-for-profit trust and commercial.

It has been highlighted that it is the actions of government which enables a profession through according value and, consequently, political power to its body of knowledge and skill (Freidson, 1994, p68, Laffin & Young, 1990, p8). Professionalisation, according to Vollmar & Mills (1966, pxi), seeks to: -

> "...clothe a given area with standards of excellence, to establish rules of conduct, to develop a sense of responsibility, to set criteria for recruitment and training, to ensure a measure of protection for members, to establish collective control over the area, and to elevate it to a position of dignity and social standing in the society"

The analysis of each case study examines the professionalisation of leisure management, taking account of the following three themes, which the previous chapters have concluded as being significant:

1. the influence of central and local government politics on leisure management policy and practice;
2. the professional power of the leisure manager
3. the criteria of professionalism

The chapter draws conclusions regarding the influence of New Right thinking on the process of professionalisation in each organisation and, consequently, the dominant, common characteristics of leisure professionalism.

Glasgow City Council

The Department of Cultural and Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council, is one of the few remaining dedicated leisure service departments in Scotland following the mass integration of services prompted by local government reorganisation in 1994. This fact, in itself, suggests that culture and leisure hold a high degree of political power in this local authority.

This recently restructured Department has responsibility for the City's libraries, museums, arts, and community in addition to the particular focus of this thesis - sport and recreation facilities and services. The Department now employs 2,000 staff (out of a total 30,000 council workforce) and continues to operate via a traditional hierarchical and bureaucratic structure.

It has been argued that the New Right set out to reduce the role of the State primarily through the development of an enterprise culture and increased economic efficiency in the public sector. Glasgow City Council has long been a 'bastion of

socialism' and as such it may be expected to provide evidence of resistance to the anti-collective policies of Margaret Thatcher and her government.

The role of culture and leisure, including sport and recreation, identified by Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) was one of benefiting the City and the workers. She referred to this in the context of the 1980s and early 90s. It is interesting to note that at that time she did qualify the notion of 'benefit' in welfarist terms. She discussed the issue of making 'the lives of Glasgwegians better' as a preface to 'trying to fend off the worst aspects of Thatcherism'. This suggests that resistance to Thatcherite policies was the key focus of the Council and as a consequence the Council was distracted from formulating a considered rationale for its leisure service at that time.

An alternative interpretation of Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) statement is based on the ethos of culture and leisure as a welfare right or "for its own sake", a notion presented by Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02). The assertion that sport and leisure services (within the structure of the Parks and Recreation Department) was 'doing its own thing' (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02) provided more specific evidence of an apparent lack of emphasis on the externalities of sport and recreation (Coalter, 1990, p16). The weight of this evidence suggests that Glasgow's local councillors and their leisure managers had different rationales for sport and leisure services. The apparent lack of political influence on the service, implied by both Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) and Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02), also suggests that leisure managers actually retained the traditional professional status discussed in the previous chapter and were left to pursue the paternalist role.

Lack of political influence is evidenced again in the process of formulating a strategy for Glasgow's sport and leisure services. Formulation of a leisure strategy was carried out by practitioners in the 1980s (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, and Jones, Interview 8, 21/10/98). According to Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) this was also the case in Glasgow. He, like Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01), perceived the process of strategy formulation as a political game where he suggested that 'the strategy was made up as a means of almost tying the Council into what we wanted to see as our capital projects'. The professional power of Glasgow's senior leisure managers was clearly evident during the 1980s.

From having a service initially driven by leisure managers themselves, it became a service that played, and continues to play an important political role. Scottish resistance to New Right policies was exemplified once again in Glasgow's move to use culture and leisure for self-promotion and subsequently economic regeneration. Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) claimed "you keep the Government on line when you can get something out of them to economically regenerate your city. You use culture and sport so to do". Economic regeneration is not a traditional socialist tenet, which prompts a view that Glasgow used it as a means to be seen to be doing the Government's bidding thus supporting Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) claim that you 'parried with Government'. It should also be noted that emphasis placed in Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) interview responses are weighted more heavily towards culture. The use of sport (and leisure) in this way must be regarded as an assumption, which, as previously stated, is not wholly substantiated in the views of Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) and Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02).

The policy of economic regeneration is justified by claims that the industrial power and the consequent economic power of Glasgow were lost as a result of Thatcherite policies. Culture and leisure therefore received substantial capital investment, acquired primarily through partnerships with local businesses and the beneficence of local businessmen. It is this partnership working which has enabled Cultural and Leisure Services to maintain its profile. Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) claimed that sport and leisure has maintained its important role. He claimed that 'it's managed to convince the politicians, other agencies, and the wider community that it has a key role to play, not only intrinsically for itself but also it can contribute to wider agendas, whether it be education or wider social reasoning, economic and employment'. He went on to suggest, however, that he regarded Glasgow as atypical in this regard amongst Scottish Local Authorities.

Why has leisure sustained its power in Glasgow when it has staggeringly failed to do so in so many other local authorities? Much of the freedom gained by the Council was generated through its alliance with the former Strathclyde Region which was the largest of the Scottish Regions and bearing the financial power of about twenty five countries (Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02). Strathclyde Region and Glasgow were the Labour strongholds in Britain and represented nearly half of Scotland's population. Together these two socialist strongholds were able to resist the worst aspects of New Right thinking. Whilst their combined economic and political power created the potential for a greater degree of autonomy from central government than other authorities experienced, it was their leadership which enabled that potential to be realised. Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) strongly asserted that without the leadership power would not have been used to "subvert"

the New Right's efforts to constrain the actions of Region and local council. Glasgow saw themselves as opportunists and both City and Regional funding realised a significant number of new cultural and leisure facilities through the 80s and 90s.

It was 1993 before a considered strategy was presented for Parks and Recreation (ILAM Scotland Seminar, Easterhouse Business Centre, June, 1993). This is surprising when East Kilbride produced its first strategy in 1987. One argument for Glasgow taking so long may have been the distraction of resisting central government policies. It is interesting to note that Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) now regards strategy as essential to the sustainability of services. This notion together with the emphasis on partnership working, opportunism and economic efficiency reflects the thinking of the New Right Conservative Government, yet Cameron portrayed herself and Glasgow's Council as being strongly opposed to New Right ideology. A conclusion from this situation is that Glasgow's political premise may be entrenched in socialism, but its political practice has assumed, subconsciously or otherwise, a neo-liberalist profile. Traditional Scottish pragmatism may also be argued to be at the root of Glasgow's actions, although, such pragmatic actions in more recent times is more likely to be a reflection of New Labour principles.

The strength of conviction conveyed in Cameron's (2002) views regarding the promotion of Glasgow through cultural events and the building of new facilities underpins the political value given to the Cultural and Leisure Services Department. She portrayed the services of the department as a utility in the achievement of

economic aims, thus providing more contemporary evidence to support the notion that it is the externalities associated with leisure which generate its support (Coalter, 1990, p16, Bramham & Henry, 1985, p13). Ravenscroft (1992, p30) claimed that leisure 'failed to establish it political legitimacy' following CCT. The scenario emerging in Glasgow City Council contradicts this view. It is political legitimacy that has sustained the status of leisure in this Council.

Such legitimacy has also been further supported by a more explicit shift in thinking of leisure "for it's own sake" (Hooper, Interview 7, 25/2/02) towards the external benefits associated with leisure. This shift is more evidence of pragmatism or traditional Scottish civic pride as evidenced in the tone of Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) words. It may also be seen as evidencing the influence of the New Right economic agenda. Whilst Glasgow's resistance to Thatcher's principles was considerable according to Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02), the pressure from New Right exerted through the New Right managerialist policies to support the economic agenda may have been stronger in this instance. Regardless, Glasgow's development of cultural and leisure facilities and initiatives through partnerships with business has enhanced it's public profile in Britain and Europe. Sport and leisure, as well as culture, have reinforced Glasgow's status as an enterprising council (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02, Hooper, Interview 7, 25/2/02) thus perpetuating the Council's power political arena and consequently sport and leisure's power within Glasgow City Council.

In contrast, the views of Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) and Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) regard the support of culture and leisure to have been

prompted recently by recognition that these services have a significant role to play in achieving social objectives. The differing emphases placed on the value of Cultural and Leisure services do not indicate a power struggle since councillor and practitioner alike convey satisfaction. It does suggest, however, that an element of gamesmanship is at play. Just as Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) suggested that the Council 'parried' the New Right Government, it may be argued that leisure practitioners parried councillors, an argument supported by Campbell's (Interview 4, 28/2/02) illustration of manipulating the Council to gain support for his proposals. There is clearly an issue of professional power arising and adjusting the goals to suit the new political climate shaped by the New Labour government since 1997.

Policies and Practice

Whilst Glasgow City Council was able to resist or minimise the effects of Central Government's economic policies, it could not avoid implementing the managerialist policies discussed in previous chapters.

The implementation of CCT had a substantial impact on leisure management in Glasgow. Although Glasgow's DSO won all their own contracts, the process of creating the contract culture within sport and recreation services had both positive and negative consequences. Whilst Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) regarded CCT as having improved leisure management in terms of standards and management, he also saw it as having had a detrimental effect on Glasgow's culture of partnership working. Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02), who was a facility manager at the time, saw CCT in terms of the changes it caused to conditions of service. He asserted that

'there was a period of complete disharmony, demotivation' whilst Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) claimed that CCT 'left workers suspicious'. These views support a previous claim that some Thatcherite policies actually undermined the New Right aims of social harmony and participative citizenship. Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) described in some detail the detrimental effects on the efficiency of managing a leisure facility caused by CCT: -

> "Having new facilities, with a completely new management structure that didn't have enough staff to manage, suddenly you've got budget sheets to do and you're thinking....I used to have admin staff to order materials and do that. What's this budget? What's that budget? What's this code here? I've not got much experience of that. So it was a very fast learning curve... It was a major change to what we had being doing in the past and I think there were positive changes in the sense of actually focusing on the business, but only if that focus could be not to the detriment of the social objectives we have always had."

The above statement showed the beginnings of generic management criteria coming into leisure management practice in addition to an apparent tension between managerial and social goals in the leisure manager's job, a particular issue in an environment where welfarism is entrenched in its culture. The financial aspects of leisure management clearly continue to be a key focus. Increasing emphasis on customer needs, reinforced by John Major's support of market testing and most recently by New Labour, has made the leisure manager's role more complex as a balance between financial and social imperatives has to be found. Although income is still important Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) perceived that the focus has moved to be more concerned with increasing participation by a broader range of client groups. This is mindful of Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) comment that participation was the focus of the late seventies and early eighties, a focus whose

success was measured by the number of events run in addition to the numbers participating (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02). It also illustrates the influence of the New Labour government in the pulling back from an agenda dominated by economics, to one where economic objectives sit side-by-side with social imperatives.

In contrast Marshall (Interview 6, 25/2/02) cited the creation of the Glasgow Club (the City's branded health and fitness clubs) as evidence 'that profit/income generation wins ultimately'. A more realistic notion is that the structuring of The Glasgow Club along commercial lines is a further example of New Labour thinking in that socialism can't be truly effective without adopting capitalist practices. Discussion earlier in this chapter supports the view that rather than New Right thinking directing Glasgow City Council, the Council took the best of New Right thinking and used it to meet its own ends (Meek, Interview 15, 6/2/02) prior to New Labour coming into power.

Another detrimental effect of CCT, according to Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02), was the reduction in targeted activities, especially for pensioners, because the activities weren't cost-effective. This highlighted tensions in policies at both local and national level. Reducing activities, especially for pensioners, ran against the paternalist politics of the Council. It also provided further evidence to support claims in previous chapters that there were tensions in the policies of Government. In this case CCT undermined its policy of participative citizenship by reducing rather than increasing opportunities for older people.

Whilst CCT clearly impacted on the way leisure centres were run (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02), there has been a shift from the almost singular focus of financial expediency. The element of quality has now taken on increased significance (Hooper, Interview 7, 25/2/02), a factor which reflects the thinking of John Major and his view of citizen's rights. The paradigm shift is explained by Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) who stated:-

> " ....the really big change is in the local authority, who also have to manage and develop a service that's cost-effective, that is managed effectively, meets those quality standards, but also addresses a whole range of wider policy initiatives and objectives, whether it be on equality, whether it be on health-improvement, whether it be social inclusion and targeting of certain prime groups, whether it be on training and development in terms of employment, whether it be on education, whether it be on community learning and development of a learning agenda. And I think the ability now also for sport and leisure to say that we can not only provide an important service to the community in its own right, but we can also contribute effectively to some of these key agendas."

This illustrates the broader focus and consequent wider range of knowledge and skills that the leisure manager must now have to provide an effective service in Glasgow. It is particularly important to be politically aware to ensure that practice achieves the core objectives of the Council (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02 & Marshall, Interview 6, 25/2/02). The current core objectives reflect notions of social inclusion, participation, and Best Value (Cultural & leisure Services Annual Review 2000/2001). Whilst social inclusion and participation are reminders of both traditional socialist and New Labour thinking, Best Value builds on the New Right notion of competition and value for money.

As previously stated, Glasgow has always recognised the value of partnership working. This practice now permeates several tiers of management as described by each of the interviewees. This indicates a need for a wider range of general skills.

The need for a cost-effective service appears to have generalised the leisure manager's role, although the increasing emphasis on social imperatives may be argued to have enhanced the specialist aspect of leisure management. As Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) suggested it is a balancing act. Whilst agreeing in principle with Hooper, Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) felt that the operational implications of the wider policy objectives are not fully appreciated by senior management. This apparent difference in understanding illustrates Campbell's (Interview 4, 28/2/02) view that the nature of leisure management differed according to the environment you are working in. In comparing his job with another leisure manager in Glasgow, Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) claimed it was like "comparing an apple with an orange". The professionalisation requirement of setting criteria for recruitment and training (Vollmar & Mills, 1966, pxi) may therefore be difficult and consequently may be a factor that is constraining the professionalisation of the industry.

Professional Power

The introduction to this chapter suggested that the very existence of the Cultural and Leisure Services Department in Glasgow is indicative of political power these services hold within the Council. While the tension between financial and social imperatives was clearly evident in the views of each interviewee, there was also an implied view that the financial imperatives still dominate, therefore

indicating that New Right principles are still having an influence. In this context New Right policies could have been the enabling factors which consequently facilitated the emergence of the Cultural and Leisure Services department. In combining the various smaller departments into one more cost-effective department (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02) Glasgow City Council could be said to have followed New Right practice by centralising and, arguably, generalising its structure rather than specialising through devolving power to smaller, specialist units. There was an implied increase in effectiveness in the new structure in Cameron's (Interview 16, 18/3/02) statement that: -

> "It's a big department and we've got sports working together with community education, with youth work, with libraries, with lifelong learning, with museums and with all the performance arts. So we're able to share buildings. We're able to make a synergy between the services....."

Paradoxically implementation of a perceived New Right working practice increased efficiency, thus arguably validating an aspect of New Right thinking. The department's local political power increased as a consequence which conflicts with the desired outcomes of New Right policies.

The lack of strategy in the eighties and the role which senior leisure officers played in strategy formulation in the early nineties suggest that at that time leisure managers held a fairly high degree of political status. The political power held was exemplified by Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) in his description of how councillors were manipulated into advocating and endorsing proposals originally generated by the practitioners themselves.

In recent years each of the practitioners emphasise that their service must now demonstrate adherence to the Council's core objectives. On the face of it there is by implication, a loss of professional autonomy here. However, the esteem in which Cameron and the leader of the council holds the Department (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02), suggests that Cultural and Leisure services have 'played the game' in the Council by being seen to work corporately and in partnership. It is this conformity which seems to have sustained the status of the Department, supporting the claim that status is derived from managerialist rather than specialist criteria (Bovaird, 1992, p160, Flynn, 1999, p27).

Conformity shows the success of Thatcher's managerialist policies. In Glasgow's case the central control is not demanded by Government, but by the Council. Control and resource allocation was seen as fundamental to professional power (Clarke, Gewirtz & McLaughlin, 2000, p9 & Pollitt, 1993, p86). Leisure managers in Glasgow have not only lost professional power over strategic objectives and consequently resource generation, but it seems there is stronger corporate control over how resources should be allocated and to what purpose they should be used.

The reduction in professional power is at odds with Hooper's (Interview 7, 25/2/02) view that the high profile of the Department is a reflection of its status. Whilst its status seems high, that status is derived from generalist perspectives. The status is also underpinned by political value as a utility rather than professional value. The conclusion that leisure managers within Glasgow have less professional power is endorsed by both Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) and Hooper (Interview

7, 25/2/02) who asserted that leisure managers were not held in the same regard as managers of other services. An increased emphasis on corporate objectives and corporate working has reduced the professional autonomy of the service identified as existing in the early to mid-eighties.

Both Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) and Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) consistently stressed the significance of partnerships with external agencies in their success and status. Clearly the set of relationships identified by Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02), Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) and Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02) has played a significant role in the development of cultural and leisure services in Glasgow. This supports Coalter's (1990, p109) view that it is the relationships which generate status. The Glasgow experience therefore reflects the professionalisation process discussed in the previous chapter whereby the process has now much less reliance on traditional criteria of knowledge and skill. The power of traditional exclusivity of professional knowledge does not exist in the model of professionalism that exists in Glasgow. The contrasting views of Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) and Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) suggest that any professional power gained from partnerships is accorded senior managers, those who are meeting external partners, as opposed to staff further down the hierarchy.

With the substantial size of the workforce in the Cultural and Leisure Service Department and the apparent success with which it delivers its services, one might assume that recognition of professional technical knowledge would be more apparent. This thesis suggests that competition from within the workforce itself has

eroded the potential professional power that might otherwise have been gained. Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) described the situation in the '80s:-

> "Back in the '80s the education dept., social work dept., libraries Dept., worked quite separately....So there wasn't so much familiarity with who was heading these services because there wasn't so much joint working. There was very little contact between the Libraries Department and the Parks and Recreation Department, either at officer level or director level. It was a separate service. They ran libraries and the Parks and Recreation was responsible for the parks and the leisure centres and swimming pools and a degree of sports development. There wasn't that crossover."

The apparent separation of what was considered by Torkildsen (1992, p184) to be components of public sector leisure provision support the previous claims that leisure had no clear professional identity. Lack of common identity, and more significantly collective professional power, were explained in stronger terms by Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) in his assertion that: -

> "The Parks Department ran the sports centres and recreation centres etc., indoor provision. The Baths Department ran simply the baths, the launderettes, the steamies...The power at that time was within Parks because the then Director...had been the Head of Parks. So suddenly you had this Parks and Recreation Department that was primarily run by ex-parks senior managers. They all had horticultural backgrounds. When Bernard arrived (next Director) he had a sports background, and it was probably perceived by the parks managers that that was not their best years. Because if it was a capital list of spend the tractors went down to the bottom and the Nautilus weight equipment got shoved up to the top, whereas for years it was the other way around."

The above perspective signifies the power of an individual personality, in this case that of the in-coming Director, over the professional collective. The lack of collective response to the political demands of the era did little to enhance the

professional power of leisure. Lack of clarity of common purpose continues to undermine the creation of a common identity for leisure. Marshall's (Interview 6, 25/2/02) comments indicated that this situation remains today when, in discussing training and development opportunities he stated:-

> "...if we're running management development we will tend to include across the board so you're getting cross-fertilisation rather than just taking leisure people because we find that of value to see how colleagues are dealing with accounts control or other issues in theatres and museums and libraries."

The professional hierarchy described by Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) created barriers to professional collectivism in Glasgow in the '80s. This would appear to have been compounded by changes in departmental structuring reinforcing fragmentation in the profession. Whilst corporate working has diluted the worst effects of this, management structure continues to perpetuate an identity of individual components rather than a composite whole. It is unlikely therefore that leisure professionals in Glasgow will ever re-acquire the traditional professional power that was identified in the 1980s.

The previous chapter discussed the change of power from the leisure professional to the community education professional during the 1980s. Richard Campbell, having been a Leisure Facility Manager, is now a Community Recreation Manager. This prompts the question has this increased his status or merely changed his identity? One response is that the integration of Community Education into Cultural and Leisure Services in 2001 widened the focus of those working in the department. Consequently the reliance on the traditional technical knowledge of

the leisure professional has reduced and that he/she has had to acquire additional knowledge more commonly associated with the community education professional. The transfer of political power to community recreation, discussed in the previous chapter, has been sustained in Glasgow, arguably perpetuated by New Labour's social inclusion and lifelong learning policies..

An opposing argument is that the title Community Recreation Manager has actually increased the status of leisure management. In reinforcing the concept of recreation as welfare, the leisure manager is now practising the traditional leisure manager role through application of the additional knowledge in a broader context, no longer constrained by the perameters of a leisure centre. This has arguably increased the leisure manager's domain. The public responsibility given to the leisure manager for enhancing the welfare of the community through recreation has strengthened the professional paternalist role and therefore indicates a partial return to the traditional model of professionalism. The requirements to consult with customers, as required by Best Value, constrain the degree to which this model can redevelop however.

It seems that there are varying degrees of professional power existing in Glasgow. Senior managers have opportunity to increase their professional status through partnership working, whilst facility managers have opportunity through the renewed emphasis on community welfare. These instances are accorded to individuals, not the leisure management collective. Organisational structures and the perception of services as a political utility serve to undermine the collective professional identity necessary to establish and maintain its professional power.

Criteria of Professionalism

To attain political support conformity to centralist /corporate objectives is essential. The political emphasis on economic efficiency necessitates financial management skills, as well as lobbying (Hooper, Interview 7, 25/2/02). The tension between financial and social imperatives re-galvanises the requirement for understanding of the social perspectives of leisure.

As a senior manager Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) portrayed a professional model based on macro or generalist issues. He based professionalism on 'ways of working' further defined as the outcomes of working e.g. extent of service development over a period, investment from partners. He did not indicate that specialist knowledge and traditional micro characteristics were fundamental to his professional model. Whilst this may be partly explained by the fact that he is Head of Support Services, he also asserted that the Head of Sport, for example, is concerned with business management thus portraying a generalist model of professionalism.

In contrast to Hooper's view, Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) implied that knowledge is important. He claimed that the complexity of his service requires him to have a broader range of knowledge than a bank manager, thus forming a rationale for his model of professionalism. This is a more traditional interpretation than that of Hooper, which may indicate that the specialist technical knowledge is not required at senior manager level. Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) contradicted himself, however, by saying that "you can be professional no matter what you're

job is". Such confusion provided additional evidence for the notion that leisure managers have no clear definition for the term 'leisure professional'.

Whilst the label of 'professional' is purported to bring economic and social status (Freidson, 1994, p18, MacDonald, 1995, p63), Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) identified negative as well as positive outcomes of such labelling: -

> "I think there are good things about professions, professional standards and learning from good practices from your colleagues in your profession, having professional associations that convey good practice. We learn from each other and develop standards. The converse of that is that professions become too silo in their mentality and certainly we can lose sight of the links and the wider objectives. I don't think there's too much difference between sport, leisure, the arts, learning, libraries, museums. I think the strength, certainly in local government, is of these services working together to provide a range of cultural and leisure opportunities for people in our communities and that is best done by these services working closely together, looking at how they can reinforce each other to provide a wider range of opportunities. Sometimes one of the barriers to that is professions, professional working. We've had to battle sometimes. This is not just leisure professions, in fact leisure professionals are the least culpable of this. I regard some of the professionals that work in the museum sector for example, or the library sector, are more precious about their profession and professional standards, than possibly the leisure profession. By virtue of being a newer profession I suppose, probably a bit less traditional, a bit more open-eyed, a bit more dynamic than maybe some of the older professions in the area of culture."

The responses from the practitioners in Glasgow suggested that they wish to be regarded for the quality of their work rather than the technical knowledge required to undertake their work. This indicates that Glasgow's model of professionalism follows the new professional model, discussed in the previous chapter.

West Lothian Leisure

West Lothian Leisure (WLL) is an Industrial and Provident Society (IPS); a charitable trust set up by West Lothian Council on 29th January 1998. The Trust's 2001 Annual Report explained that the trust model was chosen: -

> "...to establish the need to achieve a balance of community interest and involve important sectors of the community in the delivery of the service i.e. the users of the services, the local authority, the business community and the employees who deliver the service."

The services provided by the Trust consist of the management, operation and development of sports and leisure services for the community of West Lothian. The Trust manages ten sports centres and swimming pools for the local authority and currently employs 130 full-time staff and approximately 70 casual relief staff (Gillespie, Interview 5, 14/2/02). WLL is the second major trust to be created to manage public sector sport and recreation services in Scotland.

WLL is hierarchical and functional. The most senior manager is the General Manager, who is assisted by a Finance and Operations Manager. Thereafter there are two area managers. A Marketing Manager, Training and Development Manager and ten facility managers oversee the remainder of the functions. The Management of the Trust is accountable to a Committee of Management, which comprises of:

- 3 Elected Members West Lothian Council
- 3 Elected Employees
- 3 Business Representatives
- 2 User Representatives

(Annual Report, March 2001)

Policies and Practice

The most striking issue emerging from the research is the choice of language used by each of the interviewees. It is clearly evident that WLL's managers regard their domain as a business first and foremost rather than a statutory service. The customer is the focus of the organisation. Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) stated that without customers 'all I'd be selling is square meterage in a big box'. This retail ethic implies a lack of obligation to civic welfare and corporatism commonly identified in Scottish cultural tradition (Fry, 1987, p251, Midwinter, 1995, p11, Findlay, 1998, p113). This is more explicit in Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) assertion that:

> "The customer is the centre of what we do. It's the customer satisfaction, the customer journey that is absolutely essential in terms of us creating a successful, private, or quasi-commercial business".

Such is the strength of Forman's conviction to business management, as opposed to public sector service ethic, that West Lothian appears to be more of a local QUANGO rather than a component of the local government administration. Support for such a notion is provided by each of the interviewees who regard the political influence on the NPO as minimal. Whilst Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) did mention the community, it seems he distances his organisation from such a welfarist obligation by viewing his job in contractual terms: -

> "We are basically a company providing a service contract for the local authority. The local authority has specified that it wants a service to encompass all of its communities, it wants its target groups to be looked after. We've got a price for delivering that work over a period of time. That's what we do. So, there is no conflict between the objectives of

what we're trying to deliver and what the local authority want to deliver."

WLL is a contractor company rather than a public agent. There is no evidence in the research to suggest that WLL contributes to the local government policy-making process. Neither Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) nor Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) made any reference to Best Value in discussion of their practice, thus indicating a distancing from obligations in public sector practices as well as policy. Gillespie (Interview 5, 14/2/02) stated explicitly that Best Value has not affected WLL at all. WLL is portrayed as a stakeholder in the welfare of the West Lothian community. This is at odds with the Scottish tradition of civic responsibility discussed in previous chapters.

Whilst logic provides the basis for assuming that influence on an organisation remains most strongly with its creators and main financial supporters, Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) argued otherwise. He regarded the NPO as being a 'completely independent organisation to the local authority' and stated that 'it cannot be seen to be under the undue influence or shall we say, policy direction of that local authority as an entity'. He continued: -

"As an organisation we must have our own unique identity and we must have our own set of perameters that we work to, our own values and our own strategic objectives about what we need to do".

This radical view is entrenched in New Right thinking. Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) talked about community, but his practice is placed within the doctrine of consumerism. He subscribes to the market. Whilst references to customer

satisfaction and customer focus were made by both Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) and Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) there was no reference to customers 'rights'. The culture of West Lothian Leisure therefore seems to be underpinned by capitalism thus evidencing the influence of Thatcherism rather than 'Majorism'.

The practice within the Trust is strongly influenced by the activities of the commercial sector. Local commercial health and fitness facilities, for example, are seen as being in direct competition with WLL's facilities (Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02, Forman, Interview 12, 12/2/02), providing the trust with a 'kick in the right direction' (Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02). The subjection of public sector to market forces has achieved New Right aims in WLL's case. The Trust is constantly striving for economic efficiency by adopting a commercial ethos.

Both Cruttenden (Interview 9, 11/11/01) and Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) argued that the underpinning goals of CCT could have been achieved without making the tendering process compulsory. The achievements of WLL, as a voluntarily created contractor, exemplifies this, thus giving further credence to the view that it was the embracing of commercial practice rather than being in the commercial sector which realised efficiencies in service delivery (Jenkins, 1995, pp23 & 24, Savage & Robins, 1990, p41, Pirie, 1988, p255). In referring to Disney, Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) explained his admiration for commercial practice. There is a striking similarity between his views and those of Thatcher who, according to Cameron (Interview 16, 18/3/02), held the view that 'all that is private is good'.

The embracing of Thatcher's enterprise culture indicates the success of her policies. An alternative perspective is that within the context of public sector sport and recreation the degree to which enterprise is evident in the WLL culture and practice displays a lack of recognition of the 'recreation as welfare' philosophy of the New Right (Coalter, 1990, p16 & Bramham & Henry, 1985, p13). This is a further example of the tensions within New Right policies resulting in the undermining of their welfare objectives. There is also evidence of tension between the views of Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) and Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02). Whilst Forman at least makes reference to the community, Bunny, as a facility manager, makes no reference to this which prompts questions regarding the practice within WLL as opposed to the ideology purported by its General Manager.

At facility manager level, there has been difficulty in determining management priorities. This was illustrated by Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) who, in response to the question of whether there is conflict between public sector social imperatives and WLL's financial requirements, stated: -

> "Yes, there probably is. I think there's times when some people can maybe try to do the right thing and be fairly commercial and end up with a slap on the wrist and being told you can't really do that because we're a Trust. ...We're saying we're going to do certain things for the local community and I think when you're making decisions here about whatever, pricing involving customers, it's always at the back of your mind about why we're here as well, the social aspects and things like that. Although it has lessened. It's not as to the fore as it used to be. It's far more commercial."

A conclusion to be drawn from this is that enterprise is the principal focus of WLL, with welfare as the 'add-on'. Such a profile is similar to that of the perceived

profile of the New Right government, leaving WLL open to the same criticisms, identified in previous chapters, as those of the New Right.

The trust environment provides opportunity for a greater degree of autonomy and faster decision-making. The speed with which WLL has capitalised on this opportunity is prompted by the opinions of past practice within the local council rather than political influence. Both Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) and Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) extolled strong negative perceptions of local council practice being constraining and inefficient, which supports Margaret Thatcher's views.

Whilst the analysis above indicates tension between the strong commercial orientation of WLL and the public sector affiliation of the organisation, Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) maintained that he had the full support of the local councillors who sit on the Committee of Management of WLL. One perspective emerging from this scenario is that West Lothian Councillors have become managers rather than politicians thus supporting previous claims that managerialism has contributed to the depoliticisation of local government (Laffin & Young, 1990, p58, Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01). In responding to government policies by creating WLL, they have inadvertently further reduced their political power thus fulfilling a New Right objective.

The policies of WLL are ambiguous. Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) views evidenced his desire for autonomy from local council politics and practice, yet at one point he described how WLL was 'working with the Council to see how

we can develop more effective concessionary schemes'. One interpretation of this comment is that he does, indeed, see the Council as a partner. The context of concessions also suggests financial expediency may be the real motive behind this partnership, rather than altruism or obligation. Whilst there was no sign of political influence, Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) comments were interspersed with terms reflecting some degree of social consciousness as well as commercial aspirations. It seems, however, that the social conscience is self-driven, rather than politically driven by West Lothian Council, or Government.

The practice illustrated by each interview is underpinned by managerialism. There is little reference to specialist aspects of leisure management. The commercial work ethic inherent in WLL's culture therefore suggests that the model of professionalism existing is one of new professionalism.

Professional Power

The apparent autonomy underpinning WLL strategy and practice could be interpreted as the outcome of exertion of considerable professional power. Rather than being *given* the high degree of autonomy implicit in Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) view's for example, it seems that such autonomy has been *taken* by Forman and his management.

What is not clear in the research is whether the perceived power of WLL's management has been achieved through recognition of status on the part of West Lothian Council or by the general abdication of responsibility by the Council in the setting up of the NPO. The lack of political influence purported by Forman

(Interview 12, 12/2/02) and Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) suggests that by setting up WLL the Council has out-sourced responsibility, or arguably given up responsibility for sport and recreation services. Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) market-driven philosophy prompts concern that identification of leisure need, previously argued as being evident in the late seventies and early eighties, is not being practised in the same spirit within WLL.

WLL exemplifies the kind of demand-driven organisation desired by Margaret Thatcher. Response to market-demands in the entrepreneurial spirit conveyed by Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) suggests a reduction in the professional power of the leisure manager and an increase in the power of the market. The professional power of the General Manager of WLL has not been increased in the political arena and, as a consequence his perceived status is likely to be limited to the organisation rather than increased across the political and corporate bodies of West Lothian Council. Within WLL itself, leisure managers appear to have greater professional power within their individual domains. Bunny's (Interview 3, 14/2/02 2002) comments endorsed Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) assertion that WLL managers have greater autonomy. Ideas can be generated from lower echelons of the hierarchy suggesting a renewed status has been acquired through the ability to argue the case for additional resources and the demand of accountability for resource utilisation (Foreman, Interview 12, 12/2/02, & Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02). This is also indicative of a reduction in bureaucracy in comparison to traditional council working.

There is greater potential for WLL's leisure managers to practice a traditional form of professionalism through using their knowledge and skills to make judgements within their own facilities. An alternative view is that power is relevant primarily in the context of control of resources only. The strategy-formulation process signifies a traditional top-down approach (Bunny, 2002 & Gillespie, 2002). Leisure facility managers do not have an input to corporate objectives, yet Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) asserted that managers would be judged on their contribution to achieving these objectives. By implication there is a suggestion that the corporate objectives of this trust environment are primarily financial which reinforces the notion of the WLL leisure professional as a business manager with no traditional paternal role.

This scenario exemplifies a conviction by Senior Management and a lack of scepticism similar to that of the New Right government. Such a style may undermine the leisure managers' ability to be successful and subsequently erode their status and perceived professionalism. Gillespie (Interview 5, 14/2/02) referred to 'what Douglas Forman wants' thus suggesting a charismatic dominant leadership style which must surely influence the emerging model of professionalism. This was indicated in the phrase "how we want staff to behave', used by Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) in explaining his criteria for performance management.

It was noted that Bunny (Interview 3,14/2/02) suggested his views may not be the same as other leisure managers within WLL. He asserted that whilst he saw himself as a manager working in leisure other colleagues regarded themselves as leisure managers. He also suggested that the achievement of targets may be easier

in some facilities than it is in others, thus implying that environment, not just personal knowledge and skills influence success. Most interesting of all was that he directly linked his perceived status to salary. This is in marked contrast to Freidson's (1994, p36) criteria of a traditional profession where knowledge and skills monopoly are the dominant factors.

Much has been made of the tensions between WLL culture and practice existing at senior management level and facility management level in the context of professional power. A similar inconsistency in status between poolside staff and staff working in a gym was also implied by Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02). He identified qualifications as being essential to work in a gym but not the poolside. This implies a pluralist professional model existing in WLL – traditional at the lower levels of the leisure management career ladder and 'new' at facility manager level and above.

Criteria of Professionalism

A concept of leisure professionalism is something which WLL's chief officer, Douglas Forman, has some difficulty in recognising. In using Bale's criteria of a professional (educated, qualified, licensed, regulated and accountable) Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) asserted that the professional model existing within WLL is the 'new professionalism', a term used 'to recognise that there is an attitude to the work that can be deemed to be professional'. Whilst he failed to define 'professional', he did identify a general focus on attitude, rather than the technical authority expounded in traditional professional models (Freidson, 1994, p68, Vollmar & Mills, 1966, pxi,).

As in previous analyses of Foreman's comments about WLL's culture, there was also an ambiguity in his views of professionalism as it existed within the organisation. Whilst extolling the new professional model, Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) also discussed a vision of his workforce feeling valued and having a feeling of ownership of 'what they're doing'. The desire for stakeholding is a traditional professional characteristic that contrasts with his model 'new professionalism'. He further developed this vision by stating that his leisure managers had to be accountable for the resources they use and that they (the managers) should be talking about it in terms of values as well as finance. Once again, control of and accountability for resource utilisation is a characteristic of the more traditional professional model.

The mixed message within the WLL model explains Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) view that leisure management is a quasi-profession and a profession that aspires to develop along traditional lines. Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) stated that "we don't have to have a particular professional qualification" to provide a customer experience. The generic nature of WLL's professionalism is borne out by Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) who identified the leisure specialism in the technical aspects of the service e.g. pool life-guarding, operating pool plant etc. and that management is more general. Such a view supports Cruttenden's (Interview 9, 1/11/01) view that technical monopoly lay at the lower levels of the leisure management career ladder.

The technical specialism is protected by health and safety legislation (Gillespie, Interview 5, 14/2/02). The WLL specific competence-based approach to

training and development supports the new professionalism defined earlier by Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02). The values of the organisation (people first; respect; integrity; developing pride, job satisfaction; excellence = PRIDE) also emphasise the significance of behavioural characteristics, rather than qualifications, knowledge and skills, to WLL's professional model.

The insular way of working discussed earlier increases the potential for one influencing factor to dominate the process of professionalisation within WLL. The PRIDE values, for example, were developed by SPRITO, the National Training Organisations for Sport, Recreation and Allied Occupations. Douglas Forman is highly involved in this organisation both as Chair of SPRITO Scotland and as a member of SPRITO's UK National Training Forum. His global interests could be said to be directing the WLL professional model. Some support for this assertion is found in Gillespie's (Interview 5, 14/2/02) statement that she had no input into WLL's values and that feedback is being sought from employees following the imposition of the values, rather than as part of a consultation process to formulate the values. This contrasts with Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) vision of employees as stakeholders in the WLL's culture.

It has been stated on several occasions that managerialism underpins WLL's culture. The performance appraisal implemented in WLL is driven by management by objectives (MBO) and is output driven (Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02, Forman, Interview 12, 12/2/02). As in the WLL practice discussed earlier, the criteria for appraisal reflects New Right managerialist values imposed via CCT and the Performance Indicators brought in during the early 1990s.

Whilst new managerialism dominates the professional criteria, it is interesting to note that each interviewee displayed a subconscious desire for leisure professionalism to be organised along more traditional lines. Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) asserted that 'there is a strong case for a sport and recreation set of skills'. This was inconsistent with his earlier views that he was essentially in the retail sector and that someone without a sport/recreation background, from Disney for example, could work in his facilities. Moreover Foreman's perceived influence on the values of WLL is also at odds with his previous his assertion.

There are clear differences between the personal aspirations of the interviewees in considering a model of leisure professionalism and the model existing within WLL. The tension is evidenced in the conflicting responses from Gillespie (Interview 5, 14/2/02). In explaining the criteria for recruitment to WLL, she outlined how WLL's professional model emerged from: -

> "...the way we are changing our operations, traditional employment would be based on who's got what qualification, not necessarily the right person for the job. I think, just recently, we've changed our view to we want the right person. It doesn't matter whether they've got the qualifications or the experience or not. We'll give them that to get the good members of staff. I think that's what we've got to do to change. I think we will hopefully be able to get the professional person ultimately down the line."

In contrast her personal view of a professional was highly traditional in nature and was in conflict with WLL's professional model. She asserted that a professional is somebody: -

> "...who has a good base of qualifications, but also has a sound knowledge of the job that they are actually carrying out -the operations issues, the leisure management area, whatever you want to call it."

The process of professionalisation of leisure in WLL is underpinned by the strong commercial ethic of the General Manager. A generalist business orientation directs the management of performance. The apparent personal desire for a more traditional model of leisure professionalism may, however, cause some tensions as the professionalisation process continues. Nevertheless it must be noted that WLL is a young organisation and is still forming its identity and therefore the professional model may alter as a consequence.

David Lloyd Leisure Limited

David Lloyd Leisure Ltd (DLL) was one of the first commercial leisure companies to emerge in Britain. David Lloyd, a former professional tennis player and Davis Cup team coach, established the company in1981, opening his first club in Heston, Middlesex, London, in 1982 (Eaton, 1996, p75). The idea for the company was derived from leisure centres that Lloyd had seen in Holland and America, centres which not only offered tennis facilities but other physical activities that were attractive to families (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02). The initial drive, however, came from a desire to encourage the development of tennis. The Heston Club had twelve indoor tennis courts.

The company has continued to develop since 1981. David Lloyd eventually sold his company and trading name to Whitbread plc in 1995 under whose ownership it has continued to expand and is now the largest commercial leisure

company in Britain. David Lloyd, thereafter, set up a new company, Next Generation, which owns ten leisure centres in Britain and three in Australia. He is currently in discussion to open centres in China and Dubai.

In comparison to public organisations, political influence on the development of DLL is minimal. The development of the company was enabled through identification of a new and attractive concept to Britain that created a niche-market for David Lloyd. This was pure business enterprise with the market influencing the locations chosen for development.

Policies and Practice

Previous chapters have highlighted how expansion in public sector leisure facilities was evident throughout the 1980s. The growing interest in leisure arguably galvanised the market for David Lloyd, allowing him to develop his facilities in parallel with public sector expansion. Whilst Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) stated that he would have been able to develop his company regardless of which political party had been in government, he also acknowledged that the Thatcherite attack on Unions and the subsequent reduction in the power held by unions 'definitely helped' to establish the company.

Whilst there is no evidence to signify influence of New Right policies on the nature of DLL, there is clearly evidence to illustrate how policies constrained the development of the company. The negative effects of planning regulations and procedures were described in strong terms by Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) when he stated that 'it's very hard to get planning in some areas...I don't think governments

help at all'. He claimed that the locations of David Lloyd centres were not always through choice but where he could get planning permission to build. He saw this situation continuing today in his assertion that his new company, Next Generation, had not grown as quickly as he thought it should have done because of planning restrictions and land-use restrictions.

Acceptance of Lloyd's (Interview13, 4/5/02) perspective on planning legislation highlights another means through which the New Right seemingly undermined their doctrine of enterprise. The DLL experience illustrates how planning restrictions constrained the exploitation of business opportunities. This situation may be explained by the apparent lack of clear purpose accorded leisure in Britain during the period 1979 – 97 (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02, Jackson, ILAM Scotland AGM, 2002). Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) argued: -

> "People come here (Next Generation) and they're looked after and they don't go on the street and punch somebody. They have no sector in British planning law for something like this where all other Europeans do. There's a sector for leisure and in their plan they'll have a plot of land that is identified that can only be for leisure!....They plan their leisure like a new town will plan their road 'cos leisure is healthy....But there is no planning (in Britain). They just toss a coin up. We might like that land, we got in and we're at the beck and call of some stupid planning or the government turns down a good plan. And the investment's there from a lot of companies."

Previous discussion identified conflict between central and local government. The apparent conflict between these tiers of government in the granting of planning permission provides an additional dimension to this discourse (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02). The experiences of both DLL and Next Generation signify where the local council granted planning permission and subsequently the

Scottish Office overturned the decision. The reduction in fiscal power, referred to previously, has affected the development of commercial leisure companies and has, arguably, affected economic development in Scotland.

The issue of competition permeates the discourse on New Right thinking. This issue has had a limited influence on DLL in the 1980s because it had a market niche and also because people were less inclined to give up their club memberships and consequently lose their joining fee. As the commercial sector has developed substantially throughout the 1990s some competition has come from other emerging commercial companies such as Esporta and Living Well, resulting in increased flexibility in pricing structures and in joining fee structures in particular (Lloyd Interview 13, 4/5/02).

The competition from the commercial sector was regarded as only slight (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02). The ability for the public sector to compete was also noted. Pricing structures in the public sector are not dissimilar to that of DLL and in fact, Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) argued that his new company Next Generation was cheaper in some instances than the public sector. If this is the case, the price increases in public sector leisure are a direct response to budget cuts and demands for economic efficiency. Consequently public sector provision may now be out of reach of the people for whom it has been created, further undermining the aim of 'rolling back the State'.

A consequence of selling DLL to Whitbread has been the expansion in the bureaucracy of decision-making (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02, Roberts, Interview 2, 11/2/02). Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) explained:-

> "That's the difference between the old David Lloyd and the new David Lloyd (Next Generation). I mean with Whitbread you're a number, you're not a person. You're not allowed to make that decision. In the old David Lloyd club today you went in there and a guy wanted to spend £10k on something really special, the paperwork involved in that would be mind-blowing. That's why I left."

Direct political influence on the nature and development of DLL is limited to the granting of planning applications. The company is the market leader with others attempting to follow. The very nature of commercial competition necessitates operating in isolation to maintain advantage. As a consequence the process of traditional professionalisation is severely detrimentally affected. Both Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) and Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) argued that contributions to the social welfare of a community were altruistic, however, both acknowledged the marketing value of such actions. This places the company's actions within a competitive strategy further underlining the utilitarian nature of partnerships between the company and the public sector in particular. Collegiality is therefore impossible to achieve, thus prompting the consideration that traditional professionalism within DLL is impossible on the basis of the policies and practice evidenced.

Professional Power

The creation of David Lloyd Leisure was a direct consequence of entrepreneurial activity on the part of David Lloyd himself. His enthusiasm for his

idea was not informed by specialist technical knowledge or qualifications, but by observations made in his travels as a professional tennis player. The origins of the company therefore do not convey recognition of a specialist leisure management expertise associated with traditional professional power.

The model of professionalism portrayed in Lloyd's responses (Interview 13, 4/5/02) is pluralist in nature. On one hand he suggested that there was no skill required to set up a business such as his:-

> "Anybody can do it. You don't have to buy the land. You just rent a 40,000 square foot box, pay a rental, put your gym equipment in it and you're there. I mean anyone can do it. There's no skill in it."

On the other hand there was the assertion that managing such facilities 'is a very skilful business'. Nevertheless, the skills involved are generic e.g. budgeting, marketing, and in practice do not generate a level of power sufficient to influence the policy direction of DLL significantly. The culture in DLL prior to Whitbread ownership suggested a fair degree of autonomy and status at local level, however, this has changed with the change in ownership. As previously stated, with new ownership has come a substantial increase in bureaucracy and a consequent reduction in professional status. Managers have authority to sign anything up to a cost of £500. Whilst Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) portrayed this to be a significant sum, when considered within the context of the £2.2m budget for which he is responsible, it remains a very small percentage of the overall budget.

Appointment to the management of a DLL facility or to a higher management position is not dependent on specialist leisure knowledge. The focus is business development. People with accounting, food/beverage and marketing backgrounds are therefore regarded as being as suitable as Roberts, who has a sport and recreation/PE background, to the position of General Manager. Leisure technical specialism does not underpin professional power within DLL. The acquisition of power lies in the ability to 'make the case' for investment (Roberts, Interview 2, 11/2/02, & Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02). Power is therefore derived from business knowledge rather than leisure knowledge that draws the conclusion that power is not derived from leisure professionalism but business management professionalism.

In the context of 'making the case' for investment, professional power is based on traditional professional criteria – knowledge, understanding and business skill. The level of accountability, supported by the Balanced Scorecard system of performance monitoring exemplifies a managerialist culture. The importance of achieving the 85% score from mystery guest reports is considerable. The flair that Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) referred to as being important to him in Next Generation appears to be stifled in the Whitbread management style. How this has happened is illustrated by Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) who explained that "Whitbread, since they took over five years ago, have, in the last year and a half, really taken a grip of us and everything down to the computer systems we're using...

> "...it's everything down to the phone call, show-round, and the follow-up. So if somebody leaves do we send them a postcard within three

> days, do we ring them within five days of their visit? If we don't do any of these things we get downmarked and we've got a target which is 85% for everything over the course.... So from my point of view I'm judged, a number of these things are judged by mystery guests. We've also got members' surveys, which every quarter we sent 200 surveys out to members of the club. Not from the club – it's done centrally so we have to input into it. We get results back from our members, rating everything from staff through to facilities, services. So we get another monitor on that as well."

The tightness of the controls described above supports Lloyd's (Interview13, 4/5/02) view that there is less room for managers to display flair in the management of their facilities under the Whitbread management. Although Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) argued that he has significant input to targets set for his centre, these targets are ultimately imposed by senior managers, who are not necessarily leisure specialists. The opportunity to exert expert power is therefore quite limited and the lack of power accorded the leisure manager consequently justifies the bureaucracy. Traditional professionalism is undermined by this degenerative feedback loop existing in DLL's management strategy.

Interestingly both Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) and Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) made reference to the relatively poor level of pay existing in the industry. Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) in particular saw his status linked to pay. This identifies a relationship between market value and development of professional power. The relatively low level of revenue generated by usage cannot sustain a diversified management structure (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02). Consequently, in companies like David Lloyd Leisure and Next Generation the Leisure Manager has to fulfil a wider range of tasks than other types of managers (Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02 & Roberts, Interview 2, 11/2/02). This broadening and potential

generalisation of the leisure management remit, as a consequence of market forces, adds to the undermining of traditional professionalism within leisure, therefore compounding the existing negative effects of anti-collectivism within the profession as discussed in the previous chapter.

Criteria of Professionalism

The example of DLL supports the hypothesis that the larger the company becomes the greater the erosion of professional power of leisure managers. The technical knowledge regarded by Freidson (1994, p68) as a component of traditional professionalism exists in DLL at the lower end of the career ladder only. Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02), himself, called lifeguards 'specialists' who have to have training, whereas he regarded formal training for facility managers as unnecessary stating "that you really have got to let them get on with the job".

DLL mirrors Lloyd's (Interview13, 4/5/02) views in their practice of coaching by line-managers. This was defined as training by Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) whose coach is his Regional Manager. Roberts explained that:-

> "I see him several times a month. We sit down and discuss the way the club is going. If I've got weaknesses, or areas I'm not sure of, I discuss that with him and he gives me coaching. So, I do get coaching."

The lack of formal training or qualification requirements of DLL's facility managers is justified in its perception that the manager's remit comprises of a broad range of tasks. The knowledge and skills requirement may not be able to be met by one particular qualification. The general nature of the tasks outlined - controlling

income and expenditure and ability to implement the strategic plan - provides additional evidence of a non-specialist manager's role existing in DLL. This is further endorsed by the simple fact that they are called General Managers within the company and by the broad range of labour sources identified by Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02).

The criteria identified in DLL's performance management process suggest that the notion of professionalism existing within the company is underpinned by conformity. Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) and Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) suggested that there was some variation in interpretation of the general manager's role from club to club. Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) explained that you can: -

> "...go to some David Lloyd clubs and the general manager is the person who is helping out all the time. He plays tennis, does coaching, maybe is in the gym doing instruction because they enjoy doing it. My club is very different to that. I've really set my structure within the club, in agreement with my regional manager, I have a big say in, I've got rid of the assistant manager's position. I've now got two operations managers and their day-to-day job is to run the facility and to look after things like health and safety, ensure there's training within the facility. My job is to look forward strategically, target where we're going in the next two or three years."

Flexibility in staffing structures compounds the lack of standardisation of the leisure manager's role, which further supports previous claims that there is difficulty in defining the leisure management specialism. This difficulty cannot be overcome as Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) explained: -

> "It's (the job) hard, but it's different every day. That's the beauty.. I mean job descriptions – I can understand in some things – but because

> it's so diverse you couldn't write a job description. I could write a thousand pages and I still wouldn't cover it ...When people ask me for a job description I can't actually give them one."

The variable nature identified above shifts the paradigm of specialism from technical expertise to flexibility; the more generic you are the greater the range of tasks you can handle and therefore the more specialist you are. Both Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) and Lloyd (Interview 13, 4/5/02) identified such behavioural characteristics as their focus of professionalism.

Both refer to the ability to make decisions and undertake a wide range of tasks. Both men also emphasised the importance of following the company philosophy, be it in DLL or Next Generation. Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) stated that 'to me professional is actually taking the company line to a large degree'. Whilst behavioural characteristics are the perceived components of professionalism in DLL, practice within the company suggests that accountability is the dominant component. The Balanced Scorecard used to measure performance has six indicators, five of which are quantitative. Only the indicator 'the David Lloyd Way' (behaviour demonstrated to mystery visitors) supports Roberts' and Lloyd's stated view of professionalism. The degree of accountability is equated to the level of professionalism perceived by the DLL senior management.

DLL sets its own standards of professionalism based on a combination of conformity, accountability and the ability to manage a wide range of tasks. This model reflects the model of 'new professionalism'. It may also be argued that this

model is 'traditional' within the commercial sector where the ability to make a profit and keep shareholders happy has always been the principle focus.

Comparisons

The case studies illustrated both similarities and contrasts in their identified models of professionalism. The most obvious finding was the managerialist underpinning of each professional model. Accountability was evident in all three organisations. Conformity made a significant contribution to perceived professionalism by senior managers. In the case of Glasgow's Cultural and Leisure Services, however, this conformity extended to the accountability of the Department to its local councillors.

The research has proved that there is a link between operating environment and professional power, although the relationship between the two is different in each case. In DLL the centralised performance management mechanism ('The David Lloyd Way'), together with a strong hierarchical decision-making structure constrains the leisure manager's professional power. In Glasgow and WLL the variation in power appears to be determined by the amount of political influence on the strategy formulation process.

Previous assertions claim that both Glasgow and WLL's organisational structures have emerged as a tactic to resist the worst consequences of Thatcherism. In Glasgow's case the drive for economic regeneration placed leisure high on the political agenda. This has consequently necessitated a higher degree of political awareness and accountability from leisure managers than managers of WLL require.

This has created a degree of political power, although it's not supported by traditional professional power. Whilst WLL was also created as a resistance mechanism, the consequence for its professional model has been a relative disenfranchisement from municipal obligation. The continuation of such apparent operational autonomy suggests that the trust is now seen as a more economically efficient delivery mechanism. Lack of political affiliation to the Council prompts the notion that economy rather than social externalities continue to be the driver of WLL and therefore the organisation continues to work in the 'New Right Way', with little evidence of New Labour thinking impacting on its operations. The missionary zeal of its general manager has created a new leisure orthodoxy within WLL which does not parallel the political nuances of Glasgow's sport and recreation services.

Political influence has shaped the structure and purpose of Glasgow's Cultural and Leisure Services Department. Although the same central government influence shaped the initial structure of WLL, it's subjugation to market forces is an explicit illustration of individual liberalism at work (strongly influenced by the CEO), rather than local political will. Whilst Glasgow conveys a partial return to an explicit welfarist agenda, its competitive attitude to the commercial sector and the focus on output measurement highlighted by Campbell (Interview 4, 28/2/02) in particular, also places significance on market forces on Glasgow's strategy. There is therefore a stronger commonality emerging across the three organisations. This suggests a common foundation for leisure management that is not based on technical knowledge, but on marketing principles and managerialist principles. The focus on outputs perpetuates the importance of managerialist criteria in the

evaluation of leisure managers' work and decreases the potential for recognition of specialist knowledge.

WLL's managers have taken autonomy and the professional power gained is strong, but only within the organisation itself. The strong conviction of its General Manager has created a culture seemingly dominated by managerialism. WLL is more concerned 'with the strategic management of the business organisation than the equity of the process involved in the development of the services' (Clarke, 1994, p172). This is perhaps not surprising as WLL is cut off from the other local authority service departments. This is similar to DLL, where managers have a reasonable level of power at local level.

Professional power within the organisation is less easily identified in the Glasgow study. The structure of the Department creates divisions between the various sectors of leisure. The views of Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) suggest that there is a degree of competition between the professionals from the different sectors. This constrains the professionalisation process as the potential for undermining the professional power of a competitor is increased and negative consequences may erode the perceived value of the Department as a whole. Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) also indicates that the Department comprises of a range of specialist services which do not always operate in an integrated way and consequently have different interpretations of professionalism.

Glasgow has placed particular emphasis on partnership working since the mid-80s (Cameron, Interview 16, 18/3/02). This has enabled a positive perception

of the Department's professionalism by its external partners. WLL has a narrower field of recognition because is has a much smaller range of partners. In DLL it is the manager's relationship with customers which increased professional power as a positive relationship potentially increases revenue and subsequent status within the organisation itself.

The managerialist, professional model existing in each of the organisations makes recognition of a specialist body of knowledge more difficult. Monopoly of knowledge appears to exist only at the lower levels of the management structure (Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02, Lloyd, Interview 13, 4/5/02) where it is lifeguards and gym instructors who are required to have specific qualifications. As you rise up the career ladder the knowledge and skill requirement becomes more generalist. These conclusions support previous claims that the leisure manager's career is a short one (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01). Such conclusions portray a pluralist model of leisure professionalism i.e. traditional professionalism in the lower echelons and new professionalism at facility manager level and above.

In the Glasgow and DLL studies the range and complexity of tasks which make up the leisure manager's job was seen as a specialist aspect. This suggests that such skills as time management, prioritising and communication are essential rather than technical knowledge. In talking of what it means to be professional each interviewee cited behavioural characteristics as being of greatest significance. These findings provide further evidence of a disembodiment from a core of attributes that could define the foundations for a leisure professional monopoly.

Codification of the leisure manager's job is further constrained by the finding that the nature of the job varies from facility to facility (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/22/02, Roberts, Interview 2, 11/2/02). This highlights that professionalism is not only influenced by politics and organisational structure but also location and facility design.

A final point of interest is in the conflicting perspectives of professionalism practised within Glasgow and WLL and held by the practitioners themselves. Whilst illustrating a new professionalism in their organisation, there is a personal desire for qualifications and an implied need for affiliation to a body of knowledge. Only DLL supports new professionalism in every sense. This tension is further illustrated in the context of recruitment and selection. The desire for a leisure-related qualification is stated in several instances although earlier statements support generalist knowledge. What is seen as essential is experience that merits the same value as qualifications.

The tension between the actual professional models and the desired professional model is also evident in the sources of labour identified in the studies. DLL's range of labour sources is wide which is to be expected given its generalist professional perspective. Whilst WLL and Glasgow portray an increasingly generalist model, their respective source of labour is predominantly physical education or leisure-related. It therefore seems that this tension is further confusing the professionalisation process within these organisations. It may also be a sub-conscious professional protectionism that has no valid basis in the context of practice within each organisation.

Conclusion

The case studies have shown a pluralist notion of leisure professionalism. A particular influence has been the impact of New Right policies on practice and on the nature of the operating environment as evidenced in the creation of Glasgow's Cultural and Leisure Services Department and West Lothian Leisure. Political influence on DLL was only evident in the rate of the company's development and the location of its facilities.

It could be claimed that the leisure manager's role differed in the public and commercial sector in the 1970s and early 1980s, however, the thesis concludes that the roles are now similar. An interesting finding has been WLL's close association with commercial practice and disenfranchisement from public sector welfarist obligation whilst Glasgow has retained a stronger element of welfarist practice.

The emerging dichotomy in management strategy within the public sector domain may increase as more leisure trusts are created. Lack of political affiliation by WLL, together with the more managerial and reduced fiscal role of its local councillors erodes the potential for political value to be placed on the work of WLL. Consequently the cumulative effect of WLL's management culture and DLL's generalist management practice is such that the leisure profession will not be enabled in the future because the necessary political credit cannot be acquired (Laffin & Young, 1990, p8).

The insular nature of organisational working in each study suggests there is a much higher potential for fragmentation in the industry than ever before. Each

organisation has set its own standards of excellence and rules of conduct (Vollmar & Mills 1966, pxi). There is no common perspective on essential knowledge required by a leisure manager, although it exists for coaches, instructors and lifeguards etc. The apparent variation in job demands from facility to facility compounds the difficulty in codifying the leisure manager's job. Without a common perspective there can be no obscuring of knowledge to protect the leisure profession (Freidson, 1994, p15, Fournier, 2000, p70).

The case studies illustrated that traditional professionalism is evident only in lifeguard and instructor posts within the leisure industry. New professionalism dominates leisure management and emerging delivery mechanisms, as well as facility design, are further diversifying the nature of the job. The inconsistency in the research findings lies in the perspectives conveyed on the issue of qualifications. Leisure-related qualifications seem important to the identity of the leisure manager and have potential significance in the process of professionalisation of the industry. The issue of credentialism in the leisure profession will therefore be examined in detail in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter Five Managerialism, Credentialism and the Professionalisation of Leisure in Scotland

Introduction

Previous chapters have determined that whilst the leisure industry aspired to developing the attributes of a traditional profession, this has yet to be achieved and that the process of professionalisation is still on-going. The impact of New Right policies on leisure management practice has undermined the concept of leisure management as a specialism. A common ideology and a professionally owned set of standards are significant in the professionalisation process. A pluralist professional model therefore compounds the difficulties discussed in earlier chapters in developing these attributes. Codification and credentialism are inextricably linked whilst credentialism is inseparable from professionalisation (Laffin & Young, 1990, p28, Freidson, 1993, p159). In addition to training Freidson (1993, p159) argued that credentialism at the very least: -

> ".... presupposes some method of certifying and titling prospective specialists by occupational associations, by the state, or by prior employers, consumers, or teachers".

This chapter focuses on the emerging credentials of the leisure industry in Scotland. In particular it examines the issues of qualifications and professional associations, accepting Johnson's (1972, p30) argument that: -

> ".... the emergence of a qualifying association or some form of controlling body, with the power to exert sanctions over its membership, or the development of educational institutions capable of providing lengthy periods of training, are among the conditions necessary for the emergence of a profession. Yet at the same time the very factors are

claimed to be among the defining characteristics of the professions, and are therefore both cause and effect of the developments."

The ensuing analysis considers the following aspects:

1. the impact of New Right education policies on the development of leisure-related qualifications;
2. the significance of leisure-related qualifications to the professionalisation of the Scottish leisure industry;
3. the contribution of ILAM and ISRM to the professionalisation process in Scotland.

As in previous chapters the analysis draws from the findings of the three Scottish case studies. The chapter presents conclusions regarding the extent to which leisure education and the professional bodies are both cause and effect of the development of the dual professional model identified in the previous chapter. Conclusions are also drawn as to the influence of New Right policies on the situation.

The Development of Scottish Leisure Education and Qualifications 1979 - 97

The analysis of New Right educational reform undertaken in Chapter 2 concluded that Further Education was the most affected education sector. The process through which FE courses were developed in the 1980s originated from the creation of SCOTVEC and the introduction of the 16+ Action Plan (HMSO, 1983). The most radical intervention was the introduction of the Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act 1992, which removed colleges from Regional control and placed them directly under the control of the Scottish Office as incorporated

institutions. Previous conclusions assert that during the period 1979 – 97 FE was transformed from a fairly tight corporate-working sector to an increasingly insular-working sector in response to the effects of incorporation and competition. The effects were evident in every aspect of Further Education and in terms of leisure education, most particularly in the development of leisure education courses and qualifications.

Resistance to the introduction of TVEI enabled the creation of SCOTVEC in 1985. The subsequent implementation of the *16+ Action Plan in Scotland* in 1983 provided the framework for the development of a range of Sport and Recreation modules at National Certificate level which Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) described as being in response to opportunities for employment in the leisure industry. These modules were taken by FE colleges and packaged as full-time, non-advanced courses. Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02)'s views implied that there was no consensus amongst colleges as to the make-up of such courses, nor was there consensus in the titling of such programmes. This situation is endorsed by the author's own experience as a Senior Lecturer in Sport and Recreation in a Scottish FE college at the time.

It is evident that National Certificate programmes were supply-driven in the period 1984 – 86. A shift towards demand-driven provision was prompted by the publication of the Gunn Report (HMSO, 1986) and the Pathways Report (HMSO, 1989) each of which advocated the creation of a range of leisure qualifications to meet the needs of the industry. The commissioning of the Gunn Report (HMSO, 1989) and it's English/Welsh equivalent, the Yates Report (HMSO, 1984), occurred

at the height of New Right governance. It was a signal of the increasing political significance of leisure and recreation to the New Right economic agenda. The shift to demand-led training was seen as a means to boosting the quality and management of leisure and recreation services through improved resource utilisation and subsequent economic output. A market-led model of training was a contributor to the legitimation of capitalism (Exworthy & Halford, p10, 1999). The fact that students, who were doing the National Certificate courses, were over-qualified for the level of course was also an indication that there was a gap in provision as well as student demand (Fairweather, Interview 11, 11/3/02).

The situation resulted in SCOTVEC forming a Consortium of colleges to write a Higher National Certificate and Diploma in Leisure Management, the programme to be a national framework. It seems that at this stage, even after the publication of both the Yates (HMSO, 1984) and Gunn (HMSO, 1986) Reports that the leisure industry had few collective views on its qualification requirements, other than specific technical requirements. Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) explained this in his view that: -

> "... the drivers were actually within Further Education, almost internally within the colleges, rather than the industry. I think, as well, many of the professional bodies, probably ISRM, again were more focused on technical skills type provision rather than stretching it through to supervisory, assistant manager level where HND and HND were aiming to hit."

This situation illustrates how little cognisance was taken of the recommendations of the Gunn Report (HMSO, 1986), in particular in terms of ownership of training for the leisure industry. The Report (1986, 7.38) stated that

"..the responsibility for management training should, in principle, lie mainly with the profession itself.", but also supported the finding of previous chapters that there was a "lack of a cohesive structure within the profession" even in the mid-80s. It therefore advocated that a Scottish Standing Committee for Management Training in Leisure and Recreation be set up (1986, 7.40). This Standing Committee was seen as a temporary measure until ILAM would (1986, 7.38):-

> "become the accepted body to speak for the whole profession and, consequently, to take over the responsibility for monitoring, regulating and promoting management training for the profession."

It is interesting to note that representation from the education sector was not advocated to be a significant component of the Standing Committee membership. There was an expectation that the Committee, and principally ILAM, would consult with SCOTVEC and colleges and make recommendations regarding training provision. The desire that the leisure industry should control the nature of the training pulled education into a role of servant, thus, arguably, constraining their autonomy, which, as previously discussed, was a source of irritation to Thatcher. A surprising aspect of Gunn's recommendations was that leisure professionals, through ILAM, should be given such power over training. To enhance professional power in this way contradicted Thatcher's view that professional groups were 'self-serving producer monopolies' who had a detrimental influence on society and the economy (Flynn, 1999, p19).

An attempt to implement Gunn's recommendation was made through the setting up of the Scottish Leisure and Recreation Collaborative Project in January

1989 and chaired by Wallace Mercer, and lead by the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). The Project aimed to analyse and identify training needs of the Scottish Leisure and Recreation sector, an apparent repetition of the aim of the Gunn Report (1986) which cast doubt over the value attributed by industry to the findings of the Report. Unlike the Gunn Committee whose membership did not include representatives from leisure's professional bodies, the membership of the Collaborative Project Group did include professional bodies such as ADRLT, IBRM, and ILAM amongst its twenty-one members. Other members included SCOTVEC, COSLA, Jordanhill and Moray House Colleges of Education and a range of bodies from the hospitality, museums, tourism and countryside sectors. A significant aspect of this Project was that it stated that following identification of training needs, it aimed to develop (Pathways Report, 1989, 3.2):-

> "...on and off-the-job provision through SCOTVEC appropriate to the industry's emergent training needs."

This aim supports the conclusion drawn from the scenario outlined previously by Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) and shows that leisure managers chose not to take control of leisure qualifications. They did not capitalise on an opportunity to regulate their industry that could have reinforced the traditional professional status they had aspired to in the setting up of ILAM in 1983. One explanation for this may lie in the wide-range specialisms represented on the Collaborative Project Committee. The experiences of Hooper (Interview 7, 25/2/02) highlighted potential competition between the different leisure specialists within his department. There may also have been differing interpretations of

professionalism. Such evidence provides a rationale for suggesting that the desire to give control for leisure and recreation training to SCOTVEC, albeit after some direction, was indicative of the Committee's differing specialist perspectives and subsequently reticence to agree common standards for leisure and recreation.

The FE 'Leisure Management Consortium', as it became known, was created by SCOTVEC in 1987, two years before the publication of the report of the Collaborative Project, known as the Pathways Report (HMSO, 1989). Whilst involvement with the Collaborative Project without doubt, informed SCOTVEC of the likely recommendations of the Committee, Fairweather's (Interview 11, 11/3/02) earlier statement suggested that FE colleges had already identified a gap in their provision, borne out of demand from their students. Consequently, the FE sector motivated by New Right education reform and managerialism took full advantage of the opportunities created.

It is worth noting that both ILAM and the Institute of Baths and Recreation Management (IBRM), later renamed the Institute of Sport and Recreation Management ((ISRM), had professional qualifications of their own. The setting up of the Yates and Gunn Committees and demand from aspiring leisure employees suggest that neither sets of qualifications had achieved the credentialising status expected of, what has already been claimed to be, an aspiring traditional profession.

By encouraging the development of mainstream leisure qualifications the New Right undermined the status of the professional qualifications and subsequently professional power through credential socialism (Collins, 1979, p195).

Paradoxically the creation of the HNC/D Leisure Management established the subject in the FE curriculum and consequently diverted attention to the industry itself. Thereafter interest of Higher Education institutions in developing advanced courses of study in the subject areas increased. In so doing, the industry acquired an enhanced identity and consequently fulfilled an aim of the Pathways Report (HMSO, 1989, 5.2): -

> "One way of giving the [leisure] industry a greater 'identity' is for the creation of an integrated framework of education and training at all levels, from craft and manual to post-graduate".

Whilst the industry may have gained a clearer identity, the enthusiasm with which FE viewed leisure and recreation as a source of new business in their increasingly competitive world ensured that the focus of attention, in terms of leisure qualifications, remained with mainstream education rather than the professional bodies. It would seem that this situation was one that the profession allowed to happen rather than one that was imposed. Industry needed to be convinced that there was a need for qualifications (Fairweather Interview 11, 11/3/02), although Marshall (Interview 6, 25/2/02) argued that there had been a lack of continuous dialogue between education and industry, thus implying a lack of industrial stakeholding in mainstream qualifications.

The effects of incorporating FE colleges increased competition between colleges and undermined the consensual approach to programme development. Rather than entering the leisure management market, colleges outwith the original consortium began to establish other related programmes such as sports coaching

and health and fitness (Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02). The consequence was the development of a plethora of HNC/D leisure-related programmes. According to Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) :-

> "That's probably what incorporation did. It allowed FE to write courses, units to be written. SCOTVEC took their hands off. It was often just the same units that had just been re-typed, or slightly reworded."

Whilst incorporation of FE expanded the range of leisure-related qualifications available, thus seemingly illustrating the New Right culture of enterprise, the competition for the same market of aspiring students eventually constrained the range of courses offered.

Managerialist demands of FE management have compounded these constraints. As Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) explained:-

> "I think generally that you will find that colleges will still have a 'bums on seats' perspective of things, or not just bums on seats, but also deciding whether those bums generate enough income because of the student unit of measurement, the SUMS, can be weighted. But if courses are falling down towards single figures, even below twelve, there will be an approach taken at the college which says we can no longer sustain this. It becomes particularly bad for an HND course if, in the first year, they recruit less than eighteen. It means by the time they reach the second year your' left with ten, eleven, twelve, and you're still therefore required to put in a whole teaching resource to make sure that that works. So in that sense the business situation is you only then run courses which are seen to be sexy in terms of the supply side."

The resulting situation evidenced further tension in New Right thinking insofar that the demand-led philosophy in FE terms was empowered by student

demand, rather than industrial demand. It also illustrated the effects of a neo-liberalist ideology that was underpinned by an economic model of Darwinism. The actions of colleges now appear to be prompted by self-interest and need for survival rather than moral obligation. This has undermined the aims of vocationalism, discussed in Chapter 2, since student demand does not affect employment opportunity or industrial growth in substantive terms. There is now an over-supply of graduates of leisure-related courses (Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02). This factor was cited as one explanation why only 36% of the graduates surveyed by Hanson, Minten & Taylor (1996, p9), gained employment in the sport and recreation industry.

Whilst it has already been purported that the industry took little ownership in the development of these new leisure-related qualifications, and as a consequence, the professional value of them was unclear, the volume of people holding such qualifications has grown rapidly since 1988. The profile of the leisure labour-pool has therefore changed and through a process of osmosis the HNC, in particular, has gained acceptance within the industry in Scotland. The completion of an HNC in Leisure Management has become an accepted route into the industry and as a mechanism for progression (Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02, Gillespie, Interview 5, 14/2/02, Grossart 2000). This qualification is therefore argued to have played a significant role in the professionalisation of leisure management in Scotland. This is due not only to a perceived flooding of the labour market with HNC qualified people, but also as a consequence of having a national qualification framework of qualifications. This had enabled the creation of an agreed core of knowledge and skills associated with sport and leisure management, something that the professional

bodies have not, thus far, been successful in achieving. A weakness in this situation, however, is the apparent lack of industrial contribution to the course development process which has potentially eroded the currency of the knowledge and skills identified.

Whilst the HNC/D developments were taking place, the New Right further advanced implementation of its vocationalist policy through the creation of Scottish/National Vocational Qualifications (S/NVQS). These qualifications, introduced by the Government in 1988 redefined ability as a competence-based, rather than knowledge-based concept. Work-place assessment underpins the Awards' value-judgement process that, by implication, enforces industrial involvement in the awards. The Occupational Standards, from which each level of award is derived, were written by a body of practitioners (Industry Lead Body), which was created by the Department of Education and Science. The Lead Body comprised of leisure practitioners from throughout the UK, one of whom was Tim Cruttenden, Director of Leisure Services, East Kilbride District Council and an interviewee in this research.

The Sport and Recreation S/NVQs were launched in 1992 (HMSO, 1992) and were advocated as the first decisive codification of the recreation assistant, supervisor and manager's role. Since that time uptake of the SVQs has been poor thus evidencing little acceptance of the standards as an agreed code of practice (SQA, 2000). Whilst the onerous assessment mechanism has been argued to be the major contributing factor for this, the lack of formal adoption of the standards by ILAM and ISRM as a replacement for their own awards indicate a lack of consensus

regarding industrial standards. S/NVQs have therefore done little to enhance the credentials of the industry, although they have played a role in maintaining the identity of sport and recreation as a context for employment. In using the term 'occupational standards' the S/NVQs do not promote the notion of professionalism. According to Johnson (1972, p45) "a profession is not.....an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation". They have neither created a basis for 'occupational upgrading' nor expanded professionalism through growth in 'occupational group-consciousness' (Johnson, 1972, p31).

The developments of the HNC/D and SVQ awards have created a substantial range of qualifications. The volume of leisure-related awards now existing has confused rather than clarified the nature and standards of leisure management practice. Lack of knowledge and understanding of such leisure-related qualifications is a contributing factor to the lack of collective industrial support for these courses. As Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) explained:

> "I think it [HNC/D] was an advantage insofar as it gave a number of other entry points for people and also a progressive route they could work. Someone with an HNC moving onto various bits and get some practical work-based experience, further vocational training, additional post-grads with that. I've been quite happy to steer people in those directions. I don't have a difficulty with that. I think it has been a benefit. I think where it has been a dis-benefit is that there is not a great deal of clarity from the employers side about where those various qualifications exist, what their strengths and weaknesses are and what the map is in terms of where you would be expected to look."

The codification of the sport and leisure management role, as part of the process of developing qualifications, was argued by Bacon & Pitchford (1992,

p173) to have contributed to the dilution, rather than the distinction, of the leisure specialism:-

> "Traditional customs and practices are written down, codified and then categorised, so that individual skills become interchangeable. Knowledge about how to do the job is no longer the property of each individual worker, rather it is codified and standardised so that workers become inter-changeable and managerial control and power increases."

Bacon & Pitchford's view illustrates a paradox of traditional professionalism. A distinct body of knowledge underpins traditional professionalism; knowledge not accessible to all and which is protected in some way (Freidson, 1994, p62, Jackson, 1970, p10). In codifying the job, the necessary knowledge and skills become more accessible and can also be judged in terms of complexity thus breaking down barriers which may be argued to perpetuate the mystique of the traditional professions. This prompts the question of the validity of any claim of specialism.

Professions are perpetuated by those within them and therefore it is the profession's own definition of itself which is crucial to its survival. The view presented by Bacon may be argued to be based on his own definition of leisure professionalism. The lack of industrial stakeholding in the development of the HNC/D Leisure Management in Scotland, and the lack of uptake of SVQs, may be an acknowledgement that leisure professionals do not have homogeneity of outlook and interest and therefore no homogenous occupational community (Johnson, 1972, p53). Fairweather (Interview 11, 11/3/02) suggested that leisure managers were so involved in 'trying to work out what they were managing', that they didn't really

have a vision of leisure. The insularity implied is supported by the claims in the previous chapter that managers and their employers focused on their own needs and requirements rather than contributing to a collective perspective. This was exacerbated by the introduction of competency-based qualifications which implies a down-grading of theoretical knowledge.

The move to demand-led services perpetuated isolationism. A traditional professional code i.e. expert professionalism, would potentially undermine the competitive advantage required to succeed and survive in the New Right market-driven world. John Major's introduction of market testing and the Citizen's Charter increased the emphasis on quality, thus inextricably linking service quality with the value of organisational individualism.

Such an argument concludes that it is not in leisure managers' or leisure employers' interests to contribute to the creation of leisure professionalism through qualifications. This view places particular value on experience and contextual knowledge as opposed to specialist skill, a notion supported by Whitson and Slack, (1989, p27) and contrasts with Bacon & Pitchford's (1992, p173) view above.

The development of leisure-related qualifications in Scotland was driven, quite specifically, by New Right policy. It was resistance to TVEI that resulted in the creation of SCOTVEC, which, in turn, provided the mechanism for the development of unitised national frameworks at HNC/D level. Incorporation of FE resulted in an enthusiasm for the area as a means of generating new business, thus facilitating the creation of a range of leisure-related HNC/D programmes and

National Certificate courses. Further, through direct intervention, the New Right originated National Occupational Standards and S/NVQs.

Whilst the emerging plethora of leisure-related qualifications has perpetuated an identity for the profession, leisure education in Scotland has been skewed by issues of patronage rather than the characteristics of the leisure profession. Its value in the professionalisation process of the industry, itself, therefore merits further consideration.

Qualifications and Professionalisation

Coalter et al (1988,p145) suggested that lack of statutory duty requires a strong leisure professionalism to play a role in determining leisure policy. In Scotland where sport and leisure provision is statutory, a strong professionalism did exist in the public sector in the 1980s. This was evidenced in Leisure Focus (ADRLT, 1987) which made the case for leisure at that time. As discussed previously, New Right managerialism, compounded by fragmentation in the industry and subsequent anti-collectivism undermined this professionalism. It is logical to assume, therefore, that leisure-related qualifications could have provided the specialist criteria to support the profession in recent years. This thesis suggests that this has not been the case.

According to Gillespie (Interview 5, 14/2/02) encouragement of professional development in local authorities was selective, rather than mandatory. The criteria for selection were underpinned by perceptions of future potential. This situation did little to develop the concept of a leisure profession. The breadth of

labour sources encompassing those with and without qualifications, reinforced the non-specialist perspective of leisure management. In the 1980s a PE qualification appears to have been the most common currency in leisure management (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01, Jones, Interview 8, 21/10/98, Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02, Roberts, Interview 2, 11/1/01). The thesis suggests that more recent entrants to the profession are doing so via the HNC route thus supporting previous assertions of the significance of the FE qualifications emerging in the late 1980s. (Gillespie, Interview 5, 14/2/02 and Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02).

In David Lloyd Leisure (DLL), in particular, traditional qualifications have a negligible role in the development of its leisure managers. The company is not interested in nationally recognised qualifications or, arguably, professional norms. The company has established its own stratification system through its general manager, duty manager and assistant manager four-day training courses. Moreover, recruitment is derived from a broad range of sources e.g. accountancy, marketing and general management (Roberts, Interview 2, 11/2/02). The private credentialism existing in DLL therefore makes no contribution to the creation of a communal qualification currency in the leisure industry.

This kind of private credentialism is also evident in West Lothian Leisure (WLL) where the Trust has recently moved away from SVQs and has moved towards a company values-driven training provision. The Trust is focusing on competence rather than qualifications. The strong marketing ethic which strives to provide the highest quality customer experience is argued by Forman (Interview 12,

12/2/02) to justify his view that 'we don't have to have particular professional qualifications to be able to that'. There are therefore no distinctive attributes emerging in the WLL professional model that support leisure-related qualifications as being significant.

As highlighted in the previous chapter, several inconsistencies of argument exist in WLL. Whilst WLL operates in relative isolation developing its own set of professional credentials, Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02), himself, recognised advantage in a common code of practice with a qualification structure:-

> "There's a strong case for a sport and recreation set of skills and I think that will happen. I think to back that up we have to have some form of creating a drawing together of the basic interests that are complementary. For example, both professional organisations have a process for providing courses to training and allow people to sit Institute exams and the rest of it. What we need to do is pull together a common role and purpose so that it is one set of Institute exams. If we're going to have an Institute, let's have a single Institute, let's have one set of exams recognised across the industry. Let's make sure that we do license and do regulate what happens to people working in the industry. They should be registered, they should be licensed, they should be looking at what their continuing development programmes are. We should perhaps insist that people have to do x number of days of development. We need to sharpen the focus and we need to make things far more clear about what individual responsibility is when they come to work in this industry at a managerial level."

In contrast to Foreman, who did not relate the acquisition of qualifications to the notion of professionalism, the other WLL interviewees were less dogmatic. Gillespie (Interview 5, 14/2/02) included qualifications in her list of professional attributes whilst Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) thought it was important to have them. In ensuing discussion, each interviewee appeared to consider qualifications as an indication of commitment, intellect or ability to study. This continues the

behavioural or attitudinal underpinning of leisure professionalism identified in the previous chapter. This being the case, qualifications may be significant in the professionalisation of the industry in the context of new professionalism, i.e. professionals in leisure, rather than leisure professionals, but not so in terms of traditional professionalism to which Forman's (Interview 12, 12/2/02) comments may be related. Practice within WLL reflects a professionalism which is concerned with the welfare of the customer rather than the self-interest of the profession, an emerging trait identified as early as 1939 by T. H Marshall (1939, p158).

In Glasgow, in contrast to DLL and WLL, there is a more clearly identifiable perspective on qualifications, which is more positive. Qualifications "add to the robustness" of Glasgow City Council's training and development provision (Marshall, Interview 6, 25/2/02). It is not deemed essential that the qualification should be a leisure management one, however. For example, the Tourist Board's Welcome Host qualification has acquired a particular status in the Cultural and Leisure Services training provision. Qualifications are deemed desirable rather than essential. As with WLL, qualifications like the HNC Leisure Management are seen as being a good record of a person's commitment rather than ability (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02 & Marshall, Interview 6, 25/2/02). Marshall (Interview 6, 25/2/02) explained that: -

> "...it's like anything else, Fiona, you get some individuals who go and do an MBA for example and it's a transformation and other people it's just they go away and come back and there's no change."

References to non-leisure qualifications supports previous claims there is no distinct body of knowledge related to the job and that the behavioural perspective of qualifications value is prevalent in the industry.

An alternative viewpoint is that FE's codification of leisure within the HNC/D framework is inaccurate. This was the view held by Bunny (Interview 3, 14/2/02) who, in recounting his own experience, stated: -

> "I did an HNC in Leisure Management, day-release from work. I was quite disappointed. It was a general management course, nothing really specific about how to operate a place like this or anything like that"

The lack of industrial contribution to the development of the course may explain this. It is more likely that codification of the job is too difficult.

Earlier analysis identified the significance of organisational and facility environment on the nature of the leisure management job. The uniqueness of leisure facilities compounds the challenges for codification. This is reflected in Lloyd's (Interview13, 4/5/02) view that you can't train people for leisure management and they are better to learn on the job. This explains previous assertions that purport experience to be of equal, and in some instances, of higher value to qualifications in terms of credentials (Cruttenden, Interview 9, 1/11/01, Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01). Jones (Interview 8, 21/10/98) further justified the claim in his view that the problem with leisure services is there is one single qualification that qualifies the leisure professional: -

> "Some of the courses have made an attempt at it, where you do your core work, and you do your specialisms, your strands, sports, arts, tourism, countryside or whatever, and that allows you to say that I'm a generic manager in a range of leisure things. I know about budgets, I know about planning. I know about plans. I know about facilities, customer care etc. But I'm a specialist in sports, or a specialist in arts. I think these people are emerging. I think a lot has to do with the book of life. You learn as you are doing it – working with colleagues, elected members, working with the public, seeing what happens on a day-to-day basis and actually using these experiences to help you deliver better."

Experience and qualifications form the basis of a dual-credentialism within the industry: experience receiving more consistent support, which more appropriately reflects the demands of the new professionalism, evidenced in each of the case studies. Judgement of professionalism is therefore subjective, unlike the traditional professions of medicine and law. The reliance on subjective judgement will continue to weaken the basis on which a distinctive leisure profession can evolve. References to qualifications being indicative of commitment etc. portray qualifications as a performance indicator of professionalism rather than as a characteristic of professionalisation of the leisure industry.

The development of leisure-related, mainstream qualifications has not succeeded in having a national impact on the leisure industry in Scotland. Despite direct intervention by the New Right in the initial development of leisure-related qualifications in Scotland, the intended national influence has been undermined by the consequences of their managerialist policies. The thesis has shown that insular working practices in both further education and in the case studies have undermined three sets of relationships – the relationship between education and industry, and the relationships between organisations in each respective sector. The subsequent local significance of qualifications, i.e. to individual organisations rather than the industry

as a whole, provides further support for Coalter's (1990, p109) theory regarding the importance of relationships to the notion of identity. Qualifications are consequently a small contributor to the professionalisation process, thus leaving a substantial role for professional bodies to play.

Sport and Leisure Professional Bodies

The creation of ILAM in 1983 signified a strong desire to develop the leisure profession in a traditional manner. As has already been identified, the development of a meritocracy, commonly associated with traditional professions (Freidson, 1994, p9, Vollmar & Mills, 1966, pxi, Johnson, 1972, p45) has never been securely established. Whitson and Slack (1989, p27) argued that: -

> "ILAM members, especially an older generation of sports centre managers, parks managers, etc., tended to consider their management expertise as primarily the technical knowledge associated with their particular specialist facility."

The case study analysis indicated that monopoly of technical knowledge remains today and that this knowledge is most pertinent to lower level jobs such as leisure assistant. Both ILAM and ISRM are seen as providers of technical information (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02, Fairweather, Interview 11, 11/3/02). There is substantial evidence to suggest that neither organisation has fulfilled the role of a body which promotes collectivity and establishes a conscious community (Forman, Interview 12, 12/2/02, Woodcock, Interview 10, 9/11/01). According to Forman (Interview 12, 12/2/02) neither organisation has clearly established whom it wishes to represent: -

> "They've both done the usual thing which is to cast the net wide and see if they can pull all the people into the one big net that they've managed to cast. But there are two trawlers out there. The point I'm coming to is that, at the end of they day, it should be about working together."

This is supported by Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) and by Roberts (Interview 2, 11/2/02) who felt that ILAM doesn't represent the private sector at all and who looked, instead, to the Fitness Industry Association for representation. Protection of institutional territory rather professional meritocracy is underpinning the culture of ILAM and ISRM. Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) succinctly explained this lack of representation and influence on practice in the context of performance indicators (PIs). The fact that PIs haven't changed in the last ten years is, according to Woodcock (Interview 10, 9/11/01) testimony to professional bodies' lack of influence: -

> "They [PIs] are still largely the original ones and therefore something has not worked...You are not, wherever you go, staggered by the drivenness of people to acquire some form of quality assured and on the button measure or tool to implement a blood good service. It's the evangelists that are developing that and they are viewed by some of their colleagues as living on a different planet."

In traditional professions there is an expectation of leadership from the professional body. In the case of ILAM and ISRM this is not evident, thus reinforcing the notion that these bodies add little in the way of traditional credentials to controlling practice.

The dominance of public sector bureaucratisation and public and commercial sector enterprise has shaped the nature of professionalism and the

process of professionalisation in sport and leisure. The significance of professional bodies and their qualifications is variable and the rationale for such significance inconsistent. Sport and leisure is therefore struggling to reaffirm and further develop the solid basis of professionalism that Gunn (1986, 3.38) advocated.

The encouragement of and increasing reliance on volunteerism compound the challenge. It is difficult to insist that volunteers acquire professional qualifications. In sport, the power lies with National Governing Bodies (NGBs) to insist on the acquisition of coaching qualifications to enable indemnity insurance cover and compliance with health and safety legislation and more recent government registration requirements. This does not apply to all roles volunteers may fulfil. As previous chapters have highlighted monopoly of knowledge and subsequently, credentials, becomes almost impossible to protect. The use of qualifications as an underpinning of leisure professionalism is therefore constrained.

Different interest groups are competing for power through their qualifications and subsequently vying to define the profession's 'mission. ILAM, ISRM, local government, education and voluntary sport organisations perpetuate an apparent competition for supremacy of credentials with the consequence of compounding fragmentation in the industry and increase in the number of stakeholding communities. The commercial sector plays little part in this. Professional power therefore appears to be dispersed among a range of interest groups, with no definitive common code. Lack of discourse within the industry has enabled sport and leisure management to be redefined thus allowing the debate to be conducted in other spheres e.g. corporate forums rather than leisure-based forums.

Conclusion

Professionalisation of the Scottish Leisure Industry has been measured, in part, by the development of leisure-related qualifications. These qualifications have evolved as a consequence of direct and indirect intervention of Central Government.

Response to the imposition of vocationalism, especially the TVEI initiative, resulted in the Scottish education policy community working to implement the 16+ Action Plan through the creation of SCOTVEC. This Plan, further galvanised by the recommendations of the Gunn (1986) and Pathways (1988) Reports, effected the creation of a range of leisure-related qualifications at non-advanced and advanced (HNC/D) level in Further Education.

New Right education reforms enabled Further and Higher Education to move into leisure management thus eroding professional bodies' control over their subject area. The colonisation of leisure management by the State education sector has exacerbated the de-monopolisation of expert knowledge already underway through the State advocacy of volunteerism. The New Right set out to break corporatism and professional power. The proliferation of leisure-related qualifications has weakened the coherence and validity of the provision as different interest groups compete to define a leisure management code of practice. Corporatism, exemplified in the initial development of the HNC/D Leisure Management, was also undermined by the consequences of the 1992 Further and Higher Education (Scotland) Act. Exposure to the market has turned leisure training into a business commodity, to be developed or constrained by its financial, rather than vocational/professional value.

The philosophy of credential socialism (Collins, 179, p195), compounded by the demands of managerialism in education, spawned a 'certification for all' approach. The consequent ease of access to leisure-related qualifications has diluted the importance of professional qualifications in the employment market. Further, the research shows that these leisure qualifications have not shaped stratification in the Scottish Leisure Industry. Qualifications are, in the main, an indicator of commitment rather than capability. It's the pure technical qualifications, whose legitimacy is founded on health and safety legislation, which protects the technical meritocracy of leisure. Specialism and consequently meritocracy dissolves in the higher ranks beyond facility manager.

Lack of a common code, as reflected in these qualifications, has further distanced the leisure industry for the path of traditional professionalism. Managerialism and competition have resulted in companies working in an increasingly insular manner. The desire to be part of a conscious leisure community is eroded as collectivity is seen as detrimental to competitive advantage. Each of the case studies, DLL and WLL especially, evidenced a move towards private credentialism, which may partly explain the poor uptake of SVQs in Scotland. Insular working appears to have reduced industrial interest in the process of development mainstream leisure-related qualifications.

Bacon (1989, p236) argued that vocationalism in education reforms reflected an emerging binary code where training was regarded as low status. This perspective remains valid today, as experience appears to be of higher priority than qualifications in the case studies, particularly in WLL and DLL.

The credentials of the leisure profession no longer reflect traditional traits. Professional bodies have lost power in the credentialising process and subjectivity has now some considerable influence on the industrial values. Whilst it is argued that in supporting the creation of mainstream leisure-related qualifications the New Right enabled professionalisation, the consequences of managerialism undermined the cumulative effect of the process. Fragmentation and insularity perpetuates this situation.

The perceived value of ILAM and ISRM varies throughout the research. The emerging theme is of 'association, belonging' as opposed to the more traditional notion of regulation and authority (Freidson, 1994, p9, Vollmar & Mills, 1966, pxi, Johnson, 1972, p45). This theme, together with references to information giving (Campbell, Interview 4, 28/2/02, Bunny, Interview 3, 14/2/02) indicate that ILAM and ISRM reinforce a notion of professionalism within the industry, rather than being the driving force behind the credentialising and professionalisation of the industry in Scotland.

Chapter Six New Right Conservatism and the Scottish Leisure Profession: Conclusions

This thesis contributes to the growing body of work on professionalism and professionalisation. It has been concerned with: (i) providing an ideological analysis of traditional and New Right Conservatism; (ii) analysing the impact of New Right Conservatism in Scotland, Scottish Industry and Education; (iii) developing the analysis in the context of leisure and leisure services management and (iv) examining the relationship between leisure-related qualifications and the professionalisation of the leisure industry in Scotland. The strength of this work is that it has attempted to address the interrelated nature of all of these concerns. The originality of this research is that it is the first comprehensive, theoretically and empirically informed study of the leisure profession in Scotland.

The starting point for the thesis was the structural changes that had taken place in the Scottish Leisure Industry from 1975. It was asserted that these changes, together in combination with policies implemented by the New Right government during the period 1979–97 had influenced the professionalisation of the Scottish Leisure Industry. This led to some of the most basic questions that might be asked concerning New Right Conservatism, leisure management, leisure professionalism and credentialism. These included: What is New Right Conservatism? How did it affect the political and cultural dynamics and principles that shape the environments in which leisure managers operate in Scotland? What influence did New Right Conservatism have on leisure management policy and practice? What influence has the New Right had in particular operating environments and the model of leisure professionalism emerging therein? and finally, What contribution have leisure-

related qualifications and professional bodies made to the professionalisation process? Such questions provided a basis for developing an analysis of the leisure profession in Scotland revolving around five interrelated aspects.

The first aspect was New Right Conservative principles. The thesis has attempted to explain these principles and identify any conflict between liberal and conservative beliefs. The evidence indicates that the tensions between the tenets of traditional and New Right Conservatism created a philosophy that was flexible and open to interpretation and whose flexibility was merely exploited by Margaret Thatcher. In pursuing managerialist and consumerist policies the New Right controlled fiscal policy-making and introduced legislation which allocated more power to the centre than any previous government. Consequently, generalisation underpinned both government policy and public sector management practice. This led to a perceived lack of recognition of local need that spawned a division rather than unification of British society. Moreover, generalisation undermined the case for specialisms in local authority services, thereby altering the concept of professionalism within the public sector.

The second aspect was the impact of New Right policies in Scotland. The one-nation tenet was the rationale for the imposition of New Right British policies rather than policies which addressed particular Scottish needs. The emphasis on economic efficiency and outputs conflicted with Scotland's consensual and welfarist traditions, which resulted in resistance from Scotland's political and civil decision-making communities. A key outcome of this resistance was the relative failure of New Right policies in Scotland. Tactics that were almost anti-competitive

negated the objectives of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) in Scotland. Electoral opinion and Labour-led local authorities undermined the success of the Poll Tax and privatisation policies. Whilst specific policies were a relative failure, this thesis shows that the New Right principles underpinning these policies either crept or were driven into Scottish culture. Economic policies, whose negative effects were far greater in Scotland than elsewhere, prompted a decline in Scotland's manufacturing industries. This produced a shift to pure market-led, service-based business enterprise. Interventionist managerialist and consumerist policies succeeded in eroding traditional Scottish municipal paternalism and the universality of Scottish education.

The third aspect was the impact of New Right policies on leisure policy and practice in Scotland. The high status of the leisure profession was eroded when the New Right came into power in 1979. The New Right shift in policy from leisure as a welfare right to 'leisure as welfare' saw political support shift from leisure services to community recreation. The ensuing tensions between targeted funding initiatives and leisure services objectives undermined the paternalist role of leisure managers. The community recreation approach together with the volunteerism strategies eroded the boundaries protecting their expert knowledge. The consequence for Scotland's leisure profession was the erosion of the attributes on which it had sought to acquire traditional professional legitimacy. It was CCT, however, which redefined leisure's role and most substantially altered leisure management practice. Whilst the CCT policy failed to significantly challenge the monopoly of Scottish local government's right to manage, it did succeed in refocusing leisure services to economic rather than social outputs. It also altered the

structure of leisure services, prompting fragmentation of the profession. CCT, together with the imposition of performance indicators, realised a subordination of claims of professionalism to managerial efficiency. In so doing, leisure management became leisure business management with paternalism almost being removed from the leisure agenda. The political devaluation and restructuring of leisure continued in the 1994 local government re-organisation. The subsequent emergence of NPOs, variation in local authority structures and an increasing number of commercial leisure operators have created a Scottish leisure industry that is more complex in structure and has even greater potential for fragmentation.

The fourth aspect was the influence of New Right thinking in different operating environments and on their inherent models of professionalism. The thesis shows that New Right thinking was most evident in West Lothian Leisure and David Lloyd Leisure in both policy and practice. In West Lothian Leisure lack of affiliation to and influence of local council politics and policies was surprising since the NPO is a municipal mechanism and responsibility. Managerialism and consumerism underpin management practice within this organisation. This is similar to David Lloyd Leisure although such practice might be regarded as traditional in the commercial sector rather than as consequence of New Right influence. In contrast, Glasgow City Council has retained many of its socialist beliefs in its policies, whilst New Right managerialism is evident in its management practice. An interesting finding in this thesis is the similarities emerging in the models of professionalism existing within the three case studies. Generic business knowledge and skills underpin professionalism at manager level and above in each of the operating environments, but Glasgow's managers, especially their senior

managers, have also maintained their political status and paternalist role. New professionalism has therefore not totally replaced the traditional attributes of leisure professionalism in Glasgow. It is only in the lower echelons of each organisation's structure that real traditional professionalism remains with the requirement of particular qualifications for employment in specified roles.

The final aspect was the role of leisure-related qualifications and professional bodies in the professionalisation of the leisure industry in Scotland. The New Right set out to strengthen the relationship between industry and education. This thesis indicates that, in fact, managerialist education policies resulted in Further Education colleges driving the continued development of leisure-related qualifications. The lack of the leisure profession's willingness to exploit the opportunities provided by recommendations of the Gunn Report (1986) and the Pathways Report (HMSO, 1989), compounded by the New Right's reticence to implement these recommendations, resulted in the profession losing control over leisure-related qualifications. Insular working practices have also reduced the value of these national qualifications as the thesis indicates that organisations are developing their own sets of standards i.e. private credentials. Lack of industrial stakeholding has resulted in the FE qualifications reflecting a concept of leisure management that differs from actual practice, thus fragmenting the identity of leisure. New Right policies have led to a de-monopolisation of expert knowledge and a reduction in professional status as a consequence, resistance to which has been weakened by the lack of professional collective stakeholding of the professional bodies representing the leisure industry, especially in Scotland.

A number of crucial points have emerged in the course of this thesis. Firstly, the generalisation of leisure management was assisted by the willingness of leisure managers to accept and meet the demands of New Right managerialist policies. The thesis shows that CCT was unanimously welcomed by each of the interviewees. The adoption of generalist performance indicators appears to have been regarded as a means of attaining status within the corporate group as opposed to the leisure professional group.

Secondly, the case studies signified the contribution of the organisation's leadership in shaping the model of professionalism within it. This was particularly evident in West Lothian Leisure and Glasgow City Council. In West Lothian Leisure the lack of leadership by local politicians together with the receptiveness to New Right thinking and management style of its General Manager have contributed to the erosion of traditional professional attributes and reinforced the concept of 'new professionalism' within the organisation. In Glasgow local political resistance to New Right policies, together with the willingness of a succession of leisure service Directors to subscribe to the local political socialist agenda has perpetuated the traditional attributes of paternalism, political status and expert power in their professional model. Such a finding suggests that collectivism is not the only answer to the re-galvanisation of the leisure profession in Scotland.

Finally, the New Right saw professional collectives as potential opposition. Many New Right policies set out to break such collectives, and in Scotland, set out to undermine traditional Scottish corporatism. This objective was fulfilled in the Scottish leisure profession as changes to organisational structures and increasingly

insular working practices created by the culture of enterprise and competition eroded the basis for development of a common ethic. Consequently, individual and local interests compounded the disunity amongst professional bodies thereby failing to provide a collective voice of resistance to such action. This fragmentation makes it easy for politicians to drive through future interventionist policies, leaving the leisure profession powerless to defend its mission.

This thesis focused on the leisure profession in Scotland. It concludes that the New Right undermined the professionalisation of leisure management in Scotland. The shift in leisure policy from recreational welfare to recreation as welfare (Coalter, 1990, p16) enabled the subordination of public sector leisure management to Government supported community recreation initiatives. This was compounded by the New Right's encouragement of volunteerism. These events eroded the boundaries of expert knowledge and political status that supported the aspirations for a traditional leisure profession. The traditional traits of professionalism were further subordinated to managerial efficiency by the imposition of CCT, reinforced by performance indicators. The division of client and contractor necessitated by CCT fragmented the public sector leisure profession. These policies, together with local government reorganisation in 1994 reshaped the traditional structures of leisure service delivery. The integration of leisure services with other local government services further eroded the identity and value of leisure and leisure managers. Not-for-profit sport and recreation trusts, created in response to continuing financial constraint, spawned a new kind of leisure business manager in the public sector. Leisure has been generalised and recognised for its utility rather than intrinsic value. The distinct identity of leisure management has been replaced

by a generalist concept, confused by leisure-related qualifications driven by managerialist criteria in education and facilitated by disunity amongst professional bodies representing the profession and insular working practices across the differing leisure environments.

The standing of the profession is in doubt. To re-establish the basis of professionalisation it will be essential for professional bodies to unite in order to fulfil an effective advocacy role for leisure and leisure management. It is also essential for professional bodies to regain power in the credentialisation of the profession. If this does not happen, and if insular working practices continue, it is doubtful that the term profession will remain appropriate in the context of the leisure industry in Scotland. Lack of justification of a leisure profession will, arguably, relieve the professional bodies of their mission. As this thesis has argued, relationships, political and professional, make a significant contribution to the maintenance of status. It is imperative that professional relationships are re-established and subsequently focused on arguing the case for political support. Thereafter, the process of professionalisation may continue against a more credible, distinctive backdrop.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Interview 1	Alan Mockus	Facility Manager	South Lanarkshire Council	20/3/98
Interview 2	Mike Roberts	Facility Manager	David Lloyd, Renfrew	11/2/02
Interview 3	Elliot Bunny	Facility Manager	West Lothian Leisure	14/2/02
Interview 4	Richard Campbell	Facility Manager	Glasgow City Council	28/2/02
Interview 5	Debbie Gillespie	Training & Development Manager	West Lothian Leisure	14/2/02
Interview 6	Sandy Marshall	Training & Development Manager	Cultural & Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council	25/2/02
Interview 7	Ian Hooper	Head of Service Support	Cultural & Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council	25/2/02
Interview 8	Alan Jones	Director	Leisure Services, Highland Council	21/10/98
Interview 9	Tim Cruttenden	Director, 1977 - 99	Leisure Services, East Kilbride/South Lanarkshire Council	1/11/01
Interview 10	Brian Woodcock	Director	Arts & Recreation, Aberdeen City Council	9/11/01
Interview 11	David Fairweather	Director	Curriculum & Quality, Falkirk College of Technology	11/3/02
Interview 12	Douglas Forman	CEO	CEO, West Lothian Leisure	12/2/02
Interview 13	David Lloyd	CEO	CEO, Next Generation Ltd.	4/5/02
Interview 14	Ron Tuck	CEO	CEO, Scottish Qualifications Authority	5/2/99
Interview 15	Brian Meek	Elected Member	Conservative Local Councillor, Edinburgh City Council	6/2/02

Interview 16	Liz Cameron	Elected Member	Labour Local Councillor, Glasgow City Council	18/3/02

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The themes below were identified from the preliminary review of literature and used to structure the interviews conducted for the research. The framework was used to guide all the interviews, but other issues were addressed as they arose.

1. **Leisure managers**

   The leisure manager's status in the early 1980s seems reasonably high. Has this high status continued? If not, what has happened to change the situation?

   Is there conflict between social welfare goals and financial imperatives in your organisation?

   Who determined the strategic objectives of your organisation? Is it the same influence that sets the values of the organisation?

   What do you perceive to be the differences in professionalism in the public/commercial/trust setting? What is different about management in each of these settings?

   Those involved in leisure management consider it to be a profession. Do you agree? If so, what makes it a profession?

   How important are the professional bodies such as ILAM and ISRM to you and the leisure profession?

2. **Training and Development Managers**

   In recruiting staff what kind of qualifications do you look for and why? Has this changed over the years?

   Who determines the training needs of your organisation?

   What are the key competences you try to develop in your leisure managers?

   What kind of involvement does your organisation have with the education sector?

   How significant are the professional bodies, their training services and qualifications to you?

3. **Local Council Politicians**
Who introduced New Right policies in Scotland?

How were they received by the Conservative/Labour Party in Scotland?

What were the main difficulties the New Right faced in implementing their policies?

How did local authorities respond?

How did voters respond?

4. **Leisure Education Representative**
Can you describe how the HNC/D Leisure Management was developed?

What was the involvement of leisure managers in this process?

What influence, if any, did professional bodies have on the content of the programme?

The HNC/D Leisure Management has been in existance now for 14 years. What has FE's relationship with leisure managers been like during that time?

How did the 1992 F & HE Act affect FE?

How has the national framework for leisure management been affected by the consequences of incorporation?

How significant has the development of leisure management courses been for Further Education and for the leisure profession?

5. **Education representative**
What was the involvement of the Inspectorate in formulating key education policies in Scotland in the 1980s?

How were Central Government education policies received in Scotland?

Why was the 16+ Action Plan formulated?

How autonomous was the Scottish Office Education Department at the time?

Did education grown in political value under the Conservative Government?

What has been the overall impact of New Right policies on Scottish education?

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

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INTERVIEW 1: **ALAN MOCKUS 20/3/98**
Manager, John Wright Sports Centre, East Kilbride

Q ***As an introduction I wonder if you could tell me a bit about your background before coming to the John Wright Sports Centre***

A My background was teaching. I taught PE for 4 years in our Lady's High in Motherwell. I then left there to come here as Chief Coach and then just worked my way up. I went from Chief Coach to Asst Manager, to Chief Asst Mgr and then to Recreation Manager. I have been here about 18 years in various guises. There was no necessity for me to leave as my family is based here.

Q ***You must have seen a lot of changes in that time. When you first came into the industry what was the structure of the public sector at that time?***

A As far as the John Wright Centre was concerned it was a stand alone facility. It was just this centre.

Q ***Was there no big leisure services department?***

A There wasn't a dept. as such because when I first started here there was no satellite centres. There were no neighbourhood sports centres. There was the Dollan Baths and the John Wright, there was a manager in both and that was it. Now, I first started here there was a manager, 2 asst Mgrs, me as a Chief Coach, Head Attendants, attendants just for one building. As it's grown and we have started getting the neighbourhood centres in, the dual-use centres, the joint provisions they started to take on more staff. Tim (Cruttenden) then became the Director of Leisure for East Kilbride. Ian Jackson then took over the manager's post here, I then took over the Asst. Mgrs post and that's how that developed. But really when you look at what the staffing was then, compared to now we've actually gone overboard, and we'll probably come back to that when we come to questions about CCT. I think people went overboard the other way because, at the moment, if you think that for one building we had all these staff. We've now gone from that to a situation where we have now got this building with all the modifications that its had, we've got the stadium, the track. We now run Whitemoore bowling. We've got all the new sports centres, all the dual-use centres and all the interaction between us and Almada St (South Lanarkshire Council HQ) and all the other things are happening and there is myself, 1 recreation officer, 3 supervisors, who really aren't supervisors. The supervisors don't really supervise. They are actually in doing the cleaning, doing the changes doing the work so virtually everything that comes into the Sports Centres I've got to handle. I think you are not getting the chance to do things that managers should be doing like maybe stepping back and doing things like the marketing. We do have a problem that we are involved in the day-to-day things and I do think probably, that if it was set up differently you wouldn't get caught up so much in these things; the supervisors would supervise and they would handle things like that. I sometimes think that we have gone too far the

other way and when we looked at the setting up of the contract that everybody said that what's the best way to do it we will try and keep costs as minimal as possible and that we have just gone too far the other way.

Q ***Was there a particular thing that prompted this structure that you mentioned?***

A I don't know it was that far back. I think that it's just that the department was growing in such a way they needed a Director to tie everything together. You had the integration of the Parks Dept. working with ourselves in the provision of this area; we were all working together. There was the libraries manager and other managers and they needed a Director to oversee the whole thing so that everybody started to work together instead of individual pockets. I think that's probably what caused it.

Q ***If there was more of a tie between the sectors, what was the aim of the provision?***

A To provide leisure service for the people of East Kilbride. We wanted to provide a service to the people of East Kilbride on leisure terms. You are talking about the libraries, the halls, the sports centres, the Dollan Centre. You would tie that in with all the policies of looking at target groups, the 50+, etc improving the quality of life - we had all these as objectives, but really all we were doing was, we were looking at providing the best service we could for the people of East Kilbride. Everybody would then work hand in hand with the other sections.

Q ***At that point then, what was the key knowledge and skills that a leisure manager required in the old days?***

A It's difficult for me to say for I came in without any training at all. I came in as the Chief Coach and my basic remit was to look at the coaching programme inside the sports centre and develop that.

Q ***So what enabled you to acquire the necessary skills?***

A You are working with your people skills. You had to work the other members of staff. When I came in here you are working with the transport and general workers union and you had all the problems associated at that time with you can't do this, you can't do that, that's not in my job. We had problems with the unions. Now that's all completely changed. There are never any problems with unions now; everybody's working towards the same thing but was completely different. That was just on the job training. You just worked with these people and you just picked these things up. The programming aspect you just picked up on the job. Looking at target group you looked at the programme and how difficult was it to fill the sports centre. In the evenings it wasn't very difficult at all because this was the only sports centre in East Kilbride, but then you had to work out ways of filling the sports centre during the day so you are then going into the skills of programming things, slightly on the marketing and the advertising. But

again it was all on the job training. Certainly Tim gave me a lot of advice and you learned through staff meetings that certain people were in charge with different things.

Q ***You came from a PE background and Tim was the same. Was that common at that time?***

A I think so yes, because Ian Jackson was PE as well. One of the Asst. Mgrs came from Rolls Royce but was quite a sporty person, so he combined the two but with his engineering background he was put in charge of the maintenance side of the building. So you weren't taking leisure professionals as such because I don't think there was at that time all these leisure courses that are now available. They weren't there at the time. There are a few people in my year who went into sports centres.

Q ***Was there much of a commercial sector at that point?***

A Eh...no. We didn't have all that much competition, certainly in East Kilbride. Really for the indoor sports centre there was virtually no competition as far as we were concerned. Obviously as the centre grew, the sporting competition was actually from our own centres. There was one centre and now we have 6 centres. Now even with the introduction of all these centres the figures for the John Wright probably haven't changed an awful lot which says a lot about how we target things, how we programme and how we keep the customers and we are generating new customers rather than our customers going elsewhere.

Q ***Is that picture true through the 80's?***

A Well, as far as the demand for sporting areas we had no competition. Now because of the way East Kilbride has developed we have competition for people's free time - sporting in terms of 5-aside we now have competition. Our main competition is the non-sporting - we have the ice-rink, the cinema, we have all the fast food places that people go to now, the Dollan Aqua centre. There are so many other things that people can do now but as far as East Kilbride is concerned the competition isn't all that great and never has been for the sports centre.

Q ***2 of the things that seem to me to have been of importance have been the budget cuts in public sector and CCT. Could you say something about how the budget cuts have affected your services and the nature of your job?***

A To begin with the service had slack, definitely. I think what CCT and these continual budget cuts, especially over the past 5 years, where before then you were allowed to increase your budget by a maximum of 1% or 2%. But for the past 5 years we have been on a standstill budget, so if the rate of inflation was 3% we lost that. So we had then to budget for that. We were in a favourable position because we could put up prices by more than the rate of inflation so what we said was rather than cut budget, we say we are

going to put our prices up. If someone says to us we are going to have to save £3k or £5k then we will look at how we can bring that in, in extra income and that avoids the cut. We have at the sports centre an increased income target next year something in the region of £60k. In many respects its not the standstill budget that's the problem it's the cuts that we are being asked to make as Government has burned out local government. The amount of money coming into local government is less and less and South Lanarkshire have got to find the money from somewhere and they might then say that leisure services has got to save £1m and then it's all fed down and each of the centres will have to find so much money. Now I think after the next financial year we will seriously have to look at the closure of some facilities rather than playing about with budgets because if the cuts continue at the rate that they are at the moment we will have nothing to play with to make savings.

Q *What was the impact of CCT?*

A I actually thought CCT was very good. The main thing was it made you look at how you ran a facility. The threat of someone coming in and winning the contract was to me a red herring. Nobody in their right mind was going to come in and run the John Wright, athletics track, a football track and a bowling green. Not in a million years was someone going to come in with a bid for something like this. They might come in and bid for the likes of the Magnum which gets tourists coming in or a facility where there is room for improvement but you've got a building which runs the games hall at 90% use all the time, the gymnasium 80% use all of the time there was no scope for improvement. In the contract East Kilbride District council would tell you how much the charges were going to be and tell you what the programme was. So who is going to come in to be told how much to charge and what the programme was going to be? Nobody was going to do that. But what we did do when the contract came in, we looked at how do you run this facility and certainly the way it was running with the manager, myself, the other asst. manager, we started a structural change fairly quickly just to try and reduce the costs to the minimum. As I said I think we went a wee bit too far the other way. I think I should be standing back more but I'm in here 9 – 5 every day taking calls all the time where I should be directing these to other people inside the building, but I can't do that. The supervisors shift rota doesn't allow it. I can't say you're in charge of that because when someone phones in they might not be here. I don't know how I can get round it. As far as the overall contract was concerned it certainly made you sit up and ask are we doing these things properly? Are there classes that we can run to make profit? So what happened there was as far as the John Wright Sports Centre was concerned, the programme that we were running, we were running it for all the classes in the Centre. So what we looked at was the development of the Sports Development Service and when the contract was taken on they actually then started taking on the running of the classes in the sports centre. So what happens now is every class is run by sports development, they keep the income and at the end of the month I account them for what they use. Right at the start of the contract I just went through every class we had and said right that's how much the

facility cost per week and it was just a paper transfer of budget costs. We've got a problem now that as from April 1st we're taking back all the fitness classes. They make money so yes we'll take them back; we'll pay the coaches. We will lose the facility hire charge so I've got to work out all these costs and then sit down with the finance dept. and any additional costs we will just have to add them on to admissions.

Q ***It sounds as though the nature of your job has become much more financial or business orientated. How would you summarise the knowledge and skills that you now need as a consequence of these changes?***

A Budget wise – even before CCT we needed that knowledge, but even more so since then. You are now working very closely with these budgets. We have to have a clear view of exactly what you're doing. We now have a monthly meeting with an accountant in the Finance Dept. Every month we go through the past months expenditure etc. to make sure everything's OK. Before CCT EK did do the budgets and were actually very good that way, we knew exactly what we were spending our money on. So that really didn't change very much. I think because Tim had organised it in such a way beforehand, the changeover wasn't all that difficult. But certainly the budgets are the main thing. You can't make savings unless you have the information at your fingertips about how you can do it. If you don't then you're in trouble. I think with CCT again there was a greater swing towards customer expectations and what they thought they should be getting here. Again EK set up a customer care committee. There was a policy document about our aims and standards. I think when the contract was written it was emphasised that that was going to happen. By that time there was someone appointed to look at customer care and staff training in customer care. So before that was a slight hands on in customer care, but once the contract was in we started to send a lot more people on these courses, in fact, everybody had to go on them and we then had to do a yearly survey of our users. This was done about Christmas every year and it was a full week. There was a questionnaire drawn up by someone at HQ. We issued them and HQ took all the questionnaires away. They prepared the report and we got it back. So there was a great change in how we were doing it. We looked at what the customers wanted and asked them what they wanted. By and large it was very good. About 90% were happy with the way things were working in the Sports Centre and those who complained we knew what they were complaining about –the changing rooms, the catering – and we know the problem, but there's no money to renovate the changing rooms or the café. So we are now looking at ways piecemeal, changing a bit at a time. I think CCT was good, but we maybe cut the budget for staffing too much. But certainly looking at the way you ran the business and the accountability had changed. And the fact that I said business, rather than a centre, emphasises that it really is a business now.

Q ***It sounds as though the days of when a PE teacher could come into this job and do OK has gone.***

A Yes. That, I think, has now gone. If you apply for a post in the sports centre people with PE backgrounds won't be considered now, that's completely changed. We want ready-made people who we can take in and say there's the job get on with it.

Q ***Is it a business management background or a leisure management qualification you are looking for?***

A It's one of these jobs where you have to be a jack of all trades. When I first came in I looked after this one building. When Ian Jackson was promoted in South Lanarkshire, I then got all the other buildings and told to get on with it. There was nothing financial in it for me. One of the first things that happened was that a member of staff said I'm not working with the staff up there you are then thrown into man-management straight away. You are thrown in. You get 3-day courses that South Lanarkshire are now starting to run, like job-profile courses, for managing stress, health and safety etc.

Q ***What happens if you want to develop your skills a bit more by doing, for example, an MBA, how easy would it be for you to access support for that through the council?***

A At the present time it would be virtually impossible because all the training budgets were being targeted towards the SVQs. I don't know the present position as far as South Lanarkshire Council is concerned because I'm not interested purely because I don't have the time to do it. I don't think I would be allowed to do it because of the time factor.

Q ***If you were prepared to support yourself on a course, rather than seek the Council's help, are you aware of all the different opportunities there are in leisure education?***

A No, I'm not, purely because I'm not interested enough to go out and seek the information. I think through the years because of the experiences that I've had, I really don't have to go to college or university to get something, which says I have got such and such. It is not going to make a difference to my career. We are currently putting out questionnaires to staff asking them where they see themselves in 5 years. The difficulty when that comes back is that the personnel dept. interprets management development as what you need to do in your current job, not what you need to enhance your career. Personnel will take the responses and doctor their courses to suit everybody's needs.

Q ***What would make an appropriate course for leisure managers?***

A It is difficult. For a leisure management course you really need all aspects of running a centre a manager would have to know. Finance is a must. Customer care – definitely, which brings the marketing, the programming of the sports centre, what our customer needs, the surveys etc. Certainly the man-management side of things would definitely have to be included,

coping with stress, disciplinary and grievance procedures – all that type of thing. But how you put that into a course I don't know.

Q ***Is knowledge of the actual industry, about leisure essential?***

A Yes. You would have to know something about it. You can't come into a leisure or sports centre without any sort of background to it but if somebody said to me I wanted to work in sports centre because I love sport, it's trouble. I'm not interested. I don't need anybody who is in love with sport. I want someone who can come in here and do the work I want them to do. Certainly they would need a background of the trends in leisure, but it is the nitty-gritty stuff that managers need to have. It's all admin work, getting the information together for someone to make up a report. Basically it's admin, admin, admin all the time.

Q ***This brings us to my last question. Some of the Institutes talk about the leisure professional. Is it a profession?***

A Yes, definitely.

Q ***What criteria do you use to say that yes, I am a professional?***

A Well, the experience that we have gained through the years and the various aspects of working inside the sports centres, the experience of finance and man-management. I think because of the way EK was going and South Lanarkshire is now going there are a lot of in-house courses you can take to improve your management skills. I think it is just mainly through experience that we have become professional, as such, in that if you didn't know what you were doing you would soon find out and you definitely have to be a professional in the financial and customer care side of things.

Q ***So is it the accountability that encouraged this professionality?***

A Yes. People are looking at how the centre is being run. There are PI that you have to supply every year to the Govt. and if you are not performing as you should do then they say you might sent back out to CCT again because you are not performing properly. But we don't have that problem. We pride ourselves in that we get very few complaints and every complaint is handled the way it should be. Being accountable, I don't know who we are accountable to. It is mainly your own gut feeling – are we doing it properly and the answer is generally yes. But we are not complacent about it we make sure that the programmes we run are what the customers actually want. We all know there is a chain of command and we have to respect the strategies that are coming through now for leisure, that have been developed and ratified by the Council. We will follow those strategies through, but the strategies were made up by us, the leisure professionals, and we know where we have problems in the Centres and what we should be aiming to do. But it is OK people saying that we want to renovate our changing rooms or café, but if the money is not there is not a lot we can do about it.

Q *Well, thanks very much Alan for your time. It's been most helpful.*

INTERVIEW 2: **MIKE ROBERTS 11/2/02**
Manager, David Lloyd, Renfrew

Q ***In my thesis what I'm looking at is the impact of Conservative policies on leisure, the impact on the private sector as well the public sector and what it is to be a leisure professional and how it has changed if at all. So I'm looking at David Lloyd as a commercial organisation, West Lothian Leisure as a trust and Glasgow City Council as a traditional public sector service.***

A That's quite funny because I know Edinburgh Leisure and I live in West Lothian and work in Glasgow.

Q ***Well it's even all the more appropriate I talk to you! I wonder if you could give me a bit of your background.***

A I originally started off doing a History and PE degree with the idea of being a teacher. People I know have gone down the same route too. I decided after having two years of my History degree that I didn't want to be a teacher. After that I started off as a gym instructor to get some money so that I could go and travel the world but never got out. I started with a company called Fitness for Industry who were at the time the market leaders and going back to the way things have changed we ran all the hotel clubs for Forte Post House. At 55 clubs we were the market leaders, more members than anybody else. This is in 1989 and this is when I think when things changed. I sat in that industry till 1995, decided I'd had enough and went back to Loughborough to do an MSc in Recreation Management which I completed. I came back and joined David Lloyd Leisure which is basically a completely different concept. Running a small club is very, very different. How the world has changed. We used to literally be reception based, out speaking to the members as the manager of a club. You'd drive the bottom line but have very little impact. You really didn't have that many lines to look after. It was basically sales lines and that was it. Everything else was really looked after for you. I didn't want that. I wanted to come into an environment where I had a lot more control, a lot more people working in a much more of a strategic position. So, in joining David Lloyd that was my goal. I did that for a year and a bit and then was approached to come back for the company I'd worked for in the hotels as a group manager with much more design/build work, feasibility studies, an advancement of what I'd done on my MSc. A completely different job. I did that for two and half years, again, an awful lot of travelling, maybe a bit too much travelling. I decided that I missed the day-to-day contact with members and people around me, rather than being in a car all day, so I went back to David Lloyd, where I am now.

Q ***That gives you quite a broad experience within the commercial sector.***

A I've come from very small clubs to what is the third largest David Lloyd in the UK. We're the biggest in Scotland. In turnover we're probably about

seventh in David Lloyd. The London clubs can charge more for their memberships than we can. We do high scale food and beverage is also provided in the club. So you could probably compare this more to a hotel than you could the original small leisure club that I used to work in within a hotel. There are so many more facets to it.

Q ***So much more secondary spend aspects, as well.***

A Absolutely, about 25% secondary spend which is about £1m for this club. We are turning over, unofficially, about £3m for membership.

Q ***When you first started in about the mid-'80s, or the latter part of the'80's, it seems that the leisure manager had a reasonably high status. In the public sector it seemed to be that way. What was your impression of it in the commercial sector?***

A I think we were very low profile in the private sector. We were paid extremely badly. I started on £6,800 with a degree and that was 1989, which was my first job as a gym instructor. But I was into a company that only recruited graduates, they didn't recruit anybody other than a graduate. When I say graduate I mean HND upwards. So I think the pay reflected the status you had within the hotel industry. It was predominantly hotel based. David Lloyd, while it started in '85 when they had a limited number of clubs in London, this club opened in 1993 and we were the first club outside London.

Q ***You were saying that your first company only recruited people with HND and upwards why was that?***

A Because the concept of the company was quality and we were very much into if somebody joined a club we did took them and did a gym induction. They wanted sports science qualified people to basically be the person to sit down the customer and take them through because we were offering the quality aspects in the industry compared to our competitors of which there weren't many.

Q ***That sounds as though the company placed quite a lot of faith in the qualifications that existed.***

A It was based on qualification, but in terms of status if you were to speak to any of the members, while we were offering a high level of service, we were still somebody who handed a towel out and gave somebody a key at reception and then occasionally went off and did a gym induction. That's where it's changed because these days if you come in at management level in the industry you are expected to do far more and in the end, this is reflected in your salaries. You control your expenditure lines, you control your income lines, you have to drive a strategic plan for your centre.

Q ***So does that infer that when you first came in, although you might be classed as a manager in a facility, you really didn't have a lot of authority to manage or change things?***

A You had a team of six, depending on the size of your club, which is a small team in anybody's books. You didn't have much authority. If you wanted to spend you had to get everything signed off before you could spend it, like the hotel manager who was the person with the status. That was if it was £10 or if it was £50. The difference now is that I've got authority to sign up to £500. Anything beyond that I just give a phone call and say I'm doing this and I control the budget, £2.2m in terms of expenditure. Again, a lot of the stuff that I do control is pre-planned in advance. So, I maybe have a contract which is worth £20,000 over a year. I would just get that signed off by the person above me.

Q ***Who is that?***

A I've got two in effect. I've got a Regional Manager, who signs everything except maintenance.

Q ***Is that the gentleman who is based in Manchester?***

A It is, yes. He controls 7 clubs. He doesn't get involved in the day-to-day running of the clubs. He is very much more strategic and driving our product, I suppose, and helping me build cases for the Board, if I want additional spend. It has changed very much. Originally I had no control on cost-lines. I literally just had to have everything signed off. From a sales point of view I couldn't affect my membership pricing. I could say what I think should be the case, but inevitably it would just be dictated to you from Head Office who would say this is what you will be charging. Here, the difference is that I go back with a case and if I get something what to me is significantly more than I want I can go back and argue about it and try and push for a different approach.

Q ***We'll come back to this issue of status. If you have an idea, or want to change something how much scope do you have to take this centre in maybe a slightly different direction from all the other centres?***

A I've got a reasonable amount of scope. For instance, this year I got £350,000 of capital expenditure which I've justified coming into the club. So that's development. This is beyond my normal club spend. This is to develop the product. Walking round the poolside for instance, for me, strategically going forward, it's sub-standard compared to my competitors. So I justified that case and anything that I go for I've got to generate a financial return against it whether it's attrition of members. If I can justify that by doing this work I'll stop x% leaving the club that's a justification. I've quite a lot of scope – everything in terms of the capital I've had an input in. I've presented in the first instance. So I do have quite a scope with that. One of the issues, for instance, I feel this club should be more family orientated but we don't have the facilities for it. In order to get the facilities I have to build a business case which at the moment I'm doing with my regional manager. So we'll sit down together. He's an accountant. So he helps me, while I'm pretty strong on figures, he's a lot stronger than I am, while I've got much more of an operational background. And between us

we build the case which we put to the Board for next year because we are probably talking about £1- £2m in spend. We can drive that, but ultimately the final say lies with the Board. If our case is strong enough we've got a good chance. If it's not, or they've got other priorities within the company then we won't get it.

Q ***Do you get training or further development? You say that your regional managers are very strategically focused, I assume you have aspirations to that level. Does the company have an in-house development plan?***

A We do have a training plan which has courses for all levels and which they designate this is general manager standard, this is duty manager, this is assistant manager standard. It can be simple things like licensing, it could be financial based. I've just been on a four-day course with most of our head of departments to explain what our company vision is, how we intend getting there, and the different areas that we are going to be judged and monitored on. So that in a sense is training. Also it isn't just going on a course. Training is coaching from my regional manager, in my case, which I do get a lot. I see him several times a month. We sit down and discuss the way the club is going. If I've got weaknesses, or areas I'm not sure of, I discuss that with him and he gives me coaching. So, I do get coaching. But a lot of it is past experience. I've been a regional manager, I've done finance as part of my MSc. I've got a very strong understanding of P & L's, a good understanding of balance sheets, cash flow and therefore speaking to my Managing Director, Finance Director, if they visit the club I literally have to sit down and discuss all these aspects with them. If there is a weakness there, then the company will target that and help me overcome that.

Q ***Is that saying that your job now is as a business manager, as opposed to a leisure manager?***

A Absolutely. What's completely changed, again I think this is very local in David Lloyd, you can go to some David Lloyd clubs and the general manager is the person who is helping out all the time. He plays tennis, does coaching, maybe is in the gym doing instruction because they enjoy doing it. My club is very different to that. I've really set my structure within the club, in agreement with my regional manager, I have a big say in, I've got rid of the assistant manager's position. I've now got two operations managers and their day-to-day job is to run the facility and to look after things like health and safety, ensure there's training within the facility. My job is to look forward strategically, target where we're going in the next two or three years.

Q ***What would you and the company regard as being professional? How do they judge whether you're being professional?***

A I've had this question before. Professional is a very difficult issue. Personally, to me professional means that you, in this case, have a quality product and present it in a quality manner. We do it in such a way that we

don't let personal judgement affect the business. So, for instance, if I disagree with something that is dictated to me from above, I've got to understand that there's a strategy behind that and I have to present that to my team and my members in such a way that it's actually shown a positive light on it. So to me professional is actually taking the company line to a large degree on the front. Behind the scenes I might disagree with things and put up a fight for it. I think that goes for everything we do. From a financial aspect we are a business and I think, sometimes our members will ask why are you charging this and why charging that. I'm not a public facility. I'm here to make a profit ultimately. The only way I will make a profit is if I drive ultimately a good standard of standard so that people come to this club because they enjoy coming to the club or want to come to the club and the only way I'll do that is through my definition of professional. That is providing something is better than the competition and structured in such a way that it services everybody's needs.

Q ***How does your line manager, or someone else in the company judge you? If you were being appraised for example what kind of aspects would you be appraised on?***

A We work on what is know as a balanced scorecard. It's quite a big thing in the private sector. Within the balanced scorecard we've got six different aspects that we're monitored on at the club level.

Q ***Club contribution is an aspect – what's that?***

A Basically it's your bottom level line excluding areas of the accounts that I cannot control. So my fixed costs particularly. So for instance if the site's rates go up, because the Council put the rates up which is something I cannot directly control. So we've got another line of agreement below that as well which is the club profit, you could, in effect, say. Club contribution is everything excluding uncontrollable costs which is basically rates.

Q ***In the 'David Lloyd Way' (another aspect) does that mean these issues related to quality that you mentioned before?***

A Yes. What that links into is in 'the David Lloyd Way' we get mystery guests.

Q ***A bit like QUEST?***

A Yes. I get literally two of these a month, which is going to be extended to three shortly and I get them in different ways. I get show-round visits, which is the sales aspect. So if somebody comes into join this club how likely are they are to join. So they monitor everything from their original phone call to booking. It's changed so much in the last year. As a company we are looking at our systems. Whitbread, since they took over five years ago, have, in the last year and a half, really taken a grip of us and everything down to the computer systems we're using, the software and our sales and that's all monitored, in effect, through this. It's everything down to phone

call, show-round, and the follow-up. So if somebody leaves do we send them a postcard within three days, do we ring them within five days of their visit. If we don't do any of these things we get downmarked. And we've got a target, which is 85% for everything over the course. There's a couple of issues which we've been downmarked in our latest one which we shouldn't have been because some ways we do things which are going to be changed when they are re-doing this in March. But we keep downmarked and we have to keep writing back and getting our score back. So we are sitting around 85% on this one. The club mystery guest is all about somebody coming in and using the club as a user. They cover all different areas – reception, the food, restaurant. This is being extended after March to the gym and the health and fitness experience. We've got a new standard that we're launching in the gym, in the way that somebody joins the club their induction, how professionally was it handled? The show-round in the gym, the staff walking the floor and that sort of thing as well. Externally, things will be monitored as well. The car parking, through probably to 'are the barriers working?'. So there are lots of things that the company are monitoring. So from my point of view I'm judged, a number of these things are judged by mystery guests. We've also got members' surveys which every quarter we send 200 surveys out to members of the club. Not from the club, it's done centrally so we have no input into it. We get results back from our members, rating everything from staff through to facilities and service. So we get another monitor on that as well.

Q ***Could somebody come into a job like yours, as it is now, without the leisure and recreation background, and come in with generic business management skills?***

A Yes, and they do. We, for instance, as a company have brought quite a few of our recent general managers from other parts of Whitbread from a food/beverage background. We have taken marketing people in as general manager status because of going back to your original point it is business development. I think I've got a distinct advantage in that I understand the product because I've worked in it for so long. I started off in the gym, so I understand more if someone is doing something wrong and realise there's an issue I need to bring up with my health and fitness manager. But generally speaking, a lot of accountants come into positions. Very much different backgrounds.

Q ***Do you think then in comparison to the '80s when you first started studying, that leisure management, in terms of a specialism, doesn't exist now?***

A No. I think you'll find there are still a lot of original leisure managers around, but I think we have changed. I think the professional aspect, going back to your previous question, has changed. I wouldn't have perceived myself as a professional when I was a club manager in the hotel clubs, when I was handing out towels, giving keys and had very little control over what was happening. There were very few standards. You come to David Lloyd where we are now, everything is monitored and measured down to the finest

detail and becoming more so. I think that in two years we will have changed a lot again. We are just sort of on the road at the moment.

Q *What has created the boom in the commercial sector?*

A I think they acknowledge that ....I think the hotels originally put the leisure clubs in as a means to encourage more bed nights with the hotels and I think they were pleasantly surprised to find that the actual clubs not only covered their costs, which was the original target of bringing in external members, but actually started making big returns. And in terms of percentage returns on the capital they'd employed was much higher than they'd anticipated. This was taken up by David Lloyd, who was the first guy to see it, in the'80's and really what's happened within the industry we, as an industry, Whitbread were the first big company, to notice that there was an opportunity here. Get out when beverage returns were really very small and into leisure where the returns are very high. I think as a company we're targeting 15-20% return on capital employed as where we want to be in two years. Which is quite a high return. So that's why it's growing. It's just the opportunities.

Q *You mentioned when we were walking round that if you bring more families it can upset other markets or interests, but also that the sight of this particular centre is not a particularly affluent area. You've also said it's about profits as well. Is there any emphasis at all on the social contribution of this club to the area?*

A We do an awful lot with the local community. We have access for schools during the day in our off-peak times where we literally charge the cost of the coach just for their time, so in effect they get free court usage. Whitbread have a department which, working with the community, we sponsor basketball courts down in Paisley, we are working at the moment with the Court Hospice, which is the local charity. So if we run events within the club we use them as our nominated charity so our money goes into the local community. We allow non-members children to access our tennis clubs and tennis societies. We, also at the moment, have got a number of members who are involved Renfrewshire Sports Council etc. and we are looking at funding opportunities for us to be able to access more kids into the facility than there maybe are at the moment because of the costs of becoming a member for day-to day, not just the clubs sessions. I think for us to really succeed we have to be seen in the community. It's about awareness.

Q *Is there any time any conflict between the social objective and the business objectives?*

A There is. I can give you an example. We had Johnstone High School in just before Christmas and I think a number of the members didn't like the fact, although it was very quiet there was empty courts and it didn't actually affect the level of service they got, but I think if the members took umbrage at the fact that we had allowed a State school to use the facilities. So you get it from that point of view. From my point of view and the company's point

of view we have to not only seen to be helping in the community, but I think it's great for the sports that we're actually trying to promote.

Q ***The cynics or sceptics would suggest that involvement in some of the activities that you mention are another means of marketing and so on. How altruistic is Whitbread in their motives?***

A I could argue against that view because I could argue that the club is more or less at capacity anyway and if I was taking the purely business line I wouldn't really do this because it's costing me money to do these things. I could argue that I don't actually need to do it, so there is a social conscience in there. I think you'll find that Whitbread generally, they've had five people working in their community-based project team which is quite a big outlet in terms of cashflow. I think a lot of companies - they do genuinely try to promote sports within local communities. As I say for me, the promotion of tennis, badminton, squash is a big thing. I, for instance, sponsor eight free memberships, which just literally count against us. I don't get much in terms of press coverage and so on but that is just part and parcel of trying to develop the sports in the local area

Q ***What do you think is the difference between you as a professional in this kind of organisation and what you may know of the trusts and traditional public sector? So do you think the leisure manager's job is different in each of these?***

A I've worked in a trust. I worked in a trust in London in Kensington just for a short period of time, just for work experience. When I say work experience I mean as a manager. I actually had experience at the time – in between finishing my Masters and joining David Lloyd. It was very, very different. With the trust we were very much charging at the lower level but making enough money so we could reinvest back into the facility to promote within the local area. I also feel that, certainly the trust I worked in, that all the Directors were extremely well paid, or being better paid than a lot of the directors are, or people I know, within the private sector. So while I think there was definitely a target to the local community to provide facilities I think, certainly, individuals were well looked after as part of that. I think it is very different than just the outlook. We, as I say, are here to make a profit for our shareholders. We use demand and supply to maximise our revenue so if it meant having less members but making more from it at the end of the day we'd go that way. As it happens we've got a facility which I think our pricing maybe is on the lower level where I think it could be higher. Very different objectives. We're here to service our shareholders whereas trusts you could argue to extend facilities in the community.

Q ***Do you think the qualities of the employees of a trust or somewhere like Glasgow City Council need to be different from this organisation?***

A I think you'll find, certainly in my experience is that up to a certain point where you become inverted in terms of salary scales. If you go into the council or the trust they tend to be paid much more at the lower level and as

they go further up the tree were paid less and less. So to be the manager you weren't actually paid that much more than the trust I was in than if you were a gym instructor. Whereas in this organisation you are paid significantly more if you are the manager and paid significantly less if you are at the lower level. I think part of the reason for that is its incentive for the right people to get themselves up the ladder as quick as they can because of the financial recognition. I think they are very, very different, but I think they are becoming much closer in terms of actual goals and aims. I think you'll find the councils, for instance, are certainly over the last 2-3 years that I've seen, have changed significantly. The pricing structures in terms of the wages have changed, they are getting very much more like us. They're charging. The fact that they're offering memberships to their gym facilities they're not actually not that much different to us. They ran so many facilities at subsidy for so long and then, all of a sudden couldn't do it but they've had to change.

Q ***Do you think that as managers are now having to become more business orientated and have the awareness that you have to have?***

A Yes. I think previously is was more meant to be about service than quality and social participation. If you look at your ISO standards and your talking about QUEST, these tend to be council, or public sector drive for quality. We may have in the past had things like Investors in People which has been a staff sort of target, but outwith that everything's done internally. For example, we've got our balanced scorecards. We drive our own standards. I don't think it is changing. I think they are becoming far more like us than they ever did. I think their managers are having to become more like this because they are no longer just there to lose money. They are there to, at minimum, cover their costs and it's Edinburgh Leisure, their not in it just for the love of it. They are there to make something out of it. So they have to drive the bottom line on it as well.

Q ***How important is it do you think leisure managers, as a profession, I'm making an assumption here that they regard it as a profession, maintains that identity?***

A I don't actually think it's that important. I think going back to the business managers sense, I went back and did the Masters in Recreation Management, which is basically business-studies with leisure as the area that you focused on. So you did financial management, you do economics, you do accounting, marketing but all with leisure examples. In effect, that could have been the same degree but with another sector as the focus. So I don't think leisure manager is probably the right word anymore.

Q ***Do you then need bodies like ILAM and ISRM now?***

A I think previously you could argue probably yes just to heighten the profile of the industry. But I think the industry has grown so much in the last maybe five years particularly, I think we are one of the largest growing business sectors in the country, I think we're well known by the fact, in my

case, I've got Whitbread behind me, you've got Scottish and Newcastle as a big part of Next Generation. I don't think it does you any harm to have a body that is standing up for the industry which is where I can see the benefit of them and, if nothing else, they tend to have direct link to government, particularly if its council based because in effect they're all elected and are all friends of friends. From the private sectors point of view certainly ILAM doesn't represent us at all. If anything it's the Fitness Industry Association is our voice. We get heard at Government levels because directors of the company inevitably have got political connections. So there is a reason for having them, but whether they should be just leisure based is another issue, I don't know.

Q ***From your recollection, as we come to the end of our discussion, what impact do you think the Conservative policies had on the commercial sector?***

A It's a difficult one because when it happened in the '80's it happened when I perhaps was a user rather than somebody who worked in it and I was very much against the things that were going on because I thought I didn't get access. The prices were going up and it was very difficult for me as a youngster to get access to decent facilities. I think as somebody further down the line I think what they did, in effect, they've made council's organise and look at their facilities. I would say that the facilities they offer are much better. Whether they're priced at the right people is another issue. I think what's happened from the commercial sector point of view I don't they're linked directly with the reason we evolved. I think we evolved by mistake to some degree. I think we evolved because of hotels trying to find other ways of generating bed nights and I think people like David Lloyd sort of jumped on the bandwagon of that and thought these hotel setups are working, let's go and see if it works for us in a private environment. Also he was trying to boost tennis and the image of tennis, so again I don't think it was government policy. It was more accident and then these things all of a sudden worked and that really started moving it.

Q ***That's really interesting because much of the political analysis I've read refers to the enterprise culture that Margaret Thatcher and her government attempted to generate. There's a logical assumption that that was why there was a boom in commercial activity.***

A I would argue that if anything they detracted from sport and leisure. As somebody who was at school and all of a sudden had no teachers to teach sport after school I think there was anything but an emphasis on driving sport and leisure in the country. I think if anything since they've gone out of power that's got better, but I think our industry evolved by mistake. Certainly on the hotel front it wasn't seen as let's make a profit. The company I worked for was originally based on sales, not the contribution, then all of a sudden after five or six years, it was changed to profitability. The hotels that I worked for realised that we were actually making a hell of a lot of money and that was us just driving sales and but not actually controlling our costs. I think the tennis centre side, David Lloyd, was not an

accident. He was trying to target tennis to get Britain back to where it traditionally had been as one of the top tennis nations. I think that was his primary aim. I think you'll find Living Well as well, basically hotel-based clubs. Originally hotel-based clubs they find are taking profits so they developed into stand alone sites and that's the way the industry has developed.

Q ***As a last question, do you regard yourself as a professional?***

A Again, I always find that one really difficult because it depends on the definition of professional. I would say yes because I think I'm very good at what I do. I think you would have to put somebody in with a business brain to run this. You couldn't just pick somebody out in a gym and say 'go and run that business' and therefore I like to think that the way I approach it is professional in that I've got systems in place, I've got strategies. I know what I'm trying to achieve, whether it's financial or levels of service and I've got a plan for how to achieve that. Which I would say is what a professional coach does, so in that sense I am a professional.

Q ***And you have input into those targets?***

A I have a huge input. The first round of my budgets went through in September. Our new budgets start on March 5th. The first round of budget proposals put forward were just indications and then had to sit down through several meetings thereafter. Yes they get moved but I ultimately do have a very big say and as it happens I think my target is perhaps £5,000 more than I'd actually budgeted in my original submission. So I got, pretty much, what I'd asked for.

Q ***Well that's been great. We've covered a lot of issues that I'm interested in.***

INTERVIEW 3: **ELLIOT BUNNY 14/2/02**
Manager, West Lothian Leisure

Q ***I wonder if you could give me a bit of your background?***

A I'm not your typical background leisure manager. I was a full-time sportsperson for about ten years, 18 to about 27-28 and then started off doing sports coaching with the local authority. I did the HNC Leisure Management. I got a job doing full-time sports development and then got a job in facility management and I've been doing that for about five or six years. Through that I've done my ISRM and am doing CIM marketing as well just now. So I will probably take that to diploma level next year, the ISRM one. That's not a conventional background I think. I think it's really either hands-on from seventeen or eighteen on poolside or a leisure attendant or it's degree route from early twenties.

Q ***That in itself indicates that things have changed from the way it was.***

A I think they have to change. You'll see I'm sure from speaking to all the different sectors it's slightly different maybe, although it's kind of streamlined in that, maybe focusing on similar things such as marketing and finance. Things like that. Whereas six, seven years ago it was all a bit different.

Q ***What do you think has encouraged those changes?***

A I think the introduction of private sector and health and fitness. The private sector is across the road, it's down the road, we're been surrounded by it. That's helped. I think constraints on the budget as well. We've had to improve services and customer care and things like that because we've got to compete with cinemas and shopping and other health and fitness operators. It's certainly done that within West Lothian Leisure. There are improvements. I've seen a tremendous advance in the last five or six years.

Q ***How have you achieved these improvements?***

A Training. Having a dedicated training department has definitely helped. I think having the right people in place, managers in place, with the same objectives is also helpful. People focusing as well on other areas – marketing has definitely helped. Having a dedicated business development manager as well. I think having key players, not in just facility management, but in Head Office focused on marketing as well. I think with that comes a difference to staff training, things like key areas are not just health and safety but operational things – customer service and things like that. People realise their importance. And also with the customers needs on the health and fitness side as well, it's going to focus people. We've all seen the benefits of doing that. The employees get a bit more motivation as well I think. And the competition. I think the competition gives you a kick in the right direction.

Q ***So from when you first came in through coaching and development, what's the one thing that there has been the most significant change in? Is there one thing?***

A I'm sure there's more than one. I'm trying to think of the key one. It's probably just the way they manage. They manage the company far better, more objectively. The operations manager and Douglas (General Manager) know where they are going to be in five or ten years time. It's far more focused. There's a lot more to it. It's not just pools and sports centres.

Q ***Does that mean that the job of the leisure manager has become less specialist or more specialist?***

A It's one of the weaknesses of the job. There's so many different areas. I could talk about all the different areas for quite a while. I mean the swimming, the health and safety, HR, marketing, promotions, advertising all that kind of stuff, customer service, you can go on and on. There's also project work and things like that. So that's probably just a weakness of it. I think nowadays there are a lot more degree courses available which specialise. I did an HNC in Leisure Management, day-release from work. I was quite disappointed. It was a general management course, nothing really specific about how to operate a place like this or anything like that. I think ISRM is far better, far more practical.

Q ***I don't want to digress in the subject of course design and so on, but you are flagging up an important issue in terms of how significant leisure qualifications are to your own career advancement or what you are now?***

A I think the career probably has changed. There's far more opportunity in leisure now. There's more leisure trusts. There's the private sector as well, the clubs and the hotels with clubs and things like that. A bit less stable and kind of different career paths, more chopping and changing. If you want a career in the private I think you would have to be prepared to maybe work in London and two years later maybe end up in Newcastle or Sweden. I think that's different. I think it's getting regulars through the door, treat them properly, and give them what they want. It's more about getting the price at the right level more often down here than in the private sector.

Q ***If there's a difference between yourselves and the commercial sector, is there a difference between yourself and someone working for a traditional local government environment?***

A I think Glasgow, in terms of their health and fitness, are very switched on. Obviously there will be differences from site to site. I've got an interest in marketing, but some of the other guys are a bit more operational than me, which might be my weakness. I would think the private managers come from a hotel, leisure, hospitality background and have the experience of managing a restaurant strategically, or whatever. We're very customer focused, I think, but they are maybe a bit more customer focused. A different type of experience I think. I've had interviews for the private

sector so obviously they see my experience fitting into a private sector experience.

Q ***Do you think their skills are any different?***

A Yes. I think they are. I think they are a bit more commercial.

Q ***We are still quite a young industry. There was a lot of spend in leisure industry. There is one view that the leisure manager had quite a high status. Do you think that level of status remains today?***

A I think leisure managers get a really bad deal. I think we're really badly paid for what we do and the responsibilities we have. People I know who work in PR, advertising don't have a great deal of responsibility, especially the financial sector, who might deal with money, but overall don't have a great deal of responsibility. They get really well paid, but spin-offs as well, financial benefits and perks. In West Lothian Leisure we're reasonably paid but if you look at an average salary I don't think we're that well paid. But I think that's the industry. I think the private sector is maybe slightly better paid.

Q ***Why do you think it is that the skills and responsibilities aren't recognised?***

A I suppose if you were to add another £10,000 to my salary and the other managers the company couldn't afford it.

Q ***Is it anything to do with how society and the Government perceive leisure?***

A Well you would think that leisure and sport have a fairly high priority, with TV coverage, adverts on TV - its sport, sport, sport. Within the industry I think leisure managers go on about status. If I'm brutally honest I would say I don't think of myself as a leisure manager. I came here as a manager. I think maybe this is a personal thing, I don't know. I'm not ashamed, that's too strong a word, I wouldn't say I'm a council manager in a sports centre. It's not something I would like to shout.

Q ***Do you see yourself first and foremost a manager, within the context of a leisure environment or a leisure manager?***

A I would probably see myself as a manager working in leisure. There are other people who work in the company who are definitely leisure managers and that's them. I like to think I could do other things, which I have done. So I wouldn't like to see myself in as narrow a field as that. I think probably people looking in will think leisure manager, put you in a box and that's all you can do and there are some people who say what do you actually do?

Q ***Within local government, in comparison to other services, where do you think your status lies?***

A It's all how people perceive it isn't it? I think maybe the general public's opinion of a leisure manager might be a nicer job than a social work manager or a housing services manager. I think they would perceive it better, especially with the increase in popularity of health and fitness and things like that. The bulk of our business now is health and fitness.

Q ***Did you work for West Lothian Council before the trust was set up?***

A I worked for the District council, then the council and then West Lothian Leisure.

Q ***What's been the difference between working for West Lothian council and West Lothian Leisure?***

A Speed to be able to get things done. Some people still criticise that it still takes time to get things off the ground, but certainly you have to take your time and plan things, but now it is a lot a better. It's ten times better. You can go and get on with a project. Somebody will do some work on it for a business plan and we put it to management. The soft-play area for example. I had discussions with various people about it. I did a lot of work on the business plan. The business development manager had a quick look at it, juggled the figures about, put it to committee management. Three months later I had a new soft-play area. So things like that. We've had massive progress I think.

Q ***Is there a lot of influence from elected members?***

A Not as much as there used to be I think. We still get the occasional question. At the end of the day they find the funding. It's their facility. We just lease them. It's not often we get a councillor speaking to myself about can you do this, or make sure this person gets a block booking for football pitches. That's what used to happen. They have less and less influence now. Maybe they are just happy for us to get on and manage.

Q ***How are the strategic objectives formulated?***

A I would think that's mostly by head office. I set objectives and put in my marketing plan, things I want to do but fairly specific ones. The operations manager is obviously more strategic than I am. I'm fairly strategic but not four years down the line strategic. I mean I plan a year in advance.

Q ***Do you have any say in the West Lothian corporate objectives?***

A Probably not.

Q ***From your perspective, what do you think influences the corporate strategic objectives?***

A Very much what the committee of management and who those individuals are and what they are saying to certain people. I think they would have a big

influence. Which you would initially think is not a good thing, but if you look at the cross mixture of people you have on that, it is probably good. We have got some good business people, we have customers, obviously we have members of staff, plus councillors as well. So it's a fairly good mix.

Q ***So it's not dominated by a political force?***

A No. The leisure person, the chair of leisure is on the committee. He used to work for us anyway.

Q ***In terms of priorities is there conflict between the public sector social role, the welfare role and the trust requirement of financial efficiency?***

A Yes, there probably is. I think there's times when some people can maybe try to do the right thing and be fairly commercial and end up with a slap on the wrist and being told you can't really do that because we're a trust. And because we're a trust we're getting charitable status. We're saying we're going to do certain things for the local community and I think when you're making decisions here about whatever, pricing involving customers, it's always at the back of your mind about why we're here as well, the social aspects and things like that. Although it has lessened. It's not as to the fore as it used to be. It's far more commercial. Sometimes it can be frustrating when you have people driving in, in their nice cars and on their mobile phones and looking for a concession because they're on income support and things like that. That can be frustrating. Not just for me, but for staff as well. If you own a car, mobile phone and smoke as well why can't you pay an extra 50p for swimming?

Q ***If you are judged on your performance what kind of things are you measured against?***

A Staff appraisals. My line manager, area manager will appraise me and set me goals and objectives, some financial and various other things. A lot of them – it's financial – previous year against target, the number of fitness members we have.

Q ***If they were comparing you against A.N. Other manager with West Lothian how do you think they would draw conclusions as to manager is the better manager?***

A I think quite a few things. I think facility performance is obvious pretty key. The way they manage, their input not just into their own site but into other areas, what they have to say about the quality of their work, their project work. Various things like that I think. Some of them fairly tangible, some of them may not so.

Q ***Is it a subjective process?***

A It is difficult. A friend of mine who works here has three sites. I'm maybe fortunate enough to be in one of the busiest sites, therefore it is maybe a bit easier for me meet targets and things like that.

Q ***You mentioned earlier a number of characteristics about what it is to be a good manager. If you were comparing that to the council days and were answering the same question, what would be the differences?***

A I think you would be seen as a better manager if you were seen as sticking rigidly to systems, following all council guidelines and not displaying too much flair. Just doing a good steady job.

Q ***Would it be right to draw the conclusion that the trust environment has enabled you to think a little bit outside the box, and manage with a bit more flair and creativity?***

A Yes, definitely. Obviously the people at the top (of West Lothian Leisure) have set it up very well and have given people the reins to go and manage the facilities. They've given a lot of freedom for people to make decisions on site about setting a price or how you approach things if they are not right. We've more flexibility to make decisions I think than maybe a few years ago.

Q ***It was said of back in the early '80s, talking to directors of services, they felt that in those days they took the lead in writing the strategies for the council. I'm hearing you say that even ten years ago in councils you were quite constrained and that you had to do things this way or that way. What do you think brought that kind of environment? Was there anything that happened in particular?***

A I'm really not sure. I think there wasn't the pressure to bring people through the door.

Q ***Do you think CCT made any changes?***

A I suppose it probably did, but I wasn't heavily involved in CCT so I'm not the best person to ask.

Q ***I'm just asking everyone to see what they think. Would you consider yourself to be a professional?***

A My only hesitation is because it has such a broad interpretation. I'm not an accountant, a lawyer or a doctor. I suppose they are really recognised as being more specialised. I think more and more it is. Maybe not now. Some people probably would view it as a profession. Probably in the next five years with health living centres opening up all over the place that might change things. We can't be far off it.

Q ***How important are the professional bodies to this claim of a profession or promoting the identity of leisure managers?***

A I think they are very important. What with professional qualifications or whatever, it's nice to put on your CV that you're a member of ISRM or whatever. You keep it on so you can get information sent out to you and things like that.

Q ***Do you think they have done a good job in the past?***

A I can't comment on ILAM. ISRM - I don't think they do a bad job.

Q ***What else would you expect it to do? ISRM is very much for specialist qualifications, specialist technical aspects of wet-side provision.***

A I think they could give more information about things in Scotland. All of the stuff comes from down South. I've never been particular impressed with some of the Branch meetings.

Q ***You mentioned earlier that when you came to work in West Lothian that you did a Higher National Certificate. How important are qualifications?***

A I sometimes think they are important just for me to have them, to say I've done x, y and z.

Q ***What about if you were recruiting?***

A Yes. They are very important. I mean my ISRM and the marketing one I've done I find very useful. More so than the HNC. I think they just show that you've got intelligence or the skills to go and study or whatever.

Q ***Are they a significant factor when you're selecting people?***

A It depends who you're selecting I think. I mean I would take someone for the gym or a lifeguard, I think the gym's a bit different in that you need some specific qualifications along the route, you need a bit of background. But someone who's working on the poolside - a lot of the time I take someone who's got a nice personality, a bit of customer experience. Also it would be nice if they had an HNC or whatever, but it's not the be all and end all. He can get his pool lifeguard qualification while he's here. So at that level of job I would tend to look at the person, their personality and that sort of thing.

Q ***Once you've selected somebody and they've been in the job for a while, how do you appraise them? What do you look for?***

A Basically I review all the different job areas and see what they are good at and maybe see areas that they're not good at and try and find out reasons for that. It's nice to see people who are keen and want to do additional work, professional qualifications and things like that and shows they want to have a career in leisure. Probably a weakness of these jobs, and of some people that get into these jobs, is that they're that secure and tend to not work quite as hard. People who have been in the job pre-West Lothian Leisure are used

to local authorities and are not as hard working as some other people, and sometimes it's a constant effort to keep pushing them in the right direction.

Q ***As you look to advance your career and move up the ladder depending on the opportunities, is it essential for you to have leisure management qualifications, or the staff to have leisure management qualifications?***

A I probably think it is essential to move up, yes.

Q ***Why is that?***

A Well it is essential because you're not going to get a job without the qualification, that's the first reason I suppose. I've been looking at what my next option is. I've been considering doing a degree and this kind of stuff, but I don't know if I want to study for x number of years again. So I'm thinking about doing the ISRM Diploma which is about 7 months study. It depends where you want to go. I think you're never going to be an area manager without some form of qualifications, management qualifications, or professional qualifications.

Q ***There is a view that as you move up the ladder you don't really need a leisure qualification, but something like an MBA is just as relevant. There are others who think the leisure aspect is really quite important. What do you think?***

A I think a degree in facility management or marketing or something, would slot in quite nicely with leisure. I didn't learn a great deal about leisure from doing an HNC in Leisure Management, not a great deal about operations in leisure management. I was a wee bit disappointed. I think some kind of professional qualification can be important.

Q ***The other aspect of professional bodies I'm quite interested in is the aspect of promoting, or raising the status of leisure management. Do you think they have been good at that?***

A Probably ten years ago you couldn't do a degree in leisure management, but now it's not common, but it's more popular nowadays. I think that's helped considerably to raise the status.

Q ***Is that the education fraternity that's done that or the industry?***

A Or is it the course of sport, leisure, health and fitness? I don't know. I think it would be a mixture. We get a lot of kids coming in for work experience in health and fitness.

Q ***Where do they come from?***

A Schools, through career development, but they rarely come and say they want to work on the poolside – they want to work in the gym, health and fitness.

Q ***I suppose it's sexy.***

A Exactly. It's like the sexiest part of my job is marketing. It's not the HR side or health and safety side. It's doing the marketing, it's a nice part to get involved in, I suppose, and for kids it's the health and fitness side.

Q ***If you were working in the commercial sector would you make the same response about qualifications and leisure qualifications.***

A Yes. Again I think a lot of those guys maybe have different qualifications. I would be really interested to see any research about that, but I would think they might come from hotel management or marketing background. I would be surprised if they have leisure management qualifications.

Q ***I think I've covered all the areas I hoped to. Thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 4: **RICHARD CAMPBELL 28/2/02**
Manager, Tollcross Sport and Leisure Centre, Glasgow City Council

Q ***I am interested in the status of leisure managers. From the things that I've read about the 1980's it seems that leisure managers had a fairly high status in terms of developing strategy. Would you agree with that?***

A At my level within Glasgow City Council I wasn't involved in developing the strategy. The strategy was developed by more senior managers, like Ian Hooper. The strategy was made up as a means of almost tying the Council into what we wanted to see as our capital projects. So if you write a strategy document and you get the councillors to agree it, and who say 'that's a great idea, that is the way forward for Glasgow' and they endorse it, then you go to them and say 'see how you've endorsed our strategy, well, as you can see, part of the strategy is the development of such and such a facility, or such and such a service so can we get £10m to do this?' So it was almost like a method of encouraging the councillors to come on board with us because it then became, if you like, their strategy. So you've got the chairman of what was at that time the Parks and Recreation Committee, who writes the forward to say this is the way ahead for sport for Glasgow. So by getting the councillors on board with your strategy document it's a means of saying where you are actually going to be going in the future. At my level that came down from above – 'this is our strategy, this is what our objectives are, this is what we are going to try to do'. So my impression of the original strategy, which was probably written about 1993/94, is about saying this is where we're going, the councillors are on board and this is what we are going to do. The strategy that we now seem to have is more to do with the Council's core objectives. So if the Council's core objectives includes social inclusion, life-long learning, regeneration, and employment etc. that's where our objectives are coming from now. So Bridget's (director) objectives mirror, almost exactly, the Council's core objectives. Whereas our strategy document previously was, as I said, was to do with this is what we presently do, this is what we want to do and therefore we'll write a strategy and we'll get the councillors on board and then they're almost tied into it because they've agreed to it in principle, so they must come up with the cash.

Q ***Does that infer that back in 93/94 Parks and Recreation wasn't a core part of the Council's provision in that it seems to have had some opportunity to do it's own thing?***

A I think for a long time it was doing its own thing. Prior to Parks and Recreation we had a Baths Department and a Parks Department. They were then merged.

Q ***When was that?***

A Probably around about 1981. It was a relatively small Baths Department and although they had quite a lot of facilities I think it was relatively low key within the council. You had the Parks Department. The Parks Department also operated the sports centres at the time. Why they did I don't know. It was a historical thing within Glasgow. Bellahouston Sports Centre was the first purpose built sports centre in Scotland and it was in Bellahouston park. Whether that had anything to do with it I don't know. So the Parks Department ran sports centres and recreation centres etc., indoor provision. The Baths Department ran simply the baths, the launderettes, the steamies. The original baths in Glasgow was nothing to do with sport or swimming. It was to do with public health and hygiene, and the fact it happened to have a swimming pool was almost a secondary issue. The power at that time was within Parks because the then Director was Keith Fraser and he had been the Head of Parks. So suddenly you had this Parks and Recreation Department that was primarily run by ex-parks senior managers. They all had horticultural backgrounds. When Bernard arrived (next director), he had a sports background and it was probably perceived by the parks managers that that was not their best years because if it was a capital list of spend the tractors went down to the bottom and the Nautilus weights equipment got shoved up to the top, whereas for years it was the other way around. What was your question again?

Q ***I'm considering whether leisure at that time in Glasgow was autonomous. Was it really seen by the Council to be a core service?***

A Okay. When the two services came together I think they realised they had a department that could bring them positive images and positive feedback. It wasn't the housing department which kept getting a doing because of dampness and windows falling out. I would have hated to be the housing manager in Glasgow because what a thankless task that was in the '80's. Whereas Parks and Recreation, we were dealing with nice things. We were dealing with swimming pools and parks and galleries and fitness classes and we could provide things that people perceived as being positive. So it certainly became that to be the Chair of Parks and Recreation was good, because you got good things. Who wants to be the Chair of the housing department where you just got a doing all the time? So I think it was seen as a department that brought positive images to the City through Kelvinhall events, the Great Scottish Race etc, etc. I think it grew in stature because of that, because it was a good thing.

Q ***What kind of message did they try to sell through leisure?***

A Prior to CCT?

Q ***Yes.***

A I'm not convinced they had any particular direction. If somebody had said to me as a young manager in Glasgow what are your priorities, I would have probably said my priorities are what I choose them to be. It certainly wasn't

income generation. It was just providing a service to the local public because at that time it was area based.

Q ***And how was it sold to the public, was it come and participate, this is good for your health?***

A There was a health issue but I don't think it was much to the fore. I worked in Castlemilk at the time, in the south-east of Glasgow, area 5, so I had Castlemilk, Rutherglen, Cambuslang, Kings Park etc. Because it was parks and recreation I had responsibility for a very wide range of facilities whether it was a pool, a sports centre, a recreation centre, a senior citizens' pavilion, a golf course. In the summer it would be putting and tennis and animal farm etc., that goes back to the baths and parks coming together, so it was a real wide-range. It was recreation in its widest sense. So the priorities for the indoor centres was just to try and encourage people to use them, but there was perhaps no particular health agenda. We now have a huge GP referral scheme, which we didn't have then. It was really just about let's get people in, let's get them using the centres and the more people you get the better. But if somebody had said to me what's your income target for next year – I didn't have one. If somebody had said to me at that time how much money did you actually take in last year I probably would have thought 'I don't really know' because it wasn't, at that time, seen as being relevant. The budgets that you had were all historic and incremental. It just went up by x% every year whereas when we went to CCT it became what do we need to run that centre? It became a cost centre and you could then decide what do I really need to run this? It was more like a zero-based option. So the priorities I think, at that time, were quite blurred. We just ran them. That's why we run them, because they're always there and we've always done it. I don't think they had any particular direction.

Q ***What did that mean for you in terms of what you saw your job as?***

A I saw my job as being very varied and I enjoyed it. I was probably the youngest assistant rec. in Glasgow. I was only 22. I came straight out of Jordanhill. Couldn't get a full-time job teaching and was given this opportunity to be a leisure manager and have two swimming pools, a sports centre and all the things I've discussed; the gala days you get involved in, the 10 mile road-races, events and suddenly you thought 'this is really good, I enjoy this' and because it was very varied it gave you a huge depth of experience that I thought I could always draw on in later years if I stayed in the Council, which I obviously have. Was I viewed by outsiders as being high status? Probably not. I think still then there was this idea that if you work with the council you were lazy and you just come in at 9.00 and go home at 4.00.

Q ***What about from service to service? Were you given the same status as other managers?***

A Absolutely not. I think if you worked with Parks and Recreation for a start you would be asked questions like 'son, when is my grass getting cut?'. I

would say 'well, it's really not something that I deal with, however, if you give me your name and address I'll get someone to give you a call. You would try and deal with it professionally. But it was referred to as the Parks Department. Even that, tho' it may sound a bit petty, the sign outside Parks and Recreation's door for about eight years said Glasgow Parks. It wasn't even grammatically correct. Therefore, you were seen by the housing manager as 'oh, you work with the Parks'. So the housing manager thought he was far more important because he was, perhaps, dealing with issues that he could argue was far more important to someone in terms of the housing provision etc. Social work's important, housing's important – you're just the parks. I don't think it had a high status. However, what we actually provided was, as I said earlier, a positive thing. So the residents of Glasgow would have a hate campaign for the housing manager if they weren't getting their dampness sorted and their new windows fixed. But parks and recreation, to them, meant 'Oh there's the Castlemilk Fun Run and there's the sports centre - that's really good - and we're getting a new sports centre built and we want a new indoor bowling centre, which actually came on-line about twelve years later, although it was discussed when I was in Castlemilk way back. So from a public's perspective I think they realised that a lot of the things we were doing had a real effect on their life but within the council – you work with parks. Depending on who you're talking to, their perception of you would be totally different.

Q ***In those days prior to CCT what was distinctive about your job?***

A It was very varied. We needed to know a lot different areas. You had to deal with the public first and foremost. You had to know about water chemistry, you had to liaise with the police. You had a whole host of contacts in the job and I enjoyed that. I would one day be dealing with job interviews in a sports centre or a leisure centre or dealing with the public or arranging an event or dealing with a fitness coach in a fitness class. That might be on a Friday. On the Saturday I'd be on duty and I'd be doing a supervisory role dealing with people playing football, dealing with the supervision and the maintenance and the lining the parks. When you're young that's actually quite interesting. As you get older you begin to think well maybe it's not that interesting. But if someone asked me about lining a football park I know about it. If somebody said Richard have you ever mucked out horses? - yes I have. Why? Because there was a strike and the animals had to be looked after, so I got the chance to look after ponies. Now I'm not saying for a minute that was great. It was a job that I really thought 'there's so much involved in this'. Gala days where you were dealing with cheer-leaders, then you've the side to it when you got to see that the vendors, the carnival, a swimming gala, a ten mile road race, liasing with the police, so it was incredibly varied. You had the local contact with the councillors and the real people of Glasgow because you were frontline hands-on. They knew who you were and they would come to you and tell you exactly what they thought which is completely fine with me. You were on first name terms with all the councillors because you worked in that area. They were the councillors and if you had a good relationship with them it worked well. There used to be an area management structure, which meant

each area was divided up – there was 7 areas in Glasgow. We were Area 5 and we started bidding for events money. It started off as a £2000 a year budget for events and within about five or six years it got to £22,000 they would give us a year and that's in the early and mid '80s which is quite a lot of money. They were giving us that money, Fiona, because they knew they were getting value for money. So value for money that they talk about today is not really any different to what we were delivering years and years ago, because they had tangible evidence, that's to say 'we give you £20k, what are you going to do with it?' 'Well, I'll organise this event and that event and it's all to the betterment of the residents, this is what they want us to do.' So we would help fund a gala day , Landamar in Rutherglen, we would assist in that gala day, the Castlemilk gala day, the Cambuslang gala day, the pensioners Christmas party – we might pay for this, we might pay for that. So that £22,000 would be used in a very real way and then when you do the event you always acknowledge this event has been run in conjunction with the South East Area management committee and you knew who these people were. You could go to the local councillor and say 'we are trying to do this but we really need some money, what's the chances that at the next management committee – could you support that?' So you got the support of the local councillors because they knew who you were.

Q ***Am I right in assuming if somebody was regarded as doing a good job that was almost measured by events, participation?***

A Yes. Coming in and enjoying what they do. It worked. It was literally frontline contact.

Q ***You mentioned CCT and the move to zero-based costing. What do you regard as the key changes that CCT brought?***

A The thing it made was those massive conditions of service changes for frontline staff, the leisure attendants etc. So there was a period of complete disharmony, demotivation. Suddenly a leisure attendant or an assistant manager was earning £3,000 or £4,000 a year less but with worse conditions; less staff, longer opening hours, less money. That's not a recipe for motivated staff no matter what anyone says. The old Maslow's theory and all that - well if you're taking money out my pocket and you're wanting me to work twice as hard, well that assumption that you're not working hard in the first place might be right for some but might be way off the mark for others. So, initially CCT meant for the workforce less money. Basically, we sold our conditions of service away. It was done in a way you can understand - the Council went to them 3 or 4 weeks before Christmas and said here's £1500, sign and you come back after Christmas and you get a new contract. Everybody signs it, has a good Christmas and comes backs and thinks this was maybe not such a good idea. So it was a hard time for the staff. From a managers point of view the structure of the department changed and rather than being area-based I became a facility manager, which meant I was in charge of a smaller number of facilities. I worked a shift system so there was three of me plus a recreation manager. So you had a team of four who worked in an area. I worked shifts. I worked from 8.30

in the morning to 11.00 o'clock at night over seven days an early shift or a late shift. You didn't have the back up of colleagues. I didn't have a line-manager that I could always go to and say what do you think of this, which is what you need when you're young because you don't know all the answers. But suddenly I was told you're a facility manager and you've got four sites and you've got income targets and you've got to achieve them but you've got no admin support, you've got no office and the opening hours have extended to the point of ' how are you going to manage it?' It was incredibly stressful. People at a senior level I don't believe had any idea what they were actually asking us to do, and sites that were operating on eleven periods of opening in a normal week were suddenly asked to open all day Saturday and most of Sunday and there wasn't enough staff to do it. There wasn't enough management cover. So there was real operational difficulties that could only be overcome by managers like myself suddenly deciding well we need to act somebody up. In other words on a Thursday or a Friday, for example's sake, Jimmy Smith, the leisure attendant, will be handed the keys, given a shirt and tie and be told you're an acting assistant manager. That was stressful for me and probably for the staff. We tried to pick the people we thought were best suited, the best equipped to do that. Having new facilities, with a completely new management structure that didn't have enough staff to manage, suddenly you've got budget sheets to do and you're thinking wait a minute I used to have admin staff to order materials and do that, what's this budget, what's that budget, what's this code here, I've not got much experience of that. So it was a very fast learning curve and you were getting income reports through and you were looking and thinking what does that mean? So you had to learn that. Now it's not rocket science. Everybody that manages a house manages a budget. You've got wages, you've got bills, you've got 'ins' and you've got 'outs' and basically that's how a budget operates. But to suddenly realise you've got responsibility for about £1m worth of spend, at first you go 'oh God', you then realise 80% of that is wages and staff, and you don't really have much control over that in the main, and you're really just left with the smaller budgets. With common sense and experience you decide what you need to buy and what you don't need to buy. That was probably the biggest change that I had to go through was taking responsibility for a site in its entirety. You always had responsibility for things like personnel, staffing issues and public issues, the plant, the pool and the chemicals. That was there. You had that in your pocket. You were comfortable with that. But it suddenly changed. You were an area recreation guy. Suddenly, there was almost this CCT image of briefcase, shirt and tie image and I'm a business person and I've got to manage my budgets, when, at the end of the day, you are doing the same job but you've been handed a much bigger admin role and sometimes you didn't have the time to walk the job, but maybe walking the job and actually being a people person and being a service provider was what you were more comfortable with. But suddenly you had to give income targets and projections and profiles for the next year for all your user segments and you're saying what's a user segment? So it probably took quite a long time for us to become comfortable with that and your focus went away to what's my income target and how much money have I got to take in each period in order to achieve that? Now depending on the site that

you had, that was either an easy thing to achieve or it was a really difficult thing to achieve. If you're in an old run-down centre you've still got to try and provide the service to the highest standard given the facility you have. But if you're in North Woodside, which at that time had just opened and was the jewel in the crown prior to Scotstoun, etc, then people were coming in through the door because it was a really nice centre and it was making a fortune. So your income targets you could achieve but your problems were more operational because you didn't have enough staff etc etc. It was a major change to what we had being doing in the past and I think there were positive things in the sense of actually focusing on the business, but only if that focus could be not to the detriment of the social objectives that we have always had. So even under CCT we still had social objectives to achieve and to get that balance right was the skill.

Q ***So if a line-manager was making a judgement about your performance what would they judge it on?***

A I think initially the judgement was based on two things. The first one was income. The second one was the level of complaints that you were getting. If you got complaints you were obviously not performing properly. That was always seen as 'the customer is always right'. If you get a complaint that the place is dirty, it's your fault, because you're not managing it effectively instead of saying maybe the place is dirty because of the way the place is designed, which means it's difficult to keep clean, but because of the number of staff that we've got means that to keep it clean is really tough. Prior to CCT I was taken out of the system to work on the part of the specification to do with cleaning. It was terribly boring albeit it was necessary. I had to work with management services to do time and motion, to work out how many man-hours is there in that building to clean it. So I was asked to go in and be prescriptive in terms of this room to hoover it weekly, dust it weekly, do this, that and the next things. It was fine if it was an office, but if it was a changing village- how do you quantify the amount of cleaning in a swimming pool? How many times do you clean the floor? Well, it depends! It was all done on averages. They would calculate how many man-hours there are and by simple division they would suddenly come up with a figure of in that case you need four members of staff. But we don't just clean all the time. We've got to do equipment set-ups, we've got to do this, that and the next thing, and I think we got a lot of the numbers wrong at first because I think we were being too deferential to the accountants. I think there was a long period of time where the manager's job was a real nightmare. My belief is that we were judged on the level of income we were achieving, the number of complaints you were getting. If you were getting no complaints and were bringing in loads of money that was fine.

Q ***What are you judged on now?***

A What we're judged on now is the amount of people we get through the door, income, we have been told, is not a priority. The point that we're making is well, it's not a priority until we suddenly all bring in less money than you

expect, and suddenly the user-subsidy goes up and then I'm sure the guy from finance will be saying why are you not bringing in the £1m that you said you will be? But under our new set-up and guidance it seems to be primarily on getting more people in, getting in the socially-excluded, getting in the people that have never even considered coming into a leisure centre before and it's now about income. But my belief is that generating income and social inclusion can genuinely sit side-by-side quite comfortably, as long as I'm not excluding people purely on the basis that 'no, I don't want you to come in during the week Mrs Mack, because I want to bring in a hundred women to do a fitness class and earn loads of money'. I think my experience of years ago and under CCT means that I can do both and I have genuine concern that if people don't realise that you can do both then we're going to lose the will to compete. I was asked the question recently 'should we be trying to compete with the private sector?' I said yes and no. We should be competing with the private sector because we've got the facilities to offer a top quality service to people who wish to take part.

Q ***The kinds of things you've had to think through and cope with, has your role become more generalist since CCT?***

A I think since Bridget arrived there's the potential that our job can have more to it than what was under CCT. Under CCT you were facility-based; it's about income, it's about throughput, it's about performance. That's not what I've been used to. I've been used to the wider remit, the social objectives. Under the current climate we are being encouraged to get out into the community as if it's something new – it's not. We're encouraged to develop activities for groups that currently don't use the centre. That's where we came from, that's what we used to do. We would go to the pensioners club and encourage them to come and do indoor carpet bowls etc., whereas under CCT it was like it's not going to make any money so don't have it. That to me was wrong, but that was the constraint we were working under. Under the social inclusion objectives of the Council, I know there are other objectives, the group we saw in the hall – the fact that they are local guys that are getting employment is because we are saying that that is a core objective of the council not just the department. So we embrace that and you actually see that working at a local level. I think my job is becoming more satisfying because I'm not the janitor of Tollcross Park Leisure Centre. I'm the Community Recreation Manager for the east end of Glasgow so therefore if I'm not here, I'm out and about and I'm meeting people and I'm talking to people. Recently we've had 18 new posts in the City called CAT team officers. They're still relatively in their infancy. Their role, if you like, is one of being a facilitator. They act as a catalyst in the area where they've got a budget and they go out and they can meet groups. So it's almost like an area development worker. There are 2 of them, which because it's a Culture and Leisure post, they've got a responsibility not only for sport and leisure, they've got a responsibility for arts, museums, libraries etc., etc. That is for the first time giving me someone who is not facility based, who is working in the area and I can hopefully utilise them to be my outreach team. Initially when they were put in post we assumed they were going to come under Head of Sport, but

they're not, they're under Head of Arts. I don't think for a minute they should be working specifically to get people through the door of Tollcross Park Leisure Centre, but because they work under Jill, their remit is tended towards a much wider remit than we originally anticipated. This is the east end of Glasgow, it's got the poorest health record in Europe, not in Glasgow, but Europe. The job remit that I have, if you went and had an interview with the manager of Scotstoun, his perception of what his job is slightly different from mine. We've discussed this. To compare Alan's job with my job is comparing an apple with an orange.

Q ***Would you consider yourself to be a professional?***

A I believe as an industry you are still perceived as being Mr Brittas; you run the sports centre. I think when people do begin to discuss with me what I do, what I'm responsible for, I think if I thought of myself as not being professional I'd being doing myself and the industry a disservice.

Q ***What does being 'professional' mean?***

A You can be professional no matter what you're job is. If someone says I'm a professional, I'm a teacher, what does that mean? There's a perception that if you're a lawyer or you're a bank manager you're really important. I just manage the sports centre, but the amount of things I've got to know about and be completely confident in is, in my view, far greater than what a bank manager needs to know. He needs to know about finance and probably a bit about customer care and how to manage his staff. I think that because the service that we're producing every day is consumed as it's created, it's different every day of the week, I think it is a profession, but don't I think it's recognised as being a professional thing because it's a fun thing. From a philosophical perspective fun and games and sport is not serious, it's just a frivolous thing.

Q ***Are you aware of ILAM and ISRM?***

A Yes. ISRM education and training use Tollcross as this is how to run a leisure centre.

Q ***Do you think they have been effective in promoting leisure?***

A That's the hardest question you've asked me because I wouldn't say I'm as able to make comment.

Q ***That very fact says something about them.***

A We've had two ISRM seminars here. It's very insular. If you're in the industry you know about it, if you're not in the industry you don't really know about it and you still see it as being leisure, it's just sport, fitness and fun. For a lot of people it means nothing to them and for other people its core and central to their very existence. I think both organisations fulfil a need within the Department. You're getting things through all the time to

say this is the latest information on this, that and the next thing. I think it serves a purpose, but if you ask me has it changed the public's perception of the leisure industry, I'm not convinced it has.

Q ***Have they done anything to raise your status in the eyes of other people in other departments?***

A It's something that's there to serve a purpose for the people that work within it and to perhaps raise our professionalism from within. What effect that has externally I'm yet to be convinced about. You go to an ISRM conference at the Kelvin Hall and how many public come in, walk about and pick up information? They don't. It tends to be a trade thing. You've got seminars that people in the leisure industry go to whether they're in operations, sports development, forward planning, - whatever they happen to be in – and then you've got the trade stands, but the public tend not to go to that. The public will go to a caravan, tenting, camping, boat exhibition but how many would go to an ISRM sport and leisure show? They wouldn't.

Q ***I know you're an outsider to trusts and the commercial sector, but do you think the managers in those sectors have the same kind of job as you? Do they have the same skills?***

A We have someone who came into our Department from a commercial company. When he came in he was different in that he's not had to fulfil the social objectives of the David Lloyd empire because they don't have any. They're driven by shareholders. It's about people coming through the door, paying their money and delivering a service to a high standard and that's fine. So I'm sure there are skills and abilities that these guys have that we could say 'well, we're not quite as focused on certain areas', but I think there is a bigger void in what they *don't* know about, that we *do* know about. I wouldn't go into a spa-pool in private leisure club because I'm not convinced that they know how to properly control the water. I would use their catering facilities because they're probably better at doing that than we are. I think it's like comparing an apple with an orange. They're both fruit but they are different. Somebody that works in the private sector is motivated by performance and nothing else. They pamper people, it's the fluffy towels, it's the beauty treatments. We do some of that but we really don't see that as a priority for us. I've spoken with people in industry who would say you go to the most expensive hotel and don't go into the spa pool. That's just one example. That's just one area that they're not knowledgeable in and if they have it, they run it pretty poorly.

Q ***Do you think they are professional?***

A They're more business orientated and. will probably come across as being professional. They'll know about the latest trends etc. They certainly don't have the technical background, they don't have the support that we have. They won't have the capital that we have access to. How many private gyms have you seen in Glasgow that have shut down, relatively small ones? David Lloyd is perhaps an exception. A lot of small ones get set up, run for

x number of years, and then they shut down. New Generation in Anniesland are seriously behind in terms of membership numbers because of the Glasgow Club. We know because of contact that we have in the private sector, people who are now working with us. For the first time ever the private gyms in Glasgow are taking a severe hammering because of the Glasgow Club.

Q ***What about trusts, do you know anything about them?***

A To be honest, Fiona, I don't. Having never worked in one I'm not particularly sure about it, but I've always seen it as being one step towards being privatised.

Q ***That's fair enough. I've just got one last thing to ask you. How important are qualifications in terms of career advancement?***

A Qualifications are at least an indication of someone's commitment to their particular field of study. If I've got somebody sitting in front of me who's got a degree, all that tells me about that person is that they've made a commitment to a particular field. Whereas if I'm recruiting for an Assistant Manager in today's climate, given that there's so many colleges and opportunities to have an HNC or an HND or a sport science degree from Loughborough or wherever, then yes, it is important. My Asst. Manager has an honours degree from Loughborough, but that, in itself, doesn't make him a good leisure manager. If someone is trying to come into our industry as an assistant manager they would have to have some qualification, preferably to degree level, in a related discipline, but that doesn't necessarily mean they might be the best person for the job.

Q ***What about your own career advancement? Do you need qualifications?***

A There was one time I went for a job and the fact that I happened to have a degree was thrown back at me and I thought how unprofessional is that? I was asked by a person on the interview panel who came from a parks background –'I see from your CV that you're qualified as a PE teacher'. I said 'that's correct'. He said 'I hope you don't think that just because you've got a degree that you're just going to walk into this job!' I got attacked suddenly for having the audacity for going and qualifying in PE. So when someone comes in front of me if they think that just having a degree is going to make them a good leisure manager it's not. It's going to be indicative of their commitment to it. It certainly helps to get them in the door but there isn't anything like experience. My degree is not in leisure management, it's in PE, and if somebody said to me 'did you're degree really help you when you first got your job?' – no, not really, it didn't. It maybe just gave me a breadth of skills and a bit of common sense, hopefully, to do the job.

Q ***Are things better for you now, as a working environment etc, than when you first started?***

A Yes, I would say so. I think the breadth of opportunity at that time was good, in terms of what I was having to deal with. It was like chucking me in at the deep end and making me deal with things that sometimes was laughable like working on Christmas Day in Linn Park with the donkeys and the three workers. If I was putting in an application form for a job and it said bullet-point what you've done and you said well I've managed sports centres, swimming pools, gala days, the Big Day pop concert, the Wet Wet Wet pop Concert, Michael Jackson, the Great Scottish Run, it would be like 'who does this guy think he is? this can't be true'. I'm just saying that's the breadth of experience that my job has given me.

Q ***Well I think we've covered all the areas I wanted to discuss, so thanks very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 5: DEBBIE GILLESPIE 14/2/02
Training & Development Manager, West Lothian Leisure

Q ***I wonder if you could give me a bit about your background and how you came to be here?***

A My career started at Perth Leisure Pool as a part-time leisure attendant, which probably a lot of people started doing. Basically when I left school, I left with very few qualifications myself, so the limit for the amount of jobs that I could do was limited. Probably down to lack of support from my parents, not pushing me hard enough, at least that's what I say to them! So I went to work there part-time and within six months I had got a full-time job and within a year of working there I was the senior leisure attendant. At that time, fourteen years ago, Perth Leisure Pool was the flagship of leisure probably in the whole of Scotland, if not the UK. At one point I think it was the third biggest leisure tourist attraction. I take it that they saw my potential to a certain extent and started putting money into my development which allowed me to go to college and do an HNC in Leisure Management and then I went on to do the HND as well. So within, I think, about three years I was a Duty Manager at Perth Leisure Pool. I stayed there until ten years ago. At that stage, although I had actually held about five different jobs within Perth and Kinross, it had been with the one organisation. So I realised that after ten years, my knowledge, although I had quite a broad view of leisure, it was very much how Perth and Kinross do it and that was it. So I realised that I had to move on. This job came up, and it probably wasn't really the route that I wanted to go down – focusing on training, but I didn't really know, at that time, what I wanted to do. So rather than sticking on the management side, I thought, OK, I'll give this a go. So I applied for the job here and at that time, the job itself was purely in-house training, providing lifeguard training and SVQs, first-aid training. Really just what the leisure attendants need to keep them up to date and qualified and I've been here for four years now, although my job's obviously changed quite a bit from what I was originally employed to do. My position, at the time, which was training and development officer, was the first full-time position created by West Lothian Leisure, after it changed from West Lothian Council to the Trust.

Q ***Obviously the very fact that they actually created that position implies that training and development is seen as essential in developing the individuals and in taking the Trust forward.***

A I think a lot of the drive came from Douglas (General Manager) as well, with his involvement with SPRITO and SVQs. West Lothian Council had been heavily into SVQs prior to me coming here, but that was as far as it went. So I think they did recognise the fact that it was potentially quite a big opportunity to have someone focusing on that area.

Q ***You were saying that the enthusiasm, if you like, for VQs in the Council and into the trust was coming from Douglas. In terms of your overall***

education and training strategy, where are the main influences on that in terms of what you actually do?

A Well, now it's not SVQ focused any more. The focus of the training basically comes from the values of the organisation now. Just in the last six months we've totally changed how we look at things and we have come up with a set of values that we believe are how we want the organisation to be.

Q ***Is that the PRIDE values?***

A Yes. So now everything that we are doing is focusing on that and breaking them down into how we want staff to behave and how we want them to basically represent West Lothian Leisure. So that's where the drive is coming from with regards to training as well. Everything is going back to that.

Q ***How were the values derived in the first place?***

A To be honest I don't know. I wasn't involved where they came from. That was Douglas and Neil I think that came up with them.

Q ***What is Neil's position?***

A Finance and Operations Manager.

Q ***Is he second tier?***

A Yes. Basically the structure is Douglas, Neil and then two area managers. I'm the training manager, then there's a marketing manager. I think the values came from... that was something Douglas and Neil had discussed. Basically we've taken each one (value) at a level and how it impacts on different levels of staff. So it's not just something that Douglas and Neil have said right this is how we're going to run the business. It's more like 'these sound good, let's see how we can bring them into the organisation and get feedback from the senior managers, and then the next level and so on.

Q ***Out of that kind of consultation, is the output of the process the identification of training need or is it the agreement of the values?***

A Yes it will, but remember at this stage we're very early into that. So from the evaluation of training need, although what we've done in the past has been focused on appraisal, according what people do as part of their jobs, it will now be focused on the PRIDE objectives or values of the organisation.

Q ***I spoke to Douglas on Tuesday. The emphasis coming from him, and what you're saying about how you do things, is that everything is about the customer and so on. What do you think has influenced this change in the focus of education and training, the purpose of it from days of the Council and as the trust has evolved?***

A I think primarily, the need to keep up with everything else that is going on around you. The threat of the private sector. I mean we've got Livingwell, we've got Bannatynes, we've got LA Fitness all in our local authority region. They're very customer focused and I think, traditionally, local authorities haven't been, that's not been their main function, although their overall view would say that they're here to service the customers. I don't think they look after the customers maybe quite as well as the private clubs do and I think that's probably why we are looking at things completely differently now. We don't want to be continually operating what was traditionally seen as council facilities. We want to be seen to be running a facility that does care about it's customers and I think that's where the training element comes into it because you can't just get up and say we're really going to focus on our customers now. That's an educational thing.. Staff have to understand why.

Q ***The training and development has now been given that emphasis. In practice does the budget reflect that emphasis?***

A Yes I think so. I think the budget was originally quite limited, but since we've seen the need to change how we're delivering training we can now offer an awful lot more which isn't directly encroaching on the budget.

Q ***How many staff are there?***

A I think we've got 130 full-time and then probably about another 70 or 80 casual relief staff who are on contract. So it's not an awful lot of staff. Probably if you compare it to what Edinburgh Leisure has it's very small. There's myself and a full-time training assistant. In addition to that we've probably got 30 people who have a training qualification of some sort. It may be pool lifeguard training or a first-aid training qualification. So within the team of training, we've got full-time staff who actually develop the training although in the delivery we've also got all these other people who are experienced to train on site.

Q ***What kind of competences are you aspiring to develop in your staff?***

A I think we're focusing on our customers, so there are people skills, how people interact with our customers. I think that's what we'll focus quite heavily on in the next twelve months. Up until now it has very much been pool lifeguard and that's maybe going back to what I was saying about why I was brought in initially, although we're doing a lot more teambuilding and manager training as well now.

Q ***Thinking back to when you first went to Perth Leisure Pool, is it now substantially different?***

A Oh yes. When I first started fourteen years ago it was very closed. It was the selected few who got the opportunity to do a pool plant operator's course, not necessarily somebody who would be a good plant operator. It was this person will be a future supervisor, future manager so we'll get them

on the course and there was probably somebody who was really keen, quite a hands-on practical person but didn't actually get the opportunity. Whereas now we can deliver and offer this to a lot of people. Maybe they are not going to be our next supervisor or manager, but they might be somebody else's next supervisor or manager.

Q ***How do you think the attitude existing now in West Lothian Leisure differs from the Council service tradition, be it West Lothian Council or another council?***

A I certainly didn't work for West Lothian Council but I think West Lothian council was very much like how I viewed Perth and Kinross. When I came here initially I would say 'well let's open up this course for everyone' and they would say 'well we've never done that before. What's that all about?' I would say 'let anyone come on, why not?'

Q ***Has the trust environment made a difference to the attitude to training and development or what can be achieved through training and development?***

A Yes. I think it definitely has. Maybe it's just the attitudes of people within the trust, more than the trust itself.

Q ***Do you think those attitudes have been shaped by cultures within one environment or another?***

A Yes. Certainly I think if you asked the same question to the staff they would certainly see it being as a direct result of the trust that the training opportunities are now massive compared with what was available to them four years ago.

Q ***What was it that enabled those opportunities?***

A Probably having the Committee of Management there who allow the managers to manage. I think in council structures there's always somebody pulling you back whereas we seem to be giving, as a trust, the freedom to develop. I always see it as, basically, our main financial focus is to break even. So if we need to spend £10k to make £20k then we'll spend £10k, whereas I think the attitude previously would be 'we can't possibly spend £10k. Even if it's going to make us £20k it doesn't matter'. Do you know what I mean? I think that attitude has changed completely now where people are given the tools to manage. I'm certainly given the freedom to develop things the way I want. Okay I've got to answer to it. I think four years ago you wouldn't have been given that opportunity.

Q ***We seem to live in an era now of auditing and measurement. How is education and training evaluated?***

A I actually got asked this when we were looking at IIP as well, and I found it very difficult to actually come up with formal means of how we evaluate the training that we do. We do session evaluations. We do training evaluations.

We do performance appraisal but on the bigger scale I don't think we evaluate it from the point of view that we don't go out and ask the customers. Can we relate that back to the training? Can we say an aspect of training had a direct reflection on how the customers were treated? I don't think we can. I don't think we can directly relate that back.

Q ***Having identified some of the training needs and values to which you relate, what kinds of training do you do and who does it?***

A Sharon and I do a lot of it. We take it to a supervisory, junior management level, where we're providing things like the ISRM qualifications for them and for the staff. For other things where it's either an individual issue or a small group issue that we can't address ourselves, then we would source that externally, whether it be a college, university or private providers.

Q ***Are these things that are out-sourced, are they qualifications-driven or issue/competence- driven?***

A Not necessarily. I would probably say that most of them are competence-issue driven rather than qualifications because I think that most of the qualifications that our staff need we can do ourselves. So when you then take the qualifications further, and are looking at degree or MBA courses, then we would source that from elsewhere. But most of the things because it's been highlighted that a member of staff needs additional training in a specific area and they would go and do a course. Probably most of these would be attendance-based rather than qualification-based. They go and learn the knowledge but don't necessarily get a certificate at the end of it.

Q ***I know this will be a difficult question to answer but how significant is the participation in training opportunities that you provide to the appraisal of an individual? If you have a member of staff who has been here a long time, if they haven't undergone training development, does that influence your perception of them?***

A It probably does to a certain extent. We have got quite a few members of staff who, twenty years later, they are still doing the same job and they're probably our biggest challenges to try and educate them to the level that it's not the council they're working in. But I think to be fair to all our staff, they are all willing to change. It's how we go about doing that. I don't think sending them away on a training course changes their behaviour. We've found that out.

Q ***What does?***

A Again it's down to the individuals. They need to want to change and if they want to change they'll change with the group they're working with.

Q ***I'm moving to considering the significance of education and training on the development of what we would regard as a competent individual, or even a professional.***

A From the way we are changing our operation, traditional employment would be based on who's got what qualification, not necessarily the right person for the job. I think, just recently, we've changed our view to we want the right person, it doesn't matter whether they've got the qualifications or the experience or not. We'll give them that to get the good members of staff. I think that's what we've got to do to change. I think we will hopefully be able to get the professional person ultimately down the line.

Q ***Do you regard leisure managers in this organisation as a professional?***

A Yes I would.

Q ***What makes a professional?***

A From a personal opinion I would say it was somebody who has a good base of qualifications, but also has a sound knowledge of the job that they are actually carrying out. The operational issues, the leisure management area, whatever you want to call it.

Q ***Are those qualifications that you have in mind, leisure based qualifications?***

A Not necessarily, although if we are talking about a leisure professional then I think we have to have leisure somewhere within their experience, but not necessarily a qualification. I think it's very difficult to get people in management jobs who have specific knowledge. Traditionally when you move up the career ladder, you probably start off as a leisure attendant or supervisor and your knowledge is very, very general. But very few people specialise in one thing, which I think is slightly different here, where we have got managers specialising in particular areas. I'm specialising in training. I don't manage facilities any more. Mark Chambers specialises in marketing and development so he's isn't managing centres anymore, but we've all been leisure managers. We've all been facility managers at some point in our career. Our other two senior managers are, okay, still managing facilities but they've got individual responsibilities. So I don't think the leisure element of it needs to be particularly important within the qualification but the experience always helps.

Q ***Has existing qualifications like ISRM influenced what you do or the kinds of practices?***

A I think it has in the past.

Q ***Is that in the early days of the trust or in council days?***

A Both.

Q ***If it has in the past, is the influence less now?***

A I think it is yes now. Going back to years ago and what people looked upon as a qualification for a manager's job, say for example you had to have ISRM, or IBRM. If you didn't have that you wouldn't get anywhere. But I don't think that's nearly as important anymore to the extent that very rarely do you hear people talking about it to that level. It's now seen as an addition to a CV, or it's good to have that little bit extra.

Q ***In terms of priority, is experience now above qualifications in recruitment decisions?***

A Yes I think it is, but I think the qualification still demonstrates the person's ability to learn and that puts it into a more formal process. If I didn't have any qualifications would I be sitting where I am now today? I don't think I would, because I think there still is a focus on that. I don't think experience counts on its own, it has to be a mixture of both. Although I think in the balance, the higher side of it now is the experience and the knowledge and the work environment and the qualifications are second to that, much further down the scale.

Q ***What kind of relationship do you have with the local college or university?***

A Well we don't work with any university. We work in partnership with Falkirk College for SVQs. Simply because the paperwork side of the SVQs is very time consuming. So basically we tap into them for the certification side of it but we do everything else ourselves. We do training.

Q ***Do they do the first- line assessing?***

A We do it. Everything except the paperwork we do ourselves. We also work with West Lothian College but that's turning it round slightly where they don't really do anything for us, we're doing it for them. We're providing elements of training for them for their students because they'll potentially be our next staff so we are kind of using as ..... we're providing the training because we want to train their students to be our staff. So it makes sense for them to tap into us for that. Otherwise they're training them on a completely different tangent and when they come along to us for an interview they might not be what we're looking. So I think West Lothian College see that as being a benefit to them because they are more likely to have successful students at the end of the day who go into employment. So that's the basis we use West Lothian College. However, one of our girls is doing an IPD course at West Lothian College at night school. But apart form that we don't really use them in any other way.

Q ***We've covered quite a lot. Perhaps the last thing I would like to ask you is, you mentioned you work with ISRM qualifications etc., how important do you think professional bodies are to the leisure industry or leisure manager?***

A My opinion of them at the moment is a great opportunity wasted to a certain extent. I think there is so much more that they could do that they don't do.

Q ***What about their role in terms of promoting leisure, the value of it and promotion the value of the people who work in the industry?***

A I think it's less and less. I think going back ten years or so to have either ISRM or ILAM was all right but there's not that same drive anymore. Maybe that's because of the increase of HNC's or HNDs or degree courses that are available that are leisure specific. I think both ILAM and ISRM are valuable. I'm members of both but don't seem to feel as if I get much from ILAM. I feel I get more from ISRM. Whether that's a fair comment I don't know.

Q ***Coming to my last question, what do you think has been the biggest influencing factor that has changed the attitude towards education and training in leisure?***

A I think the increase in the private sector. The increase in competition. The need for local authorities to keep moving with the times.

Q ***Has the introduction of CCT, Best Value, had an impact?***

A No not really. I don't think that has really affected us at all.

Q ***I think I have covered the issues and the pragmatics of education and training that I was interested in. So thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 6: **SANDY MARSHALL 25/2/02**
Training & Development Manager, Glasgow City Council

Q ***I'm interested in what you perceive to be the changes in the leisure managers job over the last twenty years or so and how that's affected education and training. I wonder if we could begin with how you came to be in the job you have?***

A I came to the leisure profession via Jordanhill, then a community recreation manager. I worked as a facility manager for two or three years down in Essex, so I got a reasonable grounding in what was involved in these facilities, wet and dry facilities, pitches. I came to Glasgow as the corporate development officer which was quality assurance primarily and a bit of capital projects because I have got a building background, which I won't bore you with. It was in the Parks and Recreation Department, refurbishing leisure centres and that kind of stuff. It was far better to have not just a users perspective but an operators perspective. That's essential. So I then got into training and development and that was primarily Parks and Recreation again and it's now Culture and Leisure Services, which has the leisure bit of it. The horticultural bit has gone to Land Services. So it's got the leisure, museums, libraries and theatres. So it's got a much greater diverse role, but very similar to providing recreation pursuits. So that's my story.

Q ***When you think back to when you first moved into the training side what were the kinds of skills that were needed most by the staff at that time? - The operational staff.***

A Well certainly CCT was there at the time so it was looking at what you provided under the specs. I would say marketing, customer service - very much a focus on the supply side of things. I think if there's one big difference now, I think that it's more the developmental kind of aspects. Although they had development officers I think there's much more of an emphasis. Certainly when I look back to when I was a facility manager, the guys that are doing that job now have got to have much more of an emphasis on providing and developing community networks and seeing where all the loops and linkages are within the community.

Q ***What's brought about that change?***

A I think it's more, well the global banner is probably social inclusion. Well it's also leadership from the top. You get more brownie points if you think socially inclusive rather than commercially orientated. For example, we have a Glasgow Club, which is a fitness club and paid by direct debit and that's a good income generator. The growth is tremendous over the short period it's been running, but I don't know if that quite fits in with the criteria as being something for disadvantaged groups. So you see that's very much a focus from the leadership.

Q ***The politicians will be behind that won't they?***

A Yes, but I think there's a balance to be had because for all the socially inclusive activities you've got to pay for it somehow.

Q ***We have the same issues arising in Edinburgh Leisure where managers are asking what hoops are we jumping through here because they're being told development on one hand, but come the end of the month they're being pulled in to look at budgets and so on. There's a constant debate.***

A There's a tension there. You were asking me about the particular skills. Well certainly the managers now have had to move with technology and embrace ICT. So all our managers have core skills in terms of the software packages which you may think 'can they not do that anyway?' but that's quite a sea-change in terms of e-mail is a relatively new concept amongst our leisure managers. They seem to have embraced that quite well. I think also, although it sounds a bit of a contradiction, financial acumen. We've had to bolster them a bit there in terms of overall public finances, in terms of managing budgets. Certainly we're trying to develop a greater confidence there in terms of what they can do with budgets. That also goes with a policy change in terms of devolving the budgets more.

Q ***Is that really stemming from CCT? Is that where this greater emphasis on business interest is derived.***

A From CCT? I can't really think we were that involved prior to CCT, but certainly as we moved from CCT to Best Value that's kind of my impression.

Q ***Does that imply that, as time has gone on, the specialist aspect of leisure management has gone or at least been quite diluted?***

A Specialist in terms of the particular product offerings?

Q ***For example, as you know, we developed these leisure management courses. It is more generalised now?***

A It is still set up functionally in this department. But don't say it is essential that you must have a degree in leisure or a DMS. But that's a council policy, a corporate policy, unless it's an indemnity thing like a lawyer or something like that, a civil engineer, where your professional indemnity is reliant on it. But we say it's desirable, 'cos not all our leisure managers have got a degree in leisure. They maybe have an HNC or whatever. So in terms of the functionality, I think there is still the business in what we're doing, but I think there's a move towards what could be generalist in terms of towards the top. To me if you're delivering a service, you're delivering a service. There's particular aspects of leisure, in terms of the products and the offerings, but at the end of the day it is still the service quality as you would have going into a theatre or whatever.

Q ***Once you've got your staff, ... How many have you got?***

A Culture and leisure has got 2000, but the leisure part of it has about 650.

Q ***Who identifies the training needs?***

A It's my section and representatives on a working group. We have a training group. So it's cognate managers and we co-opt on to that people from other cost centres.

Q ***How do you get to the hub of what you need?***

A I say to them you've got x amount to spend on their budget. That's probably the start of the discussion, because I hold their budgets so they can't go and spend on training. I've got to authorise it. I think it's a combination of .... We have listing systems, if you want to call them that. We have customer comments in place and they'll generate certain aspects. We have an appraisal programme that generates individual needs. Health and safety is obviously a key issue. We check they're OK on health and safety. So a good part of the budget goes on general health and safety, NPLQ, we've got IQL and all that sort of stuff. Then I think it's really looking at customer service, finances and selling are the core skills we would want. We are, of course, doing pool plant and all the other maintenance stuff, because leisure is much bigger now, we've got all the coaching stuff now, so we've got development stuff there in terms of making sure the coaches are up to speed. So it's that kind of aspect. What we also tend to do is we also have corporate initiatives as well which come out from mostly political beginnings. For example, cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is a current one that is running. We're one of the forerunners of the departments that is doing that. But every member of staff will get to cultural and anti-racism training. Also that underpins our customer services in terms of identifying specific needs for specific individuals, be it black, white or whatever. Another we had recently was dealing with harassment, which we did a large roll-out with every member of staff receiving something on harassment and that was based on the Industrial Society package. So we have got lots of corporate things which go across everybody, including leisure.

Q ***Is it the case that corporate wide there is a training and development strategy and that the cultural and leisure development strategy has to compliment that. Does one dictate to the other?***

A The corporate one dictates the corporate initiative as I've just described but the other one is quite functional really but there is a lot of transferability. For example, if we're running management development we will tend to include across the board so you're getting cross-fertilisation rather than just taking leisure people. Because we find that of value to see how colleagues are dealing with accounts control or other issues in theatres and museums and libraries. So there's those kind of benefits. But there are also the functional stuff in the sense that they're specific to swimming pools and so on.

Q ***Is the strategy and the subsequent programme much more comprehensive than when it first came in?***

A I think the intention is that it will be but the reality is it's not, because of the different sections coming together, the resource hasn't been put in place to service that. It's been put in place to service that on a forming basis if you like, but not on a change basis where you need more at the beginning to set and establish. So what effectively did happen when we merged together, leisure was running fine so we left it alone. Of course we kept libraries and lost parks, and that's on the back of Best Value needs which had structural changes, staffing structures. And so leisure is getting serviced less than it probably was, in reality, but they are now getting their review so when the benefit of that's established then things will change.

Q ***It's not a matter of it being dropped off the end but it's in a circle and it's turn will come?***

A If your question is, is it getting less resourced, less attention at the moment then the answer is yes.

Q ***When I interviewed someone else their comment was that in local councils training and development was easy picking for budget cuts.***

A I think that's always been the case. That was what happened but there's a kind of growing realisation now that the cuts shouldn't have been so severe, so we're managing to get more staff in.

Q ***How do you deliver your training?***

A We deliver our training in a combination of ways. We'll do it primarily in-house. The first thought is in-house. Do I have the skills and knowledge in-house and the availability to deliver it in-house? We tend to do that with health and safety, SVQs etc. Then the next port of call is our central personnel training body in the Council. They restructured recently so they'll do things such as management development. I think that's more or less what they're focused on now, whereas before they'd done things like customer service and things like that. And then after that, if there are no opportunities there, because that's costing us a central levy, then I'll use external training sources, whether it's commercial or the colleges.

Q ***Is it award-driven? Does it matter?***

A Well, personally, I think it adds to the robustness of it if we can. Where we can we will, for example, the NPLQ, First Aid, Health and Safety at Work - you need then. Customer care – in the past we've used Welcome Host, so that's got a branding attached to it. SVQs – we do Customer Services, we do Playwork so that's another qualification. But things such as cultural diversity, anti-racism, there isn't a qualification. So it's a mixture. But where we can we probably would change that.

Q ***For someone, who's been with Glasgow for two or three years upwards, is it to their advantage to do named awards for their career development in Glasgow City Council?***

A Well, it's not. It gives you no formal advantage because it's open recruitment and we don't ask for qualifications in leisure. But in terms of the desirable category, if I was interviewing ,I would think it's useful if you can demonstrate that you've had a development path and taken an interest in your own personal development. But no, it wouldn 't help in a formal way. If you went out and did an MBA we wouldn't say OK your next in line for promotion.

Q ***What kind of relationship do you have with the education sector?***

A I ring-fence a certain amount of the budget for further education. So I have a set of providers, Strathclyde, North Glasgow, Stow College. We sent people to Stow College to do an HNC there day-release. So that's the kind of thing. We'll get involved now and again in certain initiatives. For example, there is a thing coming up, not under my auspices, but I'm contributing training, to a corporate group looking at pre-vocational qualifications. So we're looking at education for school kids, second years and third years, doing SVQs they can do in school time. That will work as a kind of feeding path into a career. Central personnel run a SLAM course (Scottish Local Authority Management) with Strathclyde University. So that's another avenue where we're linked with education. Is that the kind of thing you mean?

Q ***Yes. I was also wondering if you are asked to contribute to education in terms of designing programmes?***

A Over the years I have. I must admit not so much recently to be honest. Whether that's just a sea-change or whether my name's just been dropped off the list or whatever, or whether it's a sea-change in terms of 'we've had the employers in, we've done that now' rather than a continuous thing I don't know. I remember I went on to a validation panel for example, an HNC Leisure Management. I mean certainly when I was involved in that kind of stuff there seemed to be a sea-change that these academics should really listen to employers, otherwise they're just sitting in their ivory towers. And I suspect that they probably think they've done that and they've listened rather than it should be continuous. But as I say, maybe it's just that I'm not on the mailing list, maybe it's still going on quite actively.

Q ***How important are the qualifications to you as a council?***

A To be honest, probably, the more traditional things like HNCs, degrees etc, ...I would say probably the SVQs are actually a better map of somebody's competence, because of the competence based assessments, as opposed to just going away and doing an assignment or whatever. I suppose a recognised qualification is always some record and people still seem to be keen on them. We don't ourselves use them. It's more in the desirable

category. But I suppose it's as good a way as any, but it's like anything else, Fiona, you get some individuals who go and do an MBA for example and it's a transformation and other people it's just they go away and come back and there's no change.

Q ***Have you had much to do with the professional bodies qualifications?***

A Not recently to be honest. When I was involved in the contributions to academic awards, (it was probably more when I was in Parks and Recreation when I think about it) probably because I'm into this new department now, my time is spent looking at other things. I could tell you all about libraries now for example, whereas several years ago I couldn't, theatres and all the rest of it. So it's probably that my role is more diverse now and is diluted, it's devolved in a certain capacity. The Scottish Library Association for example, I've been asked to a few meetings there to contribute to professional librarian stuff.

Q ***Is Glasgow unique in that it has its own training and development section with the leisure and culture department?***

A No. There are 12 departments which, I think I'm right in saying, have their own training and development section. The thing is though is whether they've got a budget like it as well that makes a big difference. But, no, I wouldn't say it's unique within Glasgow.

Q ***I think it's unique in comparison with some other councils.***

A You've got to remember the scale though. We've got 30,000 of a workforce in Glasgow as a total, so how can a corporate section possibly cope in capacity, never mind the functionality of occupational knowledge that you would require?

Q ***Are you involved in appraisal staff?***

A Yes. As a manager I have to appraise my staff.

Q ***What kind of criteria do you use for appraising?***

A Well it's not very sophisticated to be honest. The system that we use is a corporate one, EDR, Employee Development Review scheme, and the first thing you do is that you sit down and you set targets for the individual, SMART targets. When you meet them again at the end of the year you base it on how well they've done, give positive or areas for improvement type feedback. Then the other bit of is the development needs, but there's no competency framework or anything like that. We don't control it. That's the key thing. We are told to do this.

Q ***When you came in to Glasgow was there any appraisal at that time?***

A It was the same thing! It was called something else but it was exactly the same thing.

Q ***The last area I would like to talk about is the area of professionalism and what it is to be a professional and so on. My first question is do you think there is such a thing as a leisure profession?***

A That an interesting one. I think it's certainly from the days when I entered, it's gearing up more because I knew guys who were an engineer or something and then they were in a leisure centre. How did that happen? They were actually probably better at the plant side of it than the other ones though! But I certainly think that over the years with ILAM, ISRM qualifications and the plethora of degrees and HNCs it's certainly geared up a wee bit more to be professional. But it's still not as polished as something like the CITB or whatever.

Q ***What does it need to do?***

A It's probably got to go the whole hog and set occupational entry requirements or something like that. I don't know to be honest, Fiona.

Q ***What then did you say as an employee ten years ago, did you say yes I'm a professional, and if you did, what did you mean by that?***

A To me professionalism implies to me that you have a competent grasp of all the functions required, that you've come up through some kind of development route to get where you are. How can I explain that? Take a guy like PJ who was running the Dome. You just wonder what kind of jobs has he done to get there in terms of has he actually done the nitty-gritty and swept a floor. You have to have a good understanding. It's better for leadership if you have a good understanding of what the distinct tasks are.

Q ***There is a view that what we've got now is classed as new professionalism, which was borne out of CCT in public service and is about meeting deadlines, or meeting financial targets and so on as opposed to technical expertise etc. Would you agree with that?***

A So a sort of more of a business orientation?

Q ***Perhaps more about how you do something as opposed to what you do.***

A See I would have said people did that anyway. You used the word technical there. I don't know if technical is the way I would express it. But is that not just a presentation issue? Lets use Glasgow as an example. I think over the few years the leisure managers have got more of a handle on the presentation side of things; presentation both in their personal presentation, but also in their venue presentation, the whole attention to detail and that sort of thing, - branding, relationships and that sort of stuff. But I still think for professionalism you need the functional understanding.

Q ***My last question is looking back pre-CCT, has the status of someone working in the public sector in leisure risen or dropped since then?***

A It probably depends on how you define status. Perception you mean?

Q ***Say in the eyes of other service heads for example.***

A I would think within the Glasgow context with the mixture of social inclusion type stuff, lifelong learning etc. I think now the politicians are seeing where culture and leisure services, including leisure, can be a real integral part of that. But, in some respects, they've always being doing that, but the presentation wasn't quite as good. But, I think, when they see that it can have a real impact on health, for example GP referral schemes or something like that, then I think that it takes it away from the margins and gives it that bit more of a profile. Whether than translates down to individuals or not I'm not too clear.

Q ***I was always conscious in South Lanarkshire, following re-organisation in 1994, they ended up with sixteen directors and very quickly there became what was known as a division one and division two director and leisure was in division two and it was one of the poorest paid. That naturally gives out a message of how leisure was seen.***

A At the moment, certainly, the head of leisure is paid as much as the head of arts, the head of libraries or museums, so certainly I would say, the community recreation managers are certainly quite highly paid. But that may change following the Best Value review. So in terms financial remuneration it's on a par with other services there. But, as I say, I think people are beginning to see where we make a contribution more now locally. That's the impression I get.

Q ***Well I think I've covered everything I wanted to cover, so thank you very much for speaking to me.***

INTERVIEW 7: **IAN HOOPER 25/2/02**
Head of Service Support, Dept. Cultural and Leisure Services, Glasgow City Council

Q **Could you please explain how you came to be involved in leisure?**

A Yes. I started in Gateshead where I worked for Gateshead Parks and Recreation Dept. I suppose in the area of sports development would be the best way of describing it – grant aid, strategy and policy work and a little bit on events and from there went to the Sports Council in the West Midlands and worked there for several years. Again, I suppose on similar themes – strategy and sports development – working closely with local authorities, working closely with sports governing bodies. I worked on a number of major strategies at Regional level, also helped local authorities with their local strategies in terms of development of sport. Helped produce national guidelines in terms of strategy and development for the Sports Council and worked with several sports governing bodies before I moved to Glasgow. My job in Glasgow has never really been about leisure management in sport. The ten years I've been here has been more to do with general policy work and has now extended across to other issues such as finance and marketing, staffing issues right across the services. So I haven't headed up per se in sport and recreation in Glasgow, although I have been heavily involved in the development of strategy and capital projects for the sports side. But I have not really been involved in direct management of the service.

Q **What's your official title?**

A Head of Service Support which is basically finance, personnel, quality, marketing, market research, and project development which includes capital project development. I also head up Best Value. So it is almost everything that is central -that's for libraries, museums, arts, community facilities and sport and recreation.

Q **That's quite a phenomenal remit.**

A Yes, but there is a lot of staff. There's a lot of senior managers in various specialisms.

Q ***You mentioned a consistent involvement in strategy, can I ask, when you first came into leisure?***

A It's around the early eighties so it would have come inside the Thatcher Government.

Q ***It seems that, at that time when strategies were being formulated, that the leisure manager, someone such as yourself, was given total authority to identify what the needs of a community were and to formulate a strategy round that. Were you conscious of having that authority? What kind of process did you go through to identify needs?***

A Well I think, to be fair, in local authorities in the early '80's they were totally focused on CCT.

Q In the early eighties?

A Sorry, in the mid'80's. In the early eighties I would suggest that strategy development was fairly in its infancy in terms of sport and recreation. If I think back to working in Gateshead and thereafter, in the mid-eighties to the early nineties, CCT was really taking hold in terms of leisure management. So between the mid-eighties and early nineties when I was working in the Sports Council one of the main areas of development that we were looking at was the development of guidelines for strategies for sport and recreation. Mainly because local authorities didn't have any strategies in sport and recreation or only a very few had. There were one or two examples. If I remember, Scotland was probably bit more ahead than England at the time so there was maybe a bit more progression. Certainly in England we found very few local authorities had a formal strategy for sport and recreation, or leisure. They had policies, possibly, as they worked on these at probably the time CCT was brought in. CCT was definitely the main focus of attention, drafting of the contract etc. Then the Sports Council being really concerned that wider issues such as sports development weren't being accounted for in the CCT specifications that were set up for sport and recreation and leisure. In terms of identifying community needs like sports development it was a fairly insular concern. It's only by the late'80's, early '90's that you'll see that consideration has been given to the wider priorities.

Q In those times in the early eighties from what you can recall, what was the message that was being sold as leisure services, what was leisure services perceived to be in term of local authorities?

A I think very much sport and leisure for it's own sake and it's own intrinsic value. I don't think the wider needs, for example, education, social inclusion were even seen as the main priority or the main rationale for the provision of sport and recreation. It was pretty much for it's own sake. There was an agenda about participation, I mean that was quite important. The early '80's was when sports development started to first take a hold. You had the first sports development officers. During the '70's sport and recreation started to develop more facilities, bigger leisure centres. The Gateshead leisure centre opened in 1981/82 – a big swimming pool, a big sports centre. It was very much selling a message about trying to get people involved in sport and recreation for value in terms of quality of life and some targeting of particular groups in society was starting to begin to happen as well. Things like Action Sport. Action Sport was very much targeted at young unemployed. So you certainly had signs of targeting of groups in society for participation.

Q Does that indicate a Thatcherite policy to direct money into particular things rather than spread money across everybody?

A I would say Thatcherite policy was to spread it across. The targeting that was taking place was coming through certain local authorities that saw that as important and it had also been encouraged by the Sports Council. I'm not so sure that it was a Thatcher policy. The Gateshead Leisure Centre had Urban Programme money towards its construction and development. So you had, even in those Thatcher years, where local government expenditure was quite tight, there were programmes that enabled money to be spent in urban areas where there was deprivation in terms of capital development.

Q ***There was lots going on at that time. Do you think that the status of the leisure manager, senior manager, was high? Was leisure given a high status?***

A It probably did looking back on it. I mean it was a new profession, it was a new part of local government. The first sports centre ever built in Scotland didn't open until 1970 – that was at Bellahouston. In England they were opened in 1968 – 69 down there. So if you go back just ten years before the 1980's, sport didn't really exist as a local government service and so in the space of ten years it developed into a pretty major start – it had recreation departments or parks and recreation departments with Heads of, or Directors of Leisure. So I think starting in the late '70's, early '80's Brendan Foster headed the Department in Gateshead for a while, coming from very much a sports background. Yes, it began to get a high profile in that period of time. Through the '80's it was almost a new industry. It was quite exciting - leisure centres being built, development officers coming to the fore. So you know it had a reasonable profile.

Q ***How about the people working in the industry? Were they held in high regard by other people in public service?***

A Probably not actually. Well, they weren't held in low regard. The difference now to then, I would say, is that back then, this might be a bit too critical, but I think local government worked in silos. You had departments. They had a job to do and got on with it. There wasn't so much corporate work. There wasn't so much cross service work. Probably what the Labour Government has brought with it, particularly over the last five or six years is very much the authority has a set of key objectives and everyone works together. And these agendas are very much linked. Back in the '80s the education dept., social work dept., libraries dept., worked quite separately. They would work together on certain key issues but there wasn't so much cross- service working. So there wasn't so much familiarity with who was heading these services because there wasn't so much joint working. I mean there was partnership working. There was joint working, but nothing like to the degree that there is now. They very much worked in their own way. I can remember in Gateshead, libraries was a separate department. There was very little contact between the Libraries Department and the Parks and Recreation Department, either at officer level or director level. It was a separate service. They ran libraries, and the Parks and Recreation was responsible for the parks and the leisure centres and swimming pools and a degree of sports development. There wasn't that cross over.

Q ***So if you have a lot more partnership working and holistic policies now has the regard in which one services holds another service and the people within it changed?***

A I think it has had in some areas a positive impact and in other places a negative impact. I think it is much more challenging, much more difficult for sport and leisure to maintain its high profile. You are no doubt aware in Scotland there's very few dedicated leisure directorates, or leisure departments. That's not necessarily a bad thing but it can be. I think there are instances where that has occurred because leisure or sport was seen as less important, not a high priority, not a significant major contributor to the wider agenda of the local authority. Where that is the case, I think it has had a very damaging effect on the status of sport and leisure. I think there are other instances, I say Glasgow would be one but there are others as well, where sport and leisure has managed to maintain it's important role. It's managed to convince the politicians, other agencies, the wider community that it has a key role to play, not only intrinsically for itself but also for it can contribute to wider agendas, whether it be education or wider social reasoning, economic and employment. Where that's happened I think sport has managed to maintain its own status. It's much more challenging.

Q ***In comparing the kinds of skills and knowledge you had to have in the '80's and what you need to have now, how has that changed?***

A I think it's changed quite a bit. I think in the '80's the leisure services, the sports service in a sense, was going through a honeymoon period. It was a relatively new service. There was a proliferation of new facilities being built and the focus was very much on the management of those facilities, the development of new facilities. As CCT came on board, making sure that CCT contracts were put together in a way that enabled cost effective and efficient management of facilities. For some authorities it was also about making sure that the in-house DSO won the contract, but even for those it was about making sure it was a tight contract. I think what's changed between then and now it is now still important that facilities are managed cost-effectively. It's now still important, and increasingly important, that service quality is an integral element. It's not just about financial objectives, but about giving people a quality service. But also, at the same time, the really big change is in the local authority, who also have to manage and develop a service that's cost- effective, that is managed effectively, meets those quality standards, but also addresses a whole range of wider policy initiatives and objectives, whether it be on equality, whether it be on health-improvement, whether it be social inclusion and targeting of certain prime groups, whether it be on training and development in terms of employment, whether it be on education, whether it be on community learning and development of a learning agenda. And I think the ability now also for sport and leisure to say that we can not only provide an important service to the community in its own right, but we can also contribute effectively to some of these key agendas. I would go further than that. I would say that the success of demonstrating that or not is fundamental going back to your earlier question about status and profile. How much money does it get when

it comes to the budget process? It is seen as important? Is it being run down as a service, is it being cut? In some areas it is and in some areas it isn't and I think that it hinges, much more than in the past, on those wider policy issues.

Q ***Does that mean your skills, your knowledge is more general business management, as opposed to the technical aspects of the services that comprise Leisure and Cultural Services?***

A I suppose my role in here is much more on supporting the strategic policy and development side of all the services of culture and leisure, including sport and recreation and helping Bridget (Director) demonstrate politically, not just to elected members of the Council, but it's to the Scottish Executive, it's to the Glasgow Alliance, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, to a range of other agencies, to educate them that our services, including sport and recreation, have a key role to play. So my role is probably as much about lobbying in the sense of advocacy based upon information, research, good practice. I'm also responsible, I suppose, for some of the development on the practical side. In terms of leisure services as a whole, I mean, John's role as Head of Sport and Recreation, his role is very much about the business management side of the service as well as the development of the social agenda. I mean I think the two have to go in parallel. It is still absolutely imperative that we have a service that is cost-effectively managed, that is efficient, and that provides quality experience for the customer as well as, at the same time, heeding a whole range of wider social initiatives. Because arguably, if we weren't striving to meet that wider agenda then all we would be doing were managing, for example, a set of leisure facilities, to be cost effective and bring in as much income as possible. Then I would argue that the private sector could do that more effectively than local authorities, or as effectively. But we have a social role to play.

Q ***Does that create conflict between the social and financial imperatives?***

A I don't think it has to, but I think it makes it more challenging. I think it's been difficult for leisure managers who have grown up through a culture of CCT and I think that's been a really big challenge for a lot of people in leisure management in local government.

Q ***I would agree. I often hear leisure managers at Edinburgh Leisure asking the CEO 'what is it you want here? Is it service development or bottom line figures?' The CEO says I can't give you an answer. There is no answer.***

A No, there isn't. I think leisure nearly lost its way. In fact, I think it did lose its way and I think that some local authorities have side-lined leisure because it wasn't contributing to the wider social agenda and it's not that important, it's not a core service – social work, education are the core services. Health and education, coming from Central Government, down to Local Government has translated into social work and education and if you're not careful ..... this local authority thought about, at one point a few

years ago, about actually prioritising completely social work and education on the back of central government policy, that health and education were the two priorities and if we had not been diligent in showing that the services we provide had an important role to play, in terms of helping to meet wider social objectives and not just maintained the bottom line financial objectives in almost like the CCT culture, we would have been have been running a service that was not seen as core to the local authority's objectives. I think all leisure managers have made that jump. Some leisure managers and I think CCT bred a culture that improved leisure management in many, many ways in terms of standards, in terms of management. There's a lot to commend CCT in those respects. But it didn't help when it came to partnership working, thinking about sports development and didn't help when it came to variations in contracts. We worked on a contract and variations to the contract were seen as not helpful. The financial bottom line was absolutely very important and now it's much more complex. The financial bottom line is still important. We still measure our income every month. We've still got expenditure targets and quotes from those leisure managers about having to meet both the financial objectives and the social objectives is absolutely right. It isn't easy. It is a more difficult thing to balance and it is a balance. It isn't as simple as just meeting financial objectives. So it is a more complex role.

Q ***This department in Glasgow, as far as I'm aware, has always had a reputation for investing in research. From what you've said about the range of stakeholders you've mentioned, was that a conscious decision borne out of the need to be politically astute, to maintain the importance of leisure in the eye of these stakeholders?***

A Yes. I believe it's important. I do believe sport, recreation and leisure, and the arts, libraries, museums have an absolutely important role to play in people's quality of life, social health and wellbeing. I also know that just because you believe it, it doesn't mean things will happen. If you want investment in services, you want investment in facilities, you want investment in development, or even if you just want to protect them, then you have to be politically astute as well. That's politically with a small 'p'. It's working with elected members, councillors, or Ministers or politicians. You have to convince the other agencies about, for example, museums, about the tourism potential of our museum service. Our library services and the contribution it has in terms of community learning. The role that sport can play as well through coaching and coaching qualification. We are a big employer in the City. We're working with schools at the moment and training opportunities. So it's actually the strategy processes that have been a good vehicle for bringing in stakeholders, sitting them round the table, bringing inclusivity in terms of the service. We are doing the Best Value review of sport and recreation at the moment. We've set up a core group, which is like a steering group. On that steering group we've got the Health Board, we've got the Glasgow Alliance, we've got the Chief Executive of the Glasgow Alliance. We've got Ian Robson, the Chief Exec. of Sport Scotland. We've got the Chief Exec. of Greater Glasgow Health Board. We've got senior officials from all the major agencies. We say that whilst

we're doing a Best Value review of sport and recreation, we want to improve the efficiency of the service. We also say that we've got a big role to play in the City, whether it be with the Health Board, whether it be in terms of athletics development, or whether it be the Alliance in trying to benefit a wide range of partners. They believe it as well now. They sit through meetings now and say we see the merit in this.

Q ***That seems very proactive working, which portrays Glasgow Council as an advanced authority in terms of its ways of working. Now in interviewing some of the other people that I have spoken to, who don't work in an environment such as this, I asked them what was their perception of what it would be like to work in a traditional local authority service. One view that was put across was that they perceived that creativity of opportunity for development might be suppressed. What is your response to that?***

A I think we're doing more experiments in this service at the moment than I know of anywhere else. I could spend the next hour going through what I think are some of the most unique experiments, in terms of culture and leisure services; in terms of physical developments, in terms of pricing initiatives. I think working with clients enables you to experiment far more than working on your own in an insular way. The way we work, working alongside a range of agencies and partners, community partners, enables you to be more creative because it's not just you, you are listening to the views of other partner agencies. Now we are working on a development in Easterhouse, the cultural campus, - that's come out through these partnership discussions round the table, thinking about opportunities and the more these discussions take place, the more innovative these proposals become. The link with FE has been very strong. Linking the arts with sport has been good. It's been built on European Funding, ESF funding and it looks like being built on, we hope, a significant amount of funding from the Funding Council for FE. We are really excited by the whole initiative. If that isn't experimental, if that isn't what everyone is saying it is whose involved, I don't know what is. So I think it's working with partners that, I mean I know that sometimes local authorities in terms of staff are sometimes as seen as more traditional and some of our practices, in terms that can be a bit constrained in terms of how we operate facilities for example. We might be constrained to using existing payroll services. So there are some constraints of working within the local authority, in terms of the effects on freedom, in terms of central services or support services. I don't see that as the be all and end all when it comes to creativity and innovation. I think we could be more pushy than we are. We could certainly learn from some of the good practice from other sectors. But I don't think it stops innovation and creativity.

Q ***What is the fundamental difference between your working environment and a trust environment?***

A It is difficult for me to answer because I haven't really worked in the trust sector or commercial sector. It's only a perception really. The other difficulty is that I don't think the local authority is very typical of other local authorities either in the way that we work. When I see some of the other

local authorities that are under such pressure and seem to be, in some cases, fighting against the tide of being on the periphery, that's not the case in Glasgow. The trust sector seems to be quite a vibrant sector. The difficulties within the local authority sector, the difficulties in many local authorities were really why the trusts have been born in a sense. I mean, in many cases, it may be the only way forward in those local authorities where the leisure service has been cut back so much financially, it's got no space to grow and no flexibility in terms of support. I think going to a trust has given freedom financially and money to invest. Freedom in terms of operating practices that enables it to be quite vibrant. It feels like a vibrant sector. It maybe a bit more insular than I would like. I quite like the local authority sector here in Glasgow because we get to work across a wide range of agencies. I think the private sector is very different altogether. It has absolutely different sets of objectives which very much has to be the financial bottom line. It's about targeting a different market. They're unashamedly targeting the A, B's and C's, unashamedly targeting health and fitness, unashamedly targeting the financial bottom line. I think there are things to learn because of their targeting those issues, the quality of service provision and the standards of perceived provision have been quite high. I think the standards of quality in some of these facilities are very high because they are competing against each other to provide a certain quality that retains the A, B's and C's and gets people to spend £600 a year for maybe a membership so they are going to have to maintain, and do maintain a level of quality. So I think they have a very different set of objectives and I think they provide a very important part in the overall market.

Q ***Do you think that senior managers in the commercial sector have similar skills and range of knowledge to yourself or are they quite different?***

A I think they are the same I suppose. I mean in terms of the business management side, the leisure management side, in terms of the principles of operating the facilities and programming I think that a lot of the skills are the same. There are an awful lot of lessons to learn from each other. I think there are different emphases. The emphasis in the private sector very much has to be on the financial bottom line and their partnerships will be slightly different to the partnerships that we might explore.

Q ***What about trusts?***

A I think trusts are closer to local authorities. Trusts are really local authorities in some respects. I mean what is a trust? It's TUPE'ing the staff and the management who previously worked in the local authority and they're suddenly in a trust, but basically they were the local authority. So all in all they are people who were local authority workers years ago. I would hope that that is always the case. I would hope that they are still pursuing the social as well as the financial agenda. That's up as much to the local authority as the client, in a sense, as it is the Trust to ensure that agenda is the one that's followed. Some trusts I'm sure are absolutely financially achieving. Some trusts are headed up by people that I see just like the idea of being removed from under the local authority and not having to be

constrained by that wider agenda and enjoying the financial flexibility and will probably take the trust closer to the private sector than they will to the local authority sector. Then I think they will be other trusts that are very much just a vehicle for delivering the council's wider objectives but in a different way.

Q ***In the way that you deliver the council's objectives, in partnership and formulating your strategy through wider consultation, at the end of the day who has the voice that carries the most weight in finalising the strategic objectives of your service?***

A The council as a whole has an overriding set of key objectives which we are trying to ensure that our service contributes strongly to. Within the service itself it would be the Senior Management Team, the Head of Sport and Recreation, the Senior Managers within the sport and recreation service, myself as Head of Service Support, the Director, in conjunction with elected members. They are keen members. We have a very lively Committee. Out of those there are maybe seven or eight key elected members who take a very strong interest in the sport and recreation service. The two vice-convenors are keenly interested. The Vice-Leader of the Council's not actually on the committee. So there will be key politicians and elected members. **sport**scotland – they're very heavily involved in our development and we take into account their policies and we listen to what they've got to say. We don't follow what they've got to say but we work in partnership with them as well. In terms of the community, the customer, we've done a lot of work in all the reviews in terms of getting feedback from the customer, feedback from the community. We've done a lot of survey work, which is a traditional approach, but we've been working on workshops, feedback workshops in terms of bringing - we have citizen's panels in Glasgow - we spend a day with them and we listen to what they've got to say about our different services. We did it with the staff as well. We brought all the leisure attendants together at a series of meetings. We had close to a hundred at the City Halls and got them to say what they thought of the service from their viewpoint. So I expect that all goes in the melting pot, in terms of what the policies are and what the actions are as well. So we are trying to listen as much as we can to the citizens and the community. We try to take the policies of the Council, we try to listen to key partners like **sport**scotland, try to listen to our staff as well.

Q ***Are customer expectations higher?***

A I think so, definitely.

Q ***What do you think has brought that about?***

A Well I think quality of provision. Certainly I think the private sector has had an important role to play there. I think the model of private sector leisure facilities has came across from Europe, came across from Holland and Germany, they were running these types of facilities long before any of these were really developed in Britain. David Lloyd I suppose was fairly

early on, but I think they've brought with them a certain standard of service quality that has raised generally expectations. So I think standards have improved both in terms of management in the leisure profession and in terms of quality of provision and have raised people's expectations. People will not accept some old Victorian swimming pool falling apart. When I first came to Glasgow we had loads of them. People lived with those sorts of things then. If we suddenly said you can no longer go to Scotstoun, Tollcross pool and some of these lovely leisure facilities that have been built, or the private sector facilities in Glasgow as well, people just would not go to the old pools, they would not accept that standard of provision. We wouldn't be allowed, in all fairness, to operate a facility like that. So there's been a real increase. One of the successes in Glasgow. People often ask why did the council invest in so many good quality facilities, and put so much money into capital investment? I think it is because the first one broke the mould. The first big leisure centre was Scotstoun. It raised the level of service quality and then actually quite soon, almost at the same time as Scotstoun was built, the David Lloyd centre opened up near the Airport. Suddenly people were saying this is what we expect of a good quality leisure facility, not Shettleston, not Whiteinch Baths. Suddenly we were getting pressure from elected members who said we don't want this any more, we want to see what's being done at Scotstoun, what's happened at David Lloyd. Then the Lottery came on board at the right time, which was used to improve the quality. There was a huge pressure from the community.

Q ***Do you consider the leisure industry to be a profession? ILAM and ISRM advocate that it is?***

A I don't know. I haven't got an easy answer for this one because I think there are pros and cons and there are real problems about professions. I think there are good things about professions, professional standards and learning from good practice from your colleagues in your profession, having professional associations that convey good practice. We learn from each other and develop standards. The converse of that is that professions become too silo in their mentality and certainly we can lose sight of the links and the wider objectives. One of the battles that we've had in here is trying to ..... I don't think there's too much difference between sport, leisure, the arts, learning, libraries, museums. I think the strength, certainly in local government, is of these services working together to provide a range of cultural and leisure opportunities for people in our communities and that is best done by these services working closely together, looking at how they can reinforce each other to provide a wider range of opportunities. Sometimes one of the barriers to that is professions, professional working. We've had to battle sometimes. This is not just leisure professions, in fact leisure professionals are the least culpable of this. I regard some of the professionals that work in the museum sector for example, or the library sector, are more precious about their profession and professional standards, than possibly the leisure profession. By virtue of being a newer profession I suppose, probably a bit less traditional, a bit more open-eyed, a bit more dynamic than maybe some of the older professions in the area of culture. So yes there is a place for it.

Q ***Do you consider yourself to be professional?***

A Yes, but professional in terms of helping to provide and supporting the development of cultural services and leisure services for local people and their communities and professional in the way I work and professional in the ways of working.

Q ***What criteria do you use in the term 'professional in the ways of working'?***

A I think criteria are probably outcomes. In the eight or nine years I have been working in Glasgow has there been a development in the services? Have you seen investment from partners? Have you seen the service move on? Most of that has happened through a way of working, through partnership working. We would have never been able to achieve, in terms of development of facilities, in terms of provision in terms of sports development in Glasgow, in terms of the GP referral scheme with the Greater Glasgow Health Board, which is one of the largest in the UK, has all been done through a way of working. The outcome of that in terms of investment and development and not being on the periphery is down to a number of key people who have seen that that is the way of working. So it is engagement of the stakeholders, of the politicians that if there has been any success, has brought it to Glasgow.

Q ***I think we've covered a wide range of issues. Thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 8: **ALAN JONES 21/10/ 98**
Director Leisure Services, Highland Council

Q ***The purpose of this interview is to get your views on the impact of Conservative policy on the leisure industry in Scotland from your experience as a Director. So the first aspect is to think back to the 1970's before the Thatcher govt. came in and to ask what your views were of public sector leisure provision in the 1970's.***

A OK . In the 70's I was just finishing secondary education and moving into tertiary education. I took up my first-degree course at Jordanhill College degree course and at one of the main reasons I did that I was interested in art and sport. I made the decision to move into sport because there was a lot of new leisure centres being developed in the early 70's. In Edinburgh you could see the Meadowbanks and the Kane centres in '76. You could see there was a drive then to develop leisure facilities by local authorities. There was a big spend there. There was also a whole movement in community education, youth and community as it was known then, and I think there were courses obviously in training people at colleges, like Jordanhill and one of my options was to take the youth and community option because I wanted to have another string to the bow, whether it be teaching or whether it be community education or what ever. I started in '74 full of enthusiasm for teaching and I transferred at the end of the first year of the diploma course which was a 3 year course into the BEd Glasgow University course which was a degree course and it was the last tranche of that degree intake so I had to catch up and do 2 years degree work in one year and that really made me focus academically on what was happening and socially what was happening in leisure provision in the wider sense. By the time it came to 1977 and 78 when the graduates were starting to come, the first tranche of diploma folk they were finding they couldn't get the schools that they had chosen. Now three years prior to that you could pick your school you wanted to teach in, and clearly that had gone by the board over a fairly short period and at the same time there was other being floated about in sports studies in the late 70's and when I graduated in '78 the first job that I got was at the University of Stirling as a graduate assistant and I worked for Ian Thomson. It was on the basis that I couldn't find another source of grant to go and do a Masters degree. I wanted to take my degree further because I recognised that there was a problem with the teaching market at that time. I didn't want to necessarily go into any high school or secondary school and teach and I wanted to think about moving into higher education and masters degree type work. This opportunity at Stirling came up at to be a graduate assistant to teach 50 hours a week to be in the University staff and because of that I would get my fees paid for a Masters degree which was a part-time Masters of Education degree which was a 2 year teaching course in the evenings with a dissertation to complete it. By the time I had finished that I was thinking about what was happening and I was looking towards local authorities at that time and Ian Thomson was on Stirling District Sports Council and he was advising that Stirling District Sport Council, a local voluntary sports council,

which was one of then 45 local sports councils in Scotland, all voluntary agencies. But Stirling was looking for a first full time sports officer. He was directing me in that particular direction to say there's an opportunity here to move into local authority, to work with a voluntary sporting organisations as a full-time paid official, the first of its kind in Scotland and I applied for that post in October 1980 and took up the post in the 5th of January 1981 and I was the first full-time sports officer in Scotland then and it was clear then that in Stirling there wasn't an awful lot of local authority provided facilities. There was no leisure and recreation department for example. It was parks and burial grounds and it was a park keeper who was the head of that. So there was no qualified dedicated leisure professionals in. It was the old syndrome of IPRA parks and recreation and he was lovely man to work with but he was interested in flowers and botanics and trees.

Q *So there was no sports facilities at all?*

A Very limited. There was swimming pool. Most of the sports facilities were on the campus at Stirling University and the university boasted this town and gown relationship between the town of Stirling and the university campus to say that really it should be the community coming to use the university facilities. And even at that when I started at Stirling University there was no games hall. It had a barracuda, which was an air-hall which every time it snowed it collapsed, every time there was a power cut it collapsed. It was a freezing cold facility to teach in. There was no games hall as such. They had some tennis courts outside and they had an ash running track. They had no 9-hole golf course. They had a swimming pool and Ian Thomson deliberately picked in about '76 to opt for a pool rather than a games hall because he could easily get a games-hall in years to come but he couldn't easily get a swimming pool. It was on that basis that they brought the national swimming team to operate out of through the SSA and they had the offices at the back of the buildings. So they, as a governing body, operated out of Stirling University and that was the rationale for bringing it as a centre of excellence then. It was one of things that attracted me, but there was an enormous potential on the campus at Stirling University and you see the growth of that. You see the tennis centre, you see the large games hall, which was built during my time as a member of staff.

Q *Did the local sports council, because of its relationship with Stirling, was the partnership developing a policy for leisure?*

A Not per se. The University was represented by Ian Thomson and he was the main person behind driving strategies for the local sports council and often the strategies for the local sports council involved a use of university facilities which helped Ian bring income in. He didn't do it in any devious way, or deliberately, but because of the lack of genuine facilities I think in Stirling at that time there was the Raploch Centre, there was the Argyle St. centre, which was an old drill hall. There was no indoor dry sports centre per se. Stirling Albion football ground was falling down around our ears. There was no Forthbank development like there is today. There was an ice

centre at the ice rink, which was run privately generally by the curlers for the curlers and it actually a private club. Most of the clubs in the Stirling area were generally affluent, like the squash and rowing clubs. They all had their own clubhouses like the rugby club. The club structure of sport generally provided their own premises. There were very few municipal facilities.

Q ***If you were to try and sum up what the local council policy for recreation was at that time, what would it be? What was its aim?***

A They didn't have a policy. They were working to a thing called the STARPS Report (Strategy Tourism and Planning for Recreation and Sports).

Q ***Was that a Scottish Office Report?***

A I'm not sure. It was one of the national agencies. We went to STARPS working groups till midnight talking about policies for sport and recreation and there was no vision as such. The Senior Officer for Inverness at that time had some kind of vision but it was never ever committed to paper. When the District Sports Council drew up the first strategy in '81/'82 Ian was the Architect of that, but it looked at probably half a dozen development things. We split the philosophy between development and management of facilities. There was development officers doing development schemes and work and creating development throughout the club structure, through come and try schemes and instructional schemes as a against the management of a swimming pool or a sports centre which was a building based thing. We said that development transcends facilities and it was a Stirling District wide development programme, which took in areas right from Loch Lomond. We had a target group approach. Sport in rural communities was an important one and we recognised that rural communities didn't have facilities. Sometimes we would send out sports officers or animators to make things happen.

Q ***There was a lot of development work going on as well as management of the provision. What do you think the nature of your job and the nature of leisure management was at that time?***

A At that item it was to try and create development and it was very politically motivated in Stirling by the Labour group who were in charge at the time. They wanted a high profile for Labour and for themselves and for what Stirling District council was actually providing. A lot was structured on socialist policy although it was never actually written by that but the instructions were given by elected members. Stirling was very elected member led. I think other councils were a bit more comfortable with chief officers leading.

Q ***So was it important as a leisure officer that you were aware of the local politics and state policy?***

A I was acutely aware of that because I did not work through the parks department then. I worked through the District Sports Council , whose

chairman was the leader of the Labour group and so there was a very strong political lead.

Q ***The job is part political and obviously requires development and management skills. You came through at what might be regarded as a relatively unique route, perhaps a more academic route than others within leisure services have come through. Where was the most common sources of labour?***

A I don't really know because all the national agencies at that time were fragmented. There was IPRA, the Scottish Sports Council, a number of colleges like Jordanhill putting out sports studies, there was the development of courses at Cramond which was looking for courses for things other than teaching. I remember giving a guest lecture to students at Jordanhill doing the Sport and the Community course. I asked them what they wanted to be and all of them said they wanted to be a sport centre manager I remember thinking that they were all on the wrong course. I think there is a misguidedness by institutions about looking at the types of qualifications they were providing I think they were doing it as a number crunching kind of thing to keep them surviving.

Q ***Do you think that there was a lack of understanding of what the job was really all about in terms of leisure centre managers on the part of academics?***

A I think there was. I was involved with academics whilst at Stirling University and papers were couched very much in academic rhetoric but when you actually went out and saw how were things were being done it was completely different. I think at that time because of the mushroom of facilities and the lack of proper training of managers I think the profession at that time muddled through the early 80's. They survived and they hung things on other aspects - they used community education, they used social deprivation, they used whole range of different avenues to almost justify their existence. Then quite quickly the bigger departments like Edinburgh and Glasgow, started to look at it more strategically and say we've actually got millions of pounds worth of facilities and galleries and libraries and we need a proper structure and we need people at the right level who can manage these structures. So in about the mid 80's that point was taken. Edinburgh didn't go Labour till 1984 and Mark Lazarovich was the first Chairman then and I applied for a job then. It was as Asst. Director Sports, for which I thought I was relatively well qualified having work for Ian for 4 years full-time in sports development and I knew about the issues. The job went to the rate-capping co-ordinator for the City of Leicester who knew nothing about that. He became Asst, Director for Sports in Edinburgh and that's how political it's got at national level.

Q ***We have come to talk about the '80s and by that time Margaret Thatcher and the Conservatives were in power and over that period of ten years into the 90's it would seem that there were substantial changes in leisure services; the development of it and the structure and management of it.***

What is your perception of what those changes were and why they occurred?

A We were starting to talk about competition being introduced in 1985. We didn't know what competition was except we knew that other parts of the council had been through competition through the DLO through the 1980 legislation. We were being told that sport and leisure management was going to be subject to competitive tendering. A lot people didn't know what competitive tendering was and were starting to get the books and journals out and attend seminars and everything that goes with it about CCT and that started rolling out about '85/'86. By '87 they were talking about certain contracts having to be let and that was about the time I was changing careers. In '86 I left Stirling District Council and joined Clackmannan district Council as the first Community Leisure Services Manager. It wasn't a directors post it was a managers post and Clackmannan had opened their joint leisure initiative – the Apex Leisure Bowl in Alloa and Clackmannan had a very small budget and didn't have the ability to build, to spend to build or the power from the Scottish office and they went into partnership with a private developer APEX who said we will design and build and then sublet the management back to the council. The month that I started in Clackmannan, Alloa Leisure Bowl opened and this was my first venture into working with the private sector. It was clear that the government were keen to get private and public sector working together at that time and Clackmannan, which was a labour authority, had taken that decision as a group of labour councillors that the only way to get provision was to work with the private sector. Now previously there was an attitude that private sector and public sector did not mix. Public sector was there to provide services and private sector was there to provide profit and so I think there was a dilemma there that some folk had to swallow a bit. I was only with Clackmannan for about 11 months but within those 11 months I had commissioned a small scale recreation centre for Menstrie which was a small 2 badminton court, combined library and health centre and got that built within 11 months. I got approval to convert a garage depot into an indoor games barn, kickabout area double sized games hall. We converted a another building into a pitted gymnastic facility. We also developed Alloa Museum, Alloa Tower, Alloa Townhall – all refurbishment projects within 11 months. I singularly in leisure services, with the back of the Labour group in Clackmannan, took Clackmannan from one of the lowest spenders to the highest council tax in any one single year because of the spend in leisure. I then left to take up the post of Director in Inverness.

Q ***Why was Inverness so late in forming a leisure services department?***

A There was very little political direction – it was an independent council. It wasn't Labour, it wasn't Tory.

Q ***So it didn't feel the full brunt of legislation, even back to the '73 Local Govt. Scotland Act?***

A The provision in Inverness without having a dedicated department was significant. Bill McAllister who was a Labour Councillor was the Chairman when I arrived, he had managed to build a 6 lane all-weather running track with grandstand. They already had a municipal 18 hole golf course, a caravan site, potentially 100 acres of leisure space and they had a parks department with a parks supervisor. So this was moving from the parks tradition into the more professional leisure management side of things and that was the leap that they were taking. Part of the reason for that was that the parks supervisor took early retirement and the council said then that they had had enough of the parks side of things, we need to have a more generic leisure function here and Inverness is the capital of the Highlands and we had a lot of facilities dotted around but they weren't marketed, managed or promoted in any way. They were simply there and if folk wanted to use them they went to the Chief Exec's admin section and they booked them. The groundsman would open up the site, they folk used them and then went on their way. It was very much reactive rather than proactive.

Q ***So are you saying that some of the action taken was based on managerial effectiveness? Where did the policies derive from?***

A We had to create the policies. I had to write a leisure plan.

Q ***And what was that driven by?***

A It was my assessment of what was on the ground and what was needed. It was my assessment of the development schemes I had currently been involved in sports, my assessment of the role of countryside rangers, the arts and entertainment provision in Clackmannan, and it was looking at what was being provided by the private sector in Inverness, the public sector and where there were gaps.

Q ***Did you think you had more freedom or were you still conscious of political bias?***

A I had more of a freedom because it was an independent council but at officer level I was constantly reminded I wasn't working for a left-wing administration any more and artists in residence were not the done thing in Inverness. All the arty-farty type of provision was frowned on by chief officers in the council who were quite traditional in their outlook at that time. I had to write a leisure plan, around '91. The first thing I looked at was capital provision because I thought we needed to provide basic facilities, and there was a capital programme I could tap into. Looking round my colleagues at that management team in the late '80s there was not a lot visionary people in spend capital sums. It was more like we needed bin lorries , tractors and grass cutting..... that gave me an opportunity because I almost had a blank sheet on the capital sheet. My then chairman when told that it would cost between £20 – 30m told me to bin the plan. However, I didn't bin it. I stuck it in the bottom drawer and worked incrementally, picking away at that model and since then I've spend in excess of £20m.

Q ***I'm interested to hear about that kind of vision when I'm reading that Local Government has a reduced role in fiscal policy and is claimed to have become a mechanism to implement State policy and that the Conservatives really stripped the powers and autonomy of Local Government. Yet you have been able to make a lot happen. Does is surprise you how much you've been able to achieve?***

A Some of it has been against a background of angst. In '87 when I started here there was no record of grounds maintenance of what the Council was responsible for or managed. They didn't know how many plots of land they had, they didn't know how often they were cut or who had ownership of the ground. We did an inventory of grass cutting machines. I had 51 full-time staff in parks. Now I had 290 machines for 50 staff – 5 machines a person and it had just been built up for the 'rainy day' syndrome. I went to the stores and it was heaped up to the ceiling with grass seed and fertiliser that had been stored over years in case they were never going to get things one year. We had to review that. We had to review the staffing rationale. In the first year we reduced it by 21% to get fit for competition and that was done through natural wastage and early retirements. We needed to look at the technology involved. Work was being done manually which machines could do. We saved weeks of work by changing the way we did things. We had to look at all the working practices and change all of these so in writing the specifications there was a steep learning curve for me to understand what was involved in grounds maintenance not having come from that background. But sitting down for a three month period with the parks officer and the depute Director who had come from a horticultural background, they could explain everything to me about all horticultural operations and all the things that it meant. We wrote a Utopian specification saying that these are the best standards that you should be aiming for. We tendered for that. The was no competition so we awarded it in-house, but the principles of CCT were Government imposed on us and to some extent that is the thing local authorities should have been doing voluntarily in any case to provide Best Value and that's coming home to roost now. At the time we saw it as threats – threats to our jobs, threats to our status, threats to our profession and so on. But in fact, in looking back, it has probably saved the taxpayer millions and millions of pounds by improving the things which were done and why they were done. It is actually questioning this. It is almost like a God-taken right by local authorities that we should be the panacea for everything, when in fact we're not. So that drove that home over that period. Then leisure management came into the equation – to do the same for leisure management. We didn't have a lot of facilities to put in leisure management. It was mainly the sports centre and that was awarded in '92.

Q ***By that time a lot had happened. How had the nature of the leisure managers' role changed from the 80's?***

A You had to get somebody who was political astute, political aware - how to work with elected members and how to work with Chief Officers and how to work with other Directors. I've described the leisure manager as almost

being the ubiquitous manager. We manage problems, we manage complaints, we manage complements, we manage people, we manage staff, we manage budgets, we manage projects, we manage elected members. We manage a whole range of different things. It's like if you can imagine in Star Trek there is a chessboard with 7 different dimensions. We operate in a whole range of dimensions and you just need to know what one you have to parachute into at a particular time. If somebody phoned me at the moment it could be somebody complaining so I adopt a different style than one I'm using with you just now. When I meet the Chief Executive at 3.00 o'clock I'll have a different style with him. So you have to become very flexible in your approach to things. You have to have the vision first. You have to have the steps by which you can achieve your vision. There is no point in having a vision, which is never achievable. That just leads to complete frustration and anxiety. It's better to actually know that you are working towards something you can actually achieve. I think by doing that as a leader and taking my key staff with me and then being part of my vision, taking ownership of the vision, then I've got a team of us and they've got a team with them. So it's like a pyramid effect.

Q ***What would you ask for in a potential employee?***

A I would look at it totally openly. I would not say that people have to be in a particular compartment any more. You need to be multi-skilled people with multi-visions. You need to say that these are not traditional people who have been cloistered in local authorities. We need to think about folk who have been out in the real world and unfortunately that's not how local authorities recruited in the past. You would look first in your own department, your own service, your own council, and then you would look with another local authority and then you might think that I might have to somebody from the 'private sector' which isn't a worry anymore. Now we just cast it open and say we want the best because it's quality. It doesn't matter who provides. It's the quality of service and the value for money at the end of the day. We've come away from this saying that we should own and take credit for a deed, being all singing and all dancing to all folk. We're saying that we will help facilitate by whichever method is appropriate.

Q ***By saying that you have deliberately changed your view of recruitment infers that the nature of the industry itself has changed. My view of the 70's for example is that there were fairly clear divisions between the public and private sector. What's your perception of the industry now? How has it changed and who has the biggest market share?***

A I think the private sector has the biggest market share. I think there is a difficulty in comparing my own Council to the rest of the UK in as much we have to appreciate that there are certain social benefits that are provided through leisure and I think the commercial don't often take the social benefits of participation, in whatever aspect of leisure, into account. They're more interested in deriving profit from what they do and making sure the shareholders, or whoever, are happy. I think the private sector has the

biggest share in the biggest areas of population. I think if you look in the Highlands, in rural areas, in sparse areas of population, we don't have the big private sector corporate conglomerates competing to provide what we are because there is not enough profit return. Therefore the local authority in a rural area should argue that they should be the main provider because it is about a service, it's about empowering communities, working with communities. It's about giving them best value, it's about giving aspirations that are appropriate to their communities. It's about experiencing, living and understanding their day-to-day routines. It's about empowering them to doing something that is meaningful to them, and giving them ownership of that. I think councils can do that. I think if companies were doing that I think they would have to split the company into two saying that there is a commercial section of this company but we also have a social conscience side of it. I think at the moment the council is the social conscience side of it. I've got a service plan that sets this out and 8 of the area committees have all endorsed that. This helps me when I do my budget this year to say that it is not just about driving down costs and increasing income, but we've got a social aspect here. It's not just culture and leisure services, it's education, social work and a range of other council services.

Q ***Do you think the range of services is beginning to converge or do you think they will remain distinct in their goals?***

A I think they might converge in certain aspects. There is some parts that will, I think, remain distinctive – libraries for example. I've got a network of forty-two libraries. I've the biggest library network in Scotland and 12 mobile libraries. In looking at our libraries, because of the size of the Highlands we have particular geographical problems in moving stock around. We are just computerising all of it just now so that we can access stuff on a screen which will tell us a particular book is in such and such a place and will be returned by a particular date so that people can order it in advance. We are moving round millions of parts of stock in the Highlands and in an area the size of Belgium or Wales, it's difficult to compare that with somewhere like East Renfrewshire, for example, which is maybe 10 miles across and the library service is good and you can get stock moved very quickly. We take about 48 day to supply a book request. It has been put the private sector in Wales 'do you want to compete for our library service' and they are saying that there isn't anything in it for us so clearly that would be left in local authorities. Having said that there's 6 new initiatives that are coming forward for libraries from the people's network. It's changing the government who are saying that the libraries of tomorrow will be the learning centres of the future and I think that might have some commercial convergence in terms working together or some commercial operators perhaps through information systems or technology, also the operation of the libraries. We spent £0.5m on books. As soon as you buy the books they are worth half the value. We should be leasing books for folk. We should be working on commercial contracts with private publishers on leasing books. So we need to become more commercially focussed, more managerially focussed on that side of it. Other aspects the creation of trusts and charitable companies we have gone down that road to

a certain degree. Other councils have moved mainly on trusts because they save on rates and VAT. I pay my own rates to the finance department. It simply goes from my budget into theirs. I paid it through a third party, a charitable company we would still have the staff TUPED on the same conditions of service, it would be the same service to the public. The public won't notice any difference but the saving to my budget might be as much £0.75m a year. So we are looking at these sort of quasi-commercial operations to try and do that. It's hard to say where it is going to go. My philosophy, which I'm telling my managers, is that the whole world is changing so quick, everything is changing. The IT revolution-everything is being computerised. TV is going digital. What effect will it all have on leisure services and I'm saying leisure services is about people working with people. It's now about IT systems and machines. We can use the technology but we will still need sports officers, arts officers, development staff, animators, centre managers, leisure attendants, life-guards; people to actually make sure that the leisure experience continues and I think that if we go with the flow and understand the nature of change then leisure can survive the IS revolution and be taken forward as a front line service rather than say we should be frightened because jobs are going to go because everything is going to be electronic. The whole virtual scene – you can't beat real exercise and real participation and I think we have got a winner in terms of leisure services in providing a vision for that. I think that in 5 years where other services may be downsized or disappeared, I think there will still be a core of leisure services provided.

Q ***You mentioned the potential threat to the leisure profession. Do you consider yourself a professional?***

A Do I consider myself a professional manager? I consider myself a manager and an academic and in those terms, I suppose I have a profession behind me. A profession I have never explored. I think I'm a professional administrator, almost now and a professional manager. I administrate my department, I administrate my management team of 13. I manage them. People say I've got 488 I'm responsible for but they don't work to me on a one-to-one basis. I work to my management team, they work to their management team. It's a cascade effect down. I may need to make sure that there is not treacle in the middle where the information that I think I'm passing down doesn't get down to the ground and shop floor and vice-versa. We've a two-way communication process here. So when I go out to areas and meet the staff I say have you read the service plan? do you know what best value? and we talk through things that I'm involved with and where there is a blockage we try and unblock it.

Q ***Do you consider your managers, your facility managers to be professionals?***

A In their own ways but in different rights. They come from different backgrounds and are fitted into different slots at the moment. I'm trying to get them to transcend those slots. The Head of Libraries is a qualified librarian which is a profession in its own right. I want her to know about

what Best Value is, what grounds maintenance is, which facility management is, what the capital programme is, what the bigger is so we work across these boundaries.

Q ***What is a professional?***

A It's hard to put a definitive answer to it. If somebody took a dictionary definition, it would be somebody who had gained a proper qualification in the area in which they were going to work. I think the problem with leisure services is that I don't think there is any one single qualification that qualifies leisure professionals. Some of the courses have made an attempt at it, where you do your core work, and you do your specialisms your strands, sports, arts, tourism, countryside or whatever, and that allows you to say that I'm a generic manager in a range of leisure things. I know about budgets, I know about planning, I know about plans, I know about facilities, customer care etc. but I'm a specialist in sports, or a specialist in arts. I think these people are emerging. I think a lot has to do with the book of life. You learn as you are doing it – working with colleagues, elected members, working with the public, seeing what happens on a day-to-day basis and actually using these experiences to help you deliver better.

Q ***You mentioned that there is no single qualification in leisure management. If there was to be what do you think should be the key components of this?***

A I think communications is at the heart of all of this. You must have a person who can communicate up and down and across the way; a person who can ensure that communications operate. There are so many things happening that people don't know about and find out about second-hand. Unless you have got this person who takes on the role of main communicator I think that's the crux of everything. Everything that we've looked at in performance management, and we're heavily into performance management now, about setting targets and then sitting down and saying these are the targets we set – how did you do , why did you do it, could you do better, how can we improve – there are 5 simple questions there about performance management. Underpinning all of that is communication. You hear it all levels. A lot of elected members don't know what Best Value is, for example, and yet these are the folk that are leading the council. I was out meeting staff last week and I said who knows what Best Value is? I saw blank faces and I thought I sent stuff out where is it getting stuck? Where is this treacle in middle management that not letting stuff through. Why are people thinking knowledge is power and keeping it to themselves and not sharing it. I think a good communicator with a communications strategy that everyone understands and knows and knows why they are doing it is the crux of it.

Q ***From you perspective is it training the industry needs or is it education?***

A I think it's both. I don't think you can separate education from training. You can have formal education in your work towards a particular

qualification, but unless there is the appropriate training build within that educational structure then it's the ivory tower situation where you're learning all the theory but not doing the practice. I think it has to both theory and practice combined. There is the scenario that when people start a job they are told this is the real world – forget everything you were taught in college. You need to be taught the rules of life within the university or college environment as part of the education although it might be a training function. As an example when I was at Jordanhill we learned the theory of all these different things and I'm thinking I'm going to out to teaching practice, and teach trampolining, take football practice, volleyball practice and yet I don't have any formal governing body recognised coaching qualifications. These practical qualifications should be built into this course. I should be taught to be governing body coach grade up to A,B ,C or whatever and that's the training part of it. I have all the theory and education behind it but without the practical training, the doing of it and the practical experience of it , I think people are being sold short. I think it's a bit of both.

Q ***There has been some developments in leisure education in Scotland in recent years, in FE and HE at graduate and postgraduate level. In your opinion is the provision in Scotland adequate? Do you think it is driven by industry needs or education?***

A I think the way in which the profession is at the moment it is being driven by two different task masters. It is being driven by academics in educational institutions as part of their raison d'être. I think the industry are doing it differently because they can see benefits and profits if they run it as a business and I think the two things are not converging at the moment. I think they are diverging and I think that until both sides are brought together and both sides see the reasoning behind a holistic approach, partnership approach (because we are moving more towards more and more partnerships because we cannot do things in isolation, physically nor should be want to when the sum of the parts add up to a whole which is greater than the sum of the parts really) and at the moment it's the arts that are doing their own thing and yet it could be so much better for the profession if it was going forward collectively.

Q ***Are there any particular barriers to a closer relationship between the industry and education?***

A There must be barriers otherwise it would have happened, but I can't think what they are.

Q ***Do you have any involvement with the local education institutions?***

A The Council are involved in the UHI board, mainly through education. HIEE are involved through a number of boards. Our 'high' arts officer is the advisor to the cultural board because he works for HIE. There's other professionals being drawn from the network. I think the emerging educational institutions are looking more towards industry partnerships than

the 'traditional' education institutions. I think that they may be more resistant to change than the emerging educational institutions. I think that there is a tradition that needs to be broken down and a cultural barrier. There is almost a fear that they are going to be swallowed up by the change or somebody else will take it on better because they are more up to speed with the world. I think there is a real problem there.

Q ***There is a view that following the 1992 Education Act that rather than polytechnics becoming more like universities in nature, universities were required to become more polytechnic in nature.***

A There is almost an academic snobbishness about institutions and I think that is one of the things that would have to go if we are going to go forward in a proper partnership.

Q ***I think you have covered the aspects I wished to explore. Thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 9: **TIM CRUTTENDEN 1/11/01**
Former Director Leisure Services, South Lanarkshire Council

Q ***This interview is focusing on the impact of Conservative policies on leisure, and in particular, the role of the leisure manager. But I wonder before we get to the questions if you could give me the background to your involvement in leisure management?***

A I started in teaching and took an extra year, after I had been teaching for a while, and did a PE qualification because I thought there were more promotional prospects there. I taught PE for 3 or 4 years and ended up as a sort of Head of PE and manager of dual-use provision complex in Worcestershire. It was a big complex - it had rugby pitches, a couple of games halls, swimming pool etc. I then went into sports centre management and more general leisure management as Director of leisure services of East Kilbride, South Lanarkshire.

Q ***When was it that you went to East Kilbride?***

A I went to East Kilbride in 1972/73 as sports centre manager, at the John Wright and became Director of leisure services in '77.

Q ***So you were well placed to see all the changes?***

A Yes

Q ***You said that you came from a PE background. Was that a very common route at that time. Was that the main source of labour?***

A I think in terms of sports centre management I suppose it was reasonably common, but not necessarily across the whole board. There were certainly some aspects of the whole range of leisure services was fairly well established with definite career structures. Parks and libraries for example. But you had a couple of other areas of management particularly in the bit growth in sports centre and leisure complexes in the '70s which brought in people from a whole range of backgrounds which I think probably down to the growth of the service and also to the range of aspects which they dealt with. Because you had this sort of really eclectic mix of people with different experiences and different ideas and very primary fields. You had this massive growth of sort of rebuild across the country from the 70's onwards so quite a few people came from PE backgrounds but I wouldn't say it was exclusively that because they came from a whole range of backgrounds – law, some of the movers and shakers in ILAM had a law background, environmental backgrounds, communication etc.

Q ***At that time then going into the late '70s what was the leisure provision like?***

A I'll take it from the 70's right to the end. My recollections were parks and libraries were established. Swimming pools management was established. Halls, entertainments, arts was semi-established but was sort of a little bit of peripheral thing unless you were in the big cities. Sports centres were new and were coming one. So I would say you had a situation where you had a base of established professions if you like, although I don't think other service providers ever considered them to be professions and you had some embryonic areas of activity which were going through a period of rapid growth nationally. And you had little co-operative working between each of those diverse services and few of them were encompassed under single leisure department of any form. Often they were part and parcel of one or a number of other departments. So they might have been part of environmental services, or building and construction or, in my case when I went to East Kilbride, it was a sub-section of the finance department.

Q ***That's a strange place for it to be.***

A It's just because they had a director of finance because of the New Town status and the district council's functions and responsibilities were quite small and they had...(?). So that was my perceptions of it and so not many departments had established recreation departments in any form but the boom in the building of sports centres and leisure centres in the 70s brought a new sort of entrepreneurial breed of officers to the business. I think this 'gee'd' up a lot of the other officers. We obviously had good officers in libraries and parks like Keith Fraser, Arthur Aldwin, David Welsh dotted around. My perception is that this growth in sports centres brought with it pioneering, pathfinding, entrepreneurial sort of aspects to it. We were as keen as mustard, very sort of committed etc. That shook the whole sort of leisure aspect up.

Q ***What prompted that boom in capital spend?***

A I think you were probably emerging from the post-war years still into the 70s. I presume up until 1960 the country was still recovering from the war. Then we had a ten year period where they were sort of involved with school (?) and the like and after that local authorities were getting onto look at other aspects of their provisions for the people. I think it probably came about from that and I think you probably had, as a result of the late 50's and the 60's. I think physical education in schools played a far greater part in school life then in the 60s than it certainly does now and I think you had coming out of the 60s and into the 70s I think you had the results of that, that commitment of physical education working its way into aspirations. I've not looked at demographics, but I wouldn't be surprised if in the late 60s, 70s you effectively had the post-war baby boom coming to a peak participation levels. I never thought of that before I'm thinking of my own age, born just after the war, kids in the 20s and 30s had mass participation.

Q ***Along with that capital spend then what would you say that the purpose of leisure was?***

A I don't think actually many local authorities probably had an idea what it was about. What they were largely doing, in my recollection, was they were responding to demand. And demand were for outlets for sport and other forms of leisure. There was massive demand for it. I was manager at the John Wright Sports Centre at the time and there only 1 or 2 or 3 sports centres in Scotland. What I can recall being around at the time was Meadowbank, Bellahouston, the John Wright and Bell's. That's all I can recall. There were quite a few followed on shortly afterwards. But when I was Manager at the John Wright we operated at night 100% use of every area. No-one could do that nowadays. We had sports courts that were booked from 7 o'clock in the morning to 12 o'clock at night and we had people travelling to East Kilbride from Largs, from Moffat and from Lockerbie. We had people coming from Stirling, from Glasgow to play squash. We were actually operating a 100% capacity of every area. We had people queuing to book facilities at 8 o'clock – we used to open at 9. We moved it to quarter to eight so people could get to work. We had people queuing from 6.30 to book so that was the context we were operating in. In the town there was massive demand for more outlets for their recreation, both people as individuals, but also with their families. You know so you had this growth of facilities in a whole range of sports, in pitches and golf courses and that sort of thing.

Q ***So I assume then that local competition wasn't significant.***

A Very little competition from the private sector in any form. Competition tended to have been, although no-one really looked upon it as competition, because the demands were so great, competition was from the private golf course and from squash clubs, but that wasn't competition because we could fill our facilities without any problems and still have a massive unsatisfied demand.

Q ***So when was it then that policies started to emerge?***

A Well I wrote the first leisure strategy for East Kilbride in 1977, the very first we had dates which looking back had quite sound principles but lacking in meat. It wasn't very well researched it was based upon more a gut feel. I think a gut feel would still probably hold good but how do you justify it would be a bit more difficult. So there was in 1977, then we did another on '82 and then we didn't do another one until '93, another 10 years – largely because of other circumstances and other pressures that came on involving local government at the time.

Q ***So what were these pressures?***

A Well, you also had a factor in the '70's which changed the perception as well 'cos you had a reorganisation of local government in 1975. Now that reorganisation of local govt. in '75 created district councils and one of the impacts, certainly in East Kilbride context, in the operation of the District Council was it took away social work and gave that to regional councils and libraries came from the old county councils into the district councils. Now

the two areas that impacted most upon people's life were those discretionary spend were social work and leisure. Housing wasn't really a great issue because you had a fixed capital spend. Housing capital expenditure was ring-fenced. The govt said what you could spend. You weren't competing with anyone else for house. You couldn't increase the housing spend and no-one ever reduced it so you weren't competing with anyone and that applied to all local authorities. In East Kilbride you had the new town as a major housing provider, but even that wasn't an issue in terms of overheads. So you had social work which is the other major service provider which impacted on people's lives and went off to the regions. So what was left in the district council was the major service that had a real impact upon people's votes was leisure. Environmental services was obviously important but no-one really saw there being much political gain in terms of sort of refuse collection – people just expected it to be done. So that became the major discretionary service in spend and because of that, and because of the kudos which local politicians could get from that and I think also, as well, you had quite a number of cute officers who were working the system, leisure took off on a 15 or even 20 year boom in terms of growth. And it wasn't probably until the 1990s when economic development became the in macho thing for local authorities to do that leisure started to take a little bit of a back seat in that. But even then, even pushing out to the 1995 reorganisation of local government, if you look at the capital spend at that time as every local authority cleared its common good fund and the like there was a massive capital spend up to just after the reorganisation of local government.

Q ***In some of the academic books it is suggested that there was more spent on leisure capital spend in the first half of the 80's than other services.***

A Yes. When I was involved with SADLS, or ADRLT as it was at the time, and I was leading the group that was looking at producing Leisure Matters we started off with the perception that there wasn't the spend, that spend had reduced. That wasn't the case. Spend had held up well. Capital spend had held up well. Revenue was a little down.

Q ***Yes, the Allied Dunbar report stated that spend in Scotland was reasonably high. Does that then mean when leisure was on this crest of a wave, you mentioned about vote-catching, was the esteem in which a leisure manager was held, high at that time?***

A It depends. I don't think that Directors of Leisure Services, ever, in my view achieved the same professional status as lawyers and accountants at Director level. And certainly at middle-management level they never achieved the same professional status at planners and environment health officers etc. If you looked at salary levels there were great differences in terms, in my view, of what leisure managers were paid and people in planning, or finance or what have you. That was often justified on the basis of the training which they underwent. But by that time from the 80s you were starting to get people coming into the profession who had good degrees of a specialist nature so you couldn't even argue that they had a general degree. You had

people who had a specialist degree relevant to the services they were providing but they still couldn't get parity with some of the other services. To their credit it never stopped them working hard.

Q ***You mentioned ILAM, SADLS, or ADRLT at one point and ISRM. Did they not make a contribution in some part in advocacy?***

A Certainly in term of training those bodies helped provide a professional qualification but the professional qualification is only as good as the people you are presenting it to and the people you are presenting it to is the established professions that were effectively the control of local authorities. They tended to be legal people and finance people etc. So yes you had people coming through that were very qualified but you never had them held in the same regard with their professional qualifications as others.

Q ***What achievements would you have had to gain or skills would you have had to apply to go up in their esteem?***

A If I look at it I think in the 70s through the 80s the whole profession was characterised by this real buzz that something was going on. People really enjoyed working in it and the money, whilst it was important to then, it wasn't the number one factor effectively. People just loved being in the middle of something which was going places and achieving something and as a result of that you had a 101 or 1001 new initiatives coming forward in terms of different ways of providing services. You had new services developing, the growth of countryside services, you had the growth of the sports centre manager, you had the massive growths in development services, arts development, or sports development or countryside management, countryside rangers who patrol people into educational aspects. The growth of libraries development - people who had been straight librarians growing into people do outreach work and work with children or the disadvantaged etc. So you had this whole new growth of different ways of working and providing services which really got into the community. I think that was what impressed. It impressed on the basis you had a whole group of people who were actually committed and committed to the development of the service and were actually achieving results in quite new and innovative and different ways. And I think that raised the regard of the people who were working in it. Certainly for their enthusiasm and what have you. I don't think they weren't held in high regard in terms of what they were doing I just think that the powers that were in control on the professional side of local authorities still didn't regard that level of achievement in the same way they held professional qualifications of planners, finance people and lawyers.

Q ***The community aspect was something that the Conservative govt. tried to develop through Urban Aid, Community Development programmes, Sport Development or Community Sport Development. Was there any tension between people who were encouraging participation through those targeted funding initiatives and what you were providing through leisure services?***

A No really. The biggest criticism of those programmes was that they tended to be short-term. So many of those programmes were picked up, run with and then dropped for a new initiative and someone else was left to pick up the pieces afterwards. So I think that was a major criticism of it. I think there were some tensions between Comm Ed and the leisure sector particular moving into the late 80s/90s as a result of revenue financial impacts on leisure. Having gone through this massive growth at the same time you've got budget cuts certainly slowed down increases in expenditure. Certain aspects of the service, like in the sports side, got into increase in prices. It changed quite fundamentally the nature of some of the service provision. In fact, Fred Coalter in his studies probably had a lot to answer for, for that.

Q ***I'll tell him that!***

A Well I could never argue with his findings. In fact, I was probably one of the Directors before who was pushing prices up as high as they could go, but I still have a nasty sneaking feeling that by doing that we actually excluded a lot of people that were probably, if they couldn't afford it, if you look at what they spend on other things the arguments were quite valid, but the fact is that once they spent the money on other things a lot of these people in poorer circumstances couldn't then afford to take part in sport. It might not have been their number one priority but by pushing prices we still excluded them.

Q ***That almost flies in the face of what you perceive public service was about- access for all and creating opportunities for people who would normally have them.***

A Yes, that's right. I know very well that if we hadn't done that, then a lot of these places would have closed. We wouldn't have been able to maintain them.

Q ***Is that a tension that was created in your job because of the Conservative interest in economic efficiency?***

A Yes. It was and it wasn't applied evenly either by local authorities. It applied to sports but it never applied in other areas of service. It never applied to libraries.

Q ***Why do you think that was?***

A It was historical, perception, an unwillingness to take part, vested interest groups. I don't think anyone would try to impose a charge for the hire of library books. Well that's not true. Aberdeen I think, tried it, they backed down. They certainly tried to make differential charges. Aberdeen City was trying to make a charge for people living outwith the city using its library services.

Q ***It seems that the thing, I think, that was a real benchmark in changing some of the constraints or increasing them was CCT. Would that be right?***

A Yes. CCT had a major impact. In some ways it had a very good impact because it caused a whole root and branch look at the way those services that were being exposed to CCT were to be examined. Do we need these levels of staff. For example, in parks it resulted in massive reductions in staff and massive increases in more efficient machinery. You had increased capital spend on machinery. You had less people doing a far more efficient job. That coincided with big bills like Britain in Bloom. For a while you had many areas of the country looking quite special as parks took its turn at being flavour of the year. So from that point of view, in terms of leisure services, it had its impact in terms of looking at structures, and the way in which other services operated. This root and branch examination didn't just apply to say sports management and parks. It went into the arts and entertainments, the halls and into the library side looking at the way they operate and sort of caused restructures and what have you. So from that point of view it had some beneficial things but it never really went beyond that in services which weren't exposed to competitive tendering and I think that was always a big source of contention amongst those that had been exposed. That other services were escaping and hadn't the same scrutiny. You had monthly reports about financial performance of those exposed to CCT, but those that weren't exposed to CCT jollied along in their same old way without any new efficiency and were working in quite different conditions.

Q ***So how did CCT change your job if it did?***

A Well, I suppose in terms of how you looked at the service, it required you take quite a different look at the way in which it was provided. You had to become a lot more knowledgeable about certain aspects, nuts and bolts of different parts and the way the service operated than perhaps you had before, just because you got involved in quite a lot of detail in terms of the specification and the like. So from that point of view it boosted a lot of people's knowledge of the nuts and bolts of the service, so that was good. It required changes in structures so you had different ways of relating to people. You ended up with client and contractor splits and in some ways were quite good actually, but in other ways was a bit wasteful and certainly after CCT was dropped for Best Value etc you found that the split became unnecessary. You became a lot more aware of financial returns and aspects than perhaps you had before. But I think financial constraints would have brought that about anyway, in any case. Just as a general comment on CCT as a whole I do think that probably the mistake of the govt. was to make it compulsory. If they had been more patient they would have actually have got many of the benefits of CCT through voluntary approaches and squeezes on revenue expenditure and I think the voluntary approach based upon examples of good practice, where it was happening and working well, you had that in parks side and in sport centre side with people like David Cross, DC leisure, who were providing good services and doing good things and weren't sort of hamstrung by the capital expenditure constraints. It might

have taken them twice or three times as long to get there but I think they might have had something which would have lasted. The problem would have been in Scotland where it was Labour dominated etc. and you wonder how long it would have taken to go into voluntary competitive tendering.

Q ***So did you see conscious resistance to the policy?***

A Oh absolutely yes! There was absolute resistance from politicians at the time which is why it was quite ironical that only a few years later you have the same people who at the time stood at Council meetings and made quite vehement statements about the Tory Government pushing CCT and when you had Labour in power they were effectively supporting the market place.

Q ***What kind of things did they do to resist or slow the implementation?***

A Most of it was verbal actually because the Govt didn't really pay a lot of attention to them but there was so much noise that they had to pay some sort of attention. You had this verbal abuse, then you had the different approaches that you take to tender preparation in a friendly or hostile environment. So you can easily discourage a potential bidder in terms of doing for your services. For one, making the contract so complicated, or so tight that it is almost impossible to deliver and by that making it very apparent that you didn't really want to work with them, and if they did win they contract they were going to have a real problem working with you. I think that in terms of sports centre management was what drove off a lot of potential bidders. So that was an issue. On the parks side you still had a number of contractors that went forward and were quite successful. So I think largely it was verbal resistance and then the approach that was taken. Whereas if you had wanted to encourage competitive tendering you would take a far different approach which would have been a more collaborative approach to contracting with the contractors saying what they will delivery and how can we best deliver this? It's like going through a partnership arrangement isn't it?

Q ***Yes. In Scotland we put the tenders out in such enormous packages it was unattractive.***

A That's right. So I think that's the way CCT was largely brought in.

Q ***Do you think this policy made leisure management more specialist or more generic?***

A It made it more specialist for middle management, those that were responsible for the services. It made it more generic for those above that level. It also had the impact of wasting 7 years of people's time. There was some good things that came out of it, structures and more efficient services and that sort of thing, but there was also an awful lot of time wasted like people preparing specifications etc, research and the whole stuff that goes with that. Given that it often surprises me that the service still continued to go forward in spite of that.

Q ***This takes us from the 80s into the 90s. Where was the skill source at that time? You mentioned previously that people came from quite a broad church.***

A Becoming more specialist after that time. You were getting people coming from university or college. You were getting people going into quite lowly positions with degrees. But you had more people coming through with good level qualifications whether it was leisure qualifications or whether it was community education qualifications. You had people that worked their way through the service. You had a bigger service so when you had jobs advertised you had people applying for the jobs who had experience in the service, which was a big change. Bigger service, the bigger the labour pool. And you had people that were already in the service coming forward with qualifications obtained either previously either day release. You had qualifications by ISRM etc.

Q ***Did that kind of qualification, specialist leisure qualification, help promote the identity of leisure management?***

A I've not thought about it really..

Q ***If you been recruiting and you are sitting with someone with a generic management degree and someone with a leisure management degree would it make a difference to you?***

A Yes, probably. If perchance you were interviewing two people for the same job, two people with different backgrounds for a job, and it was purely a leisure job then the person with the generic qualification probably hasn't had the experience that the person with the leisure qualification has. Almost certainly you would go for the person with the experience so I think it is qualification and experience which makes a difference. On the other hand, I can recall appointing people to positions more in terms of the support functions who had no experience. So you could position people, like financial people in the service. The big effect of CCT is that you could get a really good financial hold over the service you provided. You got more hands on financial management control. For a while you really felt in control of what you were doing and weren't at the mercy of big financial departments in the local authority.

Q ***You mentioned that you rewrote or revised the policy in '93. Did you have a fair amount of freedom or complete autonomy to write that and put in the values that you saw fit or was there influence from the elected members of convenor?***

A There was quite an influence from elected members, not from the convenor. One of the character traits of East Kilbride, there was a leader, or deputy leader who whilst recognising the value leisure, didn't like spending the money on it. They looked at every opportunity they could to cut back. So you had the situation where the Council, or the leading lights of the Council didn't really want to spend money on leisure and so you really had quite a

period where you had to justify everything you were doing. Fortunately we justified ourselves quite well.

Q ***Did you justify it in social terms or economic terms?***

A Both- social and economic. So that sort of reticence to spend manifested itself in the bigger projects where it was a problem. When we refurbished the Dollan Baths, the Dollen Aqua Centre, you had a pool which was built in 1967, which really hadn't had an awful lot done to it in 30 years and the Council adopted a policy of sort of 'run it till it breaks' and then all of a sudden it needed an awful lot of money spent on it. And it was really a case of the officers having to back the Leadership of the Council - the Leader and the Depute Leader didn't want to spend the money, they exercised great power over the other members of the Council – and so we effectively had to back them into a corner all the time to spend what was needed to bring the facility up to a perceived level. So that was quite difficult. Anyway, so you had that particular situation, but in terms of preparing the strategy well I suppose we went with some preconceived ideas of what we were about and why, which was quite difficult to isolate at the time. I suppose my experience of being involved in ADRLT as Chair and Vice Chair got me thinking at a strategic level about the industry across Scotland as a whole. So it was kind of difficult to separate that, to work out what we thought the industry as a whole was supposed to be providing across Scotland. This would filter its way down into a local level. But the process they went through really was probably consultation, focus groups that sort of thing, trying to find out what people want and how they perceive the service.

Q ***It sounds very much like the process which Best Value makes compulsory – you were doing it anyway.***

A Yes, that's right. There's really not much difference, it's just the way in which you have to report it.

Q ***The next big thing following that was the abolition of the Regions and creation of big authorities.***

A Actually, one thing that is interesting. CCT was a big time waster. Another big time waster was performance indicators. It took an enormous amount of time collecting the information, collating the information for the statutory performance indicators. East Kilbride, in particular, went through a stage of if it moves measure it, if it doesn't move measure it twice.

Q ***That sounds very much like what colleges went through.***

A Yes. We had a couple of people who did nothing else but collect paper and produce reports. As it came about politicians went from the cultural way of looking at performance indicators through management reports, they were looking at reports every month.

Q ***In terms of timescale what were the years that PIs really started to bite?***

A Into the early 90s they really started to bite, probably up to reorganisation. Following reorganisation I think a lot of it was dropped.

Q ***So into reorganisation and the creation of the big councils in Lanarkshire, what was the fundamental impact of that?***

A Well the first thing was that leisure ceased to be a priority service. Although it wasn't stated a priority service it was de facto a priority service. So with the big council it ceased to be a priority service. You had a situation, it is still on-going, where local authorities went into a round of wonderful experiments of management structures which are still working themselves out.

Q ***Did these originate in local authorities, or as a direct response to Central Government?***

A I can't be sure, but my impression from my relationships with the leader of East Kilbride. However, before I come to that - another feature of the late 80's and the early 90's was initiative overload. So as labour was getting geared up to try and thwart the arguments of old, almost every month after a national or labour executive we would be faced with another management or policy initiative. That was a real killer. You didn't get one sorted out before you had another one. You got stuff coming from central government non-stop and you had other stuff where Labour were trying to sort themselves out.

Q ***Do you think that kind of scenario, the local politics versus central politics, was that a general occurrence or one which faced East Kilbride?***

A Yes I think so. Many people were doing the same thing. You had some local authorities who were leading. I think at the time West Lothian was right into quite a lot of initiatives. I mean a lot of authorities would see what someone else was doing and try and do the same as them. West Lothian did a lot in that respect. East Kilbride had one policy on budgeting, a massive administrative exercise for something virtually proving you could do?????? It was really examining the whole basis for every pound you spent and you went through a whole process of increasing expenditure by 40% and reducing expenditure by 40% and putting it all into a map matrix with weightings and seeing what results came out at the end. That tied us up for 6 or 7 months. Senior Officers were doing that and all the people were preparing the stuff and the results that came out of that didn't make sense in terms of what the institutional objectives were. You were really arguing on the basis you have gone through all that process – if you can't reduce expenditure by x amount and you want to increase it by y what are your priorities? And then look at those priorities, just on the basis of how you think they fit, your overall objectives. You don't go through an awfully complicated four weeks long workshop with all the members round the table.

I've lost track a bit. We were talking about?

Q ***Re-organisation***

A You had massive change in structures which I think is a big issue, big experiments in structures and affinities, which effectively has disassembled leisure departments.

Q ***Did the political value of leisure decrease?***

A Yes, most certainly. I mean politically the national objectives, you can't really argue with them, are education, social work was for a while and has come under a little scrutiny in the past while but is still a force. So you were competing with roads and the like. Housing is still ring-fenced. Competition in roads, in my perception, hasn't really gone very well at reorganisation. It is quite an important infrastructure, you know.

Q ***Has that eroded the status that we had?***

A I'm pretty sure you would find this repeated across the country, but these new structures and financial restraints, I mean the Labour government has been far more stringent in terms of its financial restraints than the Tories ever were. These new structures have resulted initially at reorganisation with a fairly significant loss of skills and expertise at senior level. There was a lot of people who were skilled and expert who just disappeared from the scene. So at the first round you had that loss. Then as the structures were put in place you had this fleece out of staff at middle and senior level as the first structures were put in place which made things even tighter. We could probably have lived with that, it may have been a little bit tighter than perhaps we wanted. Then you had a couple years after reorganisation you had a second internal reorganisation where again departments were amalgamating, or being fragmented and put elsewhere which again resulted in further loss of senior skills and expertise and I was one of the casualties of that. I am not saying that because I was a casualty of it, but I'm saying it because it was a fact. And then following on hard onto that you had another cutback in middle management etc. and you had further reconstructions of departments. So now you'll have many leisure departments in their old shape with functions and responsibilities really scattered quite far and wide and it's different to find the commonalities in many of these now. The sports sections have largely survived because of the introductions of trusts. So a lot of them would go off into the trusts etc. Only time will tell whether that has been a smart move or not.

Q ***Do you think the move into trusts was a defence mechanism or one to capitalise on financial loopholes?***

A In my view it was solely a move from the politician's point of view to save money. The benefits of saving on rates and VAT in my areas were quite large. The service didn't benefit from it because effectively, as happened in Edinburgh, they might have transferred across the savings that they could

made on rates etc. They were largely deducted from their subsidy. I think that has happened in quite a lot of places. It was encouraged by the officers as a way of getting out of, as they saw it, the control of the politicians to try to operate as they felt they wanted. I think that's why I say only time will tell. Time will tell in terms of whether the financial benefits will remain and in terms of whether it has been a good thing for officers being out of the control of politicians. Time will tell whether or not they are able to maintain or develop the public service ethos.

Q ***With all of these changes and decreases in political value, do you think the professional bodies have played their role in terms of advocacy?***

A I think they tried hard. I think it would have been difficult for them in the face of the winds that were blowing for them to make any big impact. I was always sorry that in Scotland ILAM, ADRLT and others couldn't have got a common face. I was chair of ADLRT at the time and there was amongst the membership no willingness to co-operate with ILAM and yet the Leisure Matters document that we produced was a good document. I think it still provides a sound rationale for providing leisure services. I think it's a little vague in terms of detail but the general rationales are still there, that perhaps a more concerted effort from all parties might have helped. But I think the structures that were put in place were pretty well decided long before. The Regional Councils were really quite smart. The officers in the Regional Councils got the senior politicians who were likely to be in control and decided amongst themselves what structures etc. ought to be in place and planted the seeds fairly well in these same politicians. Most of the Chief Executives of the new local authorities came from the Regions and they brought with them their supporters who were officers in the Region. A lot of that counts for the shape of services. I have a strong view that the pendulum will turn. I don't think these experiments in service structures are producing the goods and when eventually they get to have a good look at them I think they will see that some of them are patently wrong or bad and that in due course it will come back to some sort of affiliation to the types of structures that previously existed just because its common sense. I just can't see some of the relationships existing in the future. Some of the services that are being put together now are like the dross back at the end – they put the things together which match and what they've got left they put into this sort of handful of services that they don't know what to do with. So they stick it into a multi-purpose department.

Q ***I think we have discussed the key issues identified. Do you think there is anything that has been missed?***

A There is a point here – I worked for the leisure profession in the 70s, 80s and 90s and I think a lot of it was to do with competition between local authorities

Q ***Obviously in the 80s and particularly through the 90s in some sectors sport and recreation was in increasing competition with the commercial sector.***

A Yes, well you had in the 70s and into the 80s you had this competition with other local authorities. Not competition for customers, but competition for prestige e.g 'they've got one of these so we want one of those'.

Q ***It is also a useful tool in getting the elected member on your side.***

A Yes that's right. There's nothing much wrong with that really. The fact is you did need sports centres but I suppose you did have blips and anomalies which came through that. Facilities like the Magnum, a massive facility, which subsequently has proved very hard to continue and in and around Lanarkshire you had, I suppose, what you could say is poor planning in terms of, say, pool provision. In a very short area you ended up over quite a long period with the Timecapsule, the Aquatec, the Hamilton Water Palace. You had those three similar types of facility in very close proximity. I think with proper planning you would have had a different spread or mix. So you had that. Then you had competition from the private sector pushing on in the late 80s and the 90s. It is still on-going now. It surely had an effect, particularly in terms of quality of facility and services. Certainly it was a useful tool for me as an officer. I never had any doubt that we could provide the same level of service, if not better in the staff we had. But it was certainly a useful tool in terms of trying to get capital by saying that if we are going to compete we need to do this and if we do this we can achieve this. So you had a mix between facilities which had better financial performance etc etc. So you had to work with situations where fitness suites were helping to support other areas. I think what you are getting now is a useful mix of public and private facilities although I fear for the condition of local authority provision. Kit Campbell's swimming study has shown what the problems are in terms of swimming pools and the national audit of other facilities which I'm working on with Kit I think will show what a poor condition that many of the facilities are in. For those that are really quite well heeled, there is no competition for they will go to the private sector because of the quality of their facility. In the meantime capital spend and revenue spend and the quality of local authority facilities has declined quite markedly both in terms of facility condition and reduction in staffing and also the quality of service – I don't think it's what it was seven years ago.

Q ***That poses the question who will the market be for public sector? Will it only be concessionary users? Is that really what it's about? Does that mean Margaret Thatcher achieved what she set out to achieve?***

A There has been a whole shift in women's participation for example. It would be unfair to blame it all on Tory policy. In some ways it is related to fashion and style, although I think more fundamentally I think it's related to lack of provision for PE for primary schools onwards. I think that massive void in terms of providing opportunities for kids in primary and secondary that went on in the 80s has had an effect. As I said I think if we had taken the evidence that was available from the Renfrewshire experience in primary school PE and taken it through to all primary schools in Scotland in terms of its impact upon learning ability etc. and followed that through into secondary schools with a little bit less freedom and more direction, followed

by choice afterwards and with adequate opportunities for kids to participate after hours after school, I think leisure participation wouldn't be quite as low as it is now.

I think one of the effects that happened from the 80s into the 90s was that the service became very serious. A bit like education in some ways. I think that a lot of people forgot for a while that they were there to actually provide something, which was a fun activity for people. I think PE particularly suffered from that. We got so very academic because they went out to try and justify their existence. There's nothing wrong with providing something, which is a fun activity. But I think the world it's in has got very serious.

In my view at the time of re-organisation with the capital spend and despite the restraints on revenue budgets leisure & recreation never had a better facility base. It had never had as high a level of revenue expenditure even with the constraints. It had never had better trained staff. It had never had as a good a policy background to justify the service which it was providing. The service was in a position to deliver real quality services, which were actually targeted at meeting the requirements of the people and I think since reorganisation I don't think it has targeted. I think they are just concentrating on existing.

Yes to 1990s things changed.. It's no longer a high profile service, loss of middle management, general reduction in staff levels, swingeing budget cuts, new structures, declining in quality standards probably brought about by reducing staff and budget structures, feelings of disaffection and for many I think the service is no longer a vocation, it's just a job. I think it was a vocation before for many. I don't think that's appreciated. I think the jury's out on trusts. They may well work, but I think some of the other services that are outside of them may well suffer more, or will suffer disproportionately. I think in terms of structures there is no long clear career progression because of this loss of middle management. You can come into the service with a good quality leisure degree but there are far less middle managers than there were. You can go to a point and in many parts of the service there is not a clear way to go forward. I think that may well be an issue for trainers in the future. I mean management is management, but making that step to controlling quite different services might well prove to be quite difficult because this career as a leisure professional largely finishes at middle management level. I'm not saying you won't get leisure professionals going forward. Leisure qualifications have been useful and have and did help improve the status and standards but I'm not so sure now.

Q ***Thank you very much for your time and thank you for coming so well prepared.***

INTERVIEW 10: BRIAN WOODCOCK 9/11/02
Director Arts and Recreation, Aberdeen City Council

Q ***My research is looking at how you perceive the policies that came from the Conservative Government, how they impacted on the role of leisure and also how they changed, if they did change, the nature of your job. To set the interview in context could you tell me a bit about how you came to be in leisure and about your involvement in it since then?***

A Okay. Going back to the start of the professional route I qualified as a PE teacher. I graduated in 1980. I went to join the Thomson brigade (Ian Thomson) at Stirling University and worked for three years as a graduate assistant doing some sports science research and some sports development for Central Region. At the end of that three years went to the Region. education department as a sports development officer and after that, the tail-end of the eighties, '87 I think, went to Stirling Council as Sports Officer with the District Sports Council. So that was probably the first intro to the new policy change – the Green Paper on CCT was coming out at that point. So from there on it's been the slippery pole of career aspiration. Enjoying life and the job too long and seeing some of my contemporaries who did not perform as well as me at college moving up the employment scale and looking back at me as still a sports development officer enjoying his job and enjoying a lot of coaching. And I suddenly wakened up to the fact that I should, perhaps, be doing other things. So I took the tactical route up the slippery pole from Stirling Council to Strathkelvin District Council as sport and leisure manager responsible for the client. Eighteen months later Chief Leisure Officer in a local authority in England, and eighteen months after that Director of Leisure in Kilmarnock, and four and a bit years after that Director of Arts and Recreation in Aberdeen. So that was I suppose enjoying life and enjoying a practical job to moving into managing leisure in one sense or another over a fairly short period of time and then into, I suppose, corporate senior management.

Q ***When you first went into leisure what was it like at that time? Was there a formal department?***

A For me it was probably the wrong kind of introduction and I suppose the personality goes with that. Central Region, it was the kind of student thing – research, introduction to working with Ian Thomson in terms of there were no hands on the clocks, the days were just as long as they needed to be. That's probably where the intro came in and a fair amount of autonomy to get on and do the job, both research and the job. You put in the hours that were required to be done. So I didn't have any real sense of being in a department at that point. I mean there were a number of us doing that kind of thing. It was new. It was exciting. It was at that time, in sports development terms, fairly radical and, you know, it was good. There was a lot of good feedback and the job was just the business. The first formal move to a kind of leisure background, because the education department wasn't real – it was kind of strange, it was a very protected environment –

you weren't exposed to elected members to any great extent. Moving to the District at Stirling was also different because it was the Sports Council. An autonomous, very well protected unit from the council even and I suppose at that time I was regarded, because Alan Jones had been there first and therefore the elected members, I mean you reported directly to the Sports Council and through the Chair of the Sports Council who was at that time Mike Connaghy, and thereafter Mike Donnelly and Jack McConnell played in the background of that as well. So you were almost regarded by them, and certainly by the community, as on a status par with the Director. Very small unit. When I moved, there was me and a secretary and then I got a team of people developed over the period I was there. So you were developing that unit as opposed to a department and you were stamping your own personality and philosophy on it. My first experience of a department in those terms was probably not a good one as it was Strathkelvin District Council and with Hugh Barrow. Hugh was not cutting edge management. His depute was a guy called Bill Craik who was a 'horti' boy, a horticulturist, who didn't have a great clue about the sports side of it. Nobody had a real idea about the CCT bit and I suppose that's where, through bullshit and bluff, that's where I made my stamp in the early days of being regarded as someone who had studied CCT very closely, knew the angles and put it into place and built a reputation at that time of being able to do that.

Q ***So what, at that stage, were the skills and aspects of knowledge you were using most?***

A I suppose they were.....for me I think I always fall back on sustaining a heavy daily schedule. I think it was the kind of personal bits as opposed to the training bits. It's difficult to quantify. I'm very sure I wasn't trained for that, coming from a PE teaching scenario exposed to sports development which was still very much motherhood and apple pie-ish - it was just a very good thing to do. The enjoyable things of staging events and organising classes for kids were just nice. The harshness of local authority back-stabbing, client-contractor, I certainly think I was not trained for that so to some extent it was about, certainly in the Strathkelvin District days, it was about developing plans, credible, pragmatic plans that could do the business. You then developed a reputation and it was probably the reputation that you lived on rather than experience of that specific policy – CCT. The conflict that CCT created was pretty much the issue. It was personality conflict more than anything else.

Q ***Do you think that personality, in a general sense, might be the reason some authorities developed a very hard split and some had a very soft split between client and contractor?***

A Yes. I'm in no doubt about that. I think the reasons for the hard split and the soft split will be partly down to the personality issue and the professional cold shoulder – you know 'I'm better than you are'. There was this kind of game of one-upmanship and that's not just a kind of personal experience thing. I've worked now in five local authorities since CCT has come in,

always as a client. In Kilmarnock with responsibilities for both. I've seen it everywhere – the one-upmanship about not wanting to be regarded as the lesser of the mortals.

Q ***Is that between leisure manager and leisure manager or was it leisure manager and manager of some other service?***

A Mainly between the two versions of the leisure manager. I mean since the late '80s, early '90s, you've got this almost split personality. Are you client or are you contractor? I keep coming back to before CCT - we were clients or were we contractors? In my view we were clients because we both prescribed and delivered the service and I haven't approached that any differently having been doing the business since before CCT. I'm still trying to do it in exactly the same way and that's where the conflict comes in because someone else, structurally, has been put in place to do what you've always done and maybe don't do it as well as you would. And you are powerless, largely, to manage that because you're out of it, you don't have line-management responsibilities. You're not even able to tell them 'do it this way or don't do it at all'. You have to rely on them and I think that's where there's conflict. Most of the conflict I think comes from client and contractor in the same professional area of service. You see it in sport, you see it in catering, you see it in grounds-maintenance. People who work together for a long time suddenly put into a client/contractor arrangement hated each other.

Q ***From a leisure industry point of view was that a very damaging thing to leisure, or specifically leisure management?***

A I suppose it certainly hasn't done the leisure profession a great deal of good within Councils. I'm not sure it's done them any real harm outwith Councils but I'm not sure about that. I think in the early days of the Leisure Contractors Association, perhaps they did have a fairly negative view about the capabilities of in-house service teams. But it certainly hasn't helped our credibility within councils as being, I think, pretty much cutting edge in terms of delivering first class customer services. Certainly here in Aberdeen, since I've come here, and again this is part of the problem, I came here in '96, Aberdeen introduced CCT very badly, seriously badly and very inefficiently. It was so badly economically, that it has just been a nightmare. But the kind of political protections that were built in for the then DSO managers were so hard to break and I've managed just about to get there in five years. But that has not been without cost and the cost has been that the conflict between myself and a whole range of managers in the DSO has been viewed very negatively and very critically by people who don't understand the CCT environment, who cannot understand why you just cannot collaborate and work in partnership with people. Other departments' clients feel equally difficult with their contracting counterparts in Aberdeen. Slowly, very slowly, we've managed to identify serious weaknesses and inadequacies and it will be changed certainly within the next nine months. It will be radically different.

Q ***In some of the stuff I've been reading, particularly in Ian Henry's 1993 edition 'Politics of Leisure Policy' it's suggested that Thatcher didn't like professions, she didn't like the power that professions had. Do you think CCT might have been a means, although not the main intention, to further break the professional hold? Do you think they maybe envisaged the splits such as you've described?***

A I'm not sure about that. I think I would generally accept the rationale behind CCT in terms of what I perceived it to have been trying to do in the early days of breaking the monopoly that local authorities had over direct delivery of services in order to try and open up the scope for improvement and doing so at less cost. I think they were right to do that because having been on the inside of it, you see how bad we have been and, to some extent, how bad we still are in management terms. So I think the philosophy was fairly accurate at that time. I think why it's come off the rails and why it's been done so badly is because politically, certainly in Scotland, there was very little support for it. If the politicians at that time had embraced it, instead of embracing it largely now, after we're far too far down the road, and the reason they're embracing it now is that because the budget cuts have bitten too deeply, they are willing to consider anything to preserve services. And that's a situation that we find ourselves in, in Aberdeen, where we are at the moment, paying at least £600,000 a year too much for our sports service through contract. Greatly inflated. I've pointed that out to them over the years. They are now willing to do something about it. Similarly in our catering - £750,000 a year too much. Very likely the same in grounds maintenance but not to the same scale – about £300,000. Now they're embracing anything now because the ball is very clearly on the slates.

Q ***What kind of things did the elected members of the council do when CCT came out to resist it or to slow down it's implementation?***

A The contracts that were written in the early days were as close as they possibly could be to being anti-competitive.

Q ***And would that have been through very large packages?***

A Large packages and again, some of the intervention from Scottish Office and or the Department of Environment to bring additional ... there was a small industry developed in terms of how you by-passed these things and how you got over them. I would be also admitting, in terms of having worked largely for labour local authorities, that it was not in your interest to develop a contract that would generate or stimulate a great deal of competition. And that's what's so bad about it, that you have actually played that game and made it worse for yourself by writing as close to being... I mean any contracts that I've written, and I've written a fair number now in three defined activities, I would regard them as being uncompetitive but not anti. Now we're entirely different. Now we're at the stage of inviting companies to come in and talk to us about how they would like us to package up bits of service. How many contracts have we seen in the last eighteen years or so that have golf courses separated from sports centres, that have seen single

swimming pools put out to tender? None! Certainly very few. I am in no doubt that if I was to parcel a contract for golf courses I'd have a hundred contractors chewing my arm off to run our golf courses. There's absolutely no doubt about that and so we're now at that stage about thinking about that very seriously. I've been in discussions for the last year with a very high class hotel about taking on one of our golf courses, the one that's probably regarded as the most prestigious in the city and one of the best courses in the north east. I'm still at risk in having those kind of clandestine discussions.

Q ***So as an authority, Aberdeen has remained with CCT. It hasn't, as some authorities have done, brought services in back under Best Value or put the services into a trust?***

A We still have our client/contractor split. We have a joint management team now in terms of trying to jointly management the sport and recreation service within that split. But the most effective way is to draw it back together again and then consider in the longer term whether we put it into a trust or whatever else. To put it into a trust now would be a major mistake because the culture is off, so off.

Q ***Can I go back a little now to the time leading up to CCT. Were you involved in the formulation of leisure policies in local authorities?***

A Yes

Q ***How much autonomy did you have from elected members to write that policy?***

A I think we always have the debate in council as to who does that policy. Elected members are of the view they set policy. The officers are of the view that they produce all the material for elected members to rubber stamp or to agree the policy. That's the way it works. The officers develop, through research, by feeling or whatever, they develop the framework within which council agrees those things and they then become policy. I don't know too many councils who operate in a slightly different way. So, in those days, I was involved and have been involved in generating the policy proposals for council to agree or not, or modify.

Q ***Were you conscious at that time when writing the proposals of the desires of the elected members, or were you writing the policy based very much on your judgement of the needs of the community?***

A Both. Especially when you're in it longer. I mean I remember in my naive days of coming from the Region and the Ian Thomson world, a different world, and going to Stirling District and having a major run in with Mike Connarty. I use this as an example just to set what I mean by this, because I would do it differently now. I started the job in Stirling in the January, and Stirling had a tradition of running a whole range of classes at Easter, summer and so on and my first task was to cancel the Easter classes because I thought they were poor and they were not doing what they should have

been doing. And I couldn't spend the time organising and administering the lead up to the classes at Easter and put them right for the summer. So I cancelled them all in order to do further preliminary work and redevelop the whole approach to that. Mike Connarty phoned to say what the hell did I think I was doing? Where he then proceeded to advise me that he had some concerns at interview, that I was a regional animal and I had just proven him to be correct and that it was a mistake appointing me and all this kind of stuff. And my response basically was, well I hear what you are saying, I will prove you to be wrong and my focus is about making sure things are right and if I need to take time to do that, then I will, and by the summer I guarantee you will see a difference. So over the period that I worked at Stirling, and particularly with Mike, it got to the stage, that on a Sunday evening Mike would phone and say ' I need you to do something, I know it's not your area of work, I know it's got absolutely nothing to do with you, but I know you will do it and I know you'll do it properly'. Now that kind of extreme from being regarded as a bad choice to being pretty much an asset to him, in terms of his political aspirations, is I think the difference between making it up that slippery pole and not. So, using that as an example to answer the question – it's difficult to know what comes first in terms of policy within a council. The chronology is probably because of the way that councils work with a four year term, three year term of elected members between elections and so on, the administration sets their manifesto and then sets their policies based on their manifesto and they then seek out to deliver those. It's fairly difficult to influence policy after a manifesto has been set, particularly if it's radically different or opposed to the principles of that manifesto commitment. So you have to think slightly longer term and then you have to try and influence the manifesto. So it's very much a political game of using the research, the evidence, the anecdote to feed the politicians at the right time, to influence and manipulate, in the best use of that term, the manifesto which then becomes policy. It's then far easier to implement policy that you've actually shaped in those terms. Now that's the kind of longer-term cycle of policy development and I think where we have failed or fallen down on is that the politicians set policy in a vacuum, this political vacuum that they think it's a good thing from what they said, without any empirical backup to that. They then stuff the officers with delivering the undeliverable and we go round in circles, researching things that you know are just non-starters and they are actually opposed to your professional and philosophical stance in many cases. So that's I think what I've certainly tried to do in the past in influencing policy at that very early stage in the harsh political sphere.

Q ***Does that mean then that the knowledge and skills we talked about earlier on includes political awareness and knowing the politicians in that arena. Is that a fundamental aspect for success?***

A Absolutely fundamental and something that I don't think I'm particularly good at and certainly, in Aberdeen, I have become less good at, simply because the workload and the actual scale and volume of stuff has not allowed me to walk the corridors or power as much I would have needed to

and wanted to. Especially at key times and we have definitely felt the brunt of that. It's absolutely essential.

Q ***You've mentioned the term professional. Back in the eighties what criteria would you use to support the view that you were professional?***

A What made me professional? Probably nothing to do with being qualified in terms of having a piece of paper behind me that say's I'm professional because I actually wasn't qualified in the job I was doing. For me it would be attitude, approach to work, discipline in terms of getting the job done, being prepared to put the hours in. Those kinds of attributes as opposed to the kind of professional qualification thing and competence, in terms of performance outcome type competences.

Q ***These kinds of characteristics anyone can aspire to and I'm sure people in other services would say similar things. Do you feel in leisure services you're given the same amount of credit for these things as colleagues in other services? Are you deemed as professional as they are?***

A I would have thought that part of that, and again it may well be the kind of personality that goes along with that, but I would like to think that people who I've worked with over the years, as politicians and officers, I think the one thing that they probably would say about me would be a dedication to getting the job done and looking at it with attention to detail and that kind of thing. So in terms of doing the business and doing good business I would have thought yes. In terms of sitting round the corporate table with the peers, then perhaps there are questions asked about do we really need him here?

Q ***Why is that?***

A I suppose it's the relative importance of the leisure service and again that might be just a perception or the paranoia that you have lived with professionally for the last twenty years. That being regarded as the Cinderella service, the add-on rather than the core. It's certainly something that goes through your mind. I'm not sure I've ever let it bother me. Perhaps it's been one of the elements that drives you on to make sure that you're regarded by the people out there at least as important.

Q ***CCT came in, in 1989, and you mentioned that you thought it was a good thing, that it had some positive outcomes and you also highlighted some negative aspects in terms of the client/contractor split. Following not long after that was the introduction of performance indicators. What are your views on that initiative?***

A I think the philosophy was right. I think the tool was wrong. The statutory performance indicators for leisure are not good. The fact that we have not demonstrated a willingness over the last ten years or so, maybe more than ten years, twelve to fifteen probably, a willingness to engage with the Accounts Commission and Audit Scotland now to change them and make

them better doesn't reflect well on us. The Accounts Commission and Alec Taylor particularly, have been very willing to work with the profession to develop new and better ones and we have been either unwilling or incapable of actually developing something that suits the service. I'm not sure why that is. I don't think we are very good at generalisation. I don't think we are very good at assessing what we do. I think it's still too much of an afterthought and we clearly need to be better at it and the emphasis is not going to change. If anything it will get worse in terms of measuring and assessing and evaluating and quantifying in order to justify what we do and how we do it.

Q ***Have the professional bodies helped address these issues?***

A Which one?

Q ***Any of the professional bodies – ISRM, SADLS, ILAM.***

A The actual progress we have made in relation to both SPI's and local PI's probably reflects and answers that question. I mean we haven't moved pretty much from the original PI's in at least ten years. I can't remember when the PI's were first brought in but it must have been in the early '90's. They are still largely the original ones and therefore something has not worked. Either there is a general consensus that they are not worth having and therefore we don't put any time into them or it hasn't moved on. The other elements that have been brought in to support the kind of approach to performance management, things like QUEST and other quality assurance tools, again have only gone so far. You are not, wherever you go, staggered by the drivenness of people to acquire some form of quality assured and on the button measure or tool to implement a bloody good service. It's the evangelists that are developing that and they are viewed by some of their colleagues as living on a different planet. I spent a lot of time here and in Kilmarnock using the EFQM excellence model and it's hard going, but it's a bloody good tool. It's the best thing I've ever seen for setting out – yet we are regarded as being lunatics.

Q ***I don't want to digress, but I agree with you that EFQM is one of the best models.***

A But that's linked to the PI approach to this view. The performance indicators were focused mainly on outputs rather than outcomes. We need to get much more sophisticated outcome assessing because the social agenda drives you to that. We are worse at outcomes than we are at outputs, although we're bloody awful at outputs. We are not clever at inputs, the process elements of it. We continue to do the same thing and get the same results and wonder why it happened.

Q ***Do you think some of that may be historical or entrenched in the early perceptions of leisure as something as 'jumping up and down, let's have a good time' and there is still this reticence to become a bit more serious about the design, delivery and management of the processes?***

A Possibly, but if that is the case then it's definitely outmoded. I mean to some extent going back to the beginning of the professionalism of it, if that's a weakness in the training and development either at undergraduate or at CPD level that has to be addressed. Again, I'm not conscious of great pressure being put on us to do that. We await the new instructions re the substitution for CCT. The early readings of it indicate that it is going to be even more harsh than CCT in terms of verification or auditing stuff we are going to have to do. I mean that may lead to a further shake up in terms of how we assess what we're doing and how we're doing it and how we're performing. But it needs to happen.

Q ***Following the introduction of PI's came local government reorganisation. How did that impact on leisure services?***

A The obvious impact was that it significantly reduced the number of corporate-table leisure professionals that existed. The amalgamation of departments at the time, fairly crude amalgamations of education and leisure or community services amalgams, meant that leisure was being delivered in local authorities and managed at senior level by non-leisure professionals. So I think in some cases it dropped leisure off the corporate agenda. It meant also that those who had been bypassed in the new structures had been lost to the profession. People who had, certainly in terms of my early years as a senior manager, people that were very well respected whose experience and energies were actually lost to the profession. Now a number of them have gone into consultancy but it's not the same, to the local authority scene they're lost. We've had one reorganisation after another since '96. You know with subsequent budget cuts it's just been trawl after trawl. Now Aberdeen will not have, Aberdeen was one of the few remaining ones with an Arts and Recreation corporate manager. We have a learning and leisure person – not the same. Highland were one of the other remaining ones and they do not have a culture director any longer. Glasgow, I think, is probably the only remaining one, apart from Angus with a Director of Recreation which has always been, with due respect to John (Director Recreation, Angus Council) a kind of second tier kind of structure anyway.

Q ***Angus is about to go to restructuring.***

A And that's it. Glasgow will probably be the remaining department.

Q ***In terms of political value of leisure, if I'm picking you up right, suggests that leisure is falling off the corporate agenda as a consequence of reorganisation. Does this imply that there has been a reduction in political value? Did it have a high political value in the '80s and early '90s?***

A It had a very high political value up to '96 reorganisation, largely because it was a district council function and it was large fish, small pond, major sexiness in terms of what it did for politicians. Their street cred was very, very high, reasonable amount of capital to spend on new facilities; got a great deal of kudos out of that. In '96 when the big boys joined in and

leisure was pretty much third or fourth in the pecking order, it became an entirely different kettle of fish. I think what we have found, and I think other authorities have found it as well, but with the subsequent success of budget cuts, it's the community now that's telling the politicians how important leisure is. The community is telling the politicians 'you've made mistakes here, what do you mean your closing a library? I don't think so'. Glasgow's experience of closing swimming pools! So I think that's now the harsh reality. And that coupled with community planning and the move to neighbourhood and locality planning, we are seeing in every one of our locality plans leisure and quality of life issues are becoming, very much, the driven new focus as part of the social agenda. I see, as a result of that leisure-type, albeit in an entirely different makeup because we are having to work much more closely with people that perhaps we thought we could do without, the health promotions folk, the education people, we are having to work much more closely with them to deliver this community based service that is joined up.

Q ***Does that indicate a more positive future for leisure profession?***

A I don't think it will ever be as positive as the early – mid '80s, simply because the financial support, clout, infrastructure at that time will probably never, ever be repeated. I think if we get our act together there is no reason for it becoming less significant than it currently is and I think it probably does require to reinstate itself a couple of notches back up from the budget cuts that we've faced in the last three years.

Q ***Should it be as individuals or collectives we take this agenda forward?***

A I'm not sure. I think the days of regarding sports centres in isolation has gone, certainly until the social agenda changes to something else. The social agenda is driving what's going on rather than a very specific sports agenda. I mean if the Sports Minister came back from Australia and said we're going to pump millions into sport, but we want to have centres of excellence for sport, for the community etc. instead of relative compromises that we continue to get, then you might see something in parliament. But I think the sports centres and other formal bits of the structure are going to have to shape up and shape into the social agenda or be regarded as old fashioned, not able to move with the times and so on. We need to reposition ourselves into the social agenda.

Q ***Is that something SADLS, or ILAM has a role to play in?***

A Somebody needs to play it. SADLS can't play it and I say that with a great deal of reluctance. SADLS has since probably the late '80s, early 90s, which may be coincidentally the time that I took over as secretary, has failed to play the role they ought to have been playing due to lack of resources, perhaps even lack of ability, confidence or whatever, but they have failed to do that simply because the world changed and we didn't change with it in terms of having dedicated resources, upping the anti to join perhaps at a time when maybe a collaboration with another professional body was on the

cards. We need to work much more in harmony with other people who have the same interests in mind and if that means change of identities and so on then so be it. But someone has to reshape that agenda and I'm not sure whether a dedicated sports agenda, I choose my words carefully because I'm conscious that ILAM doesn't necessarily represent sport, but perception is that it does. Perception is that SADLS is a sports organisation and it's the perception unfortunately that makes a difference at the moment.

Q ***Changing tack, you mentioned that you came from a PE background. Was that a common route into leisure management?***

A It was at that time, but it was waning. It was coming to an end largely because the higher education institutions were filling a gap with new courses- BA Sport in the Community came on stream from the early '80s, '82-3 something like that. The first graduates probably came out in 1984 so it must have been very early '80s that the Sport in the Community degree was there. Therefore there were other opportunities for graduates to get into the sports and leisure sphere that previously weren't open to them.

Q ***So as you've moved up to director level, from your experience do you look for people with leisure management qualifications or general management qualifications?***

A We used to take the route of looking for an 'appropriate' degree and it would have ranged from sports science to PE based – Sport in the Community qualifications. They were all regarded as being appropriate. I mean over the years I've dabbled and studied fairly hard as well in terms of a number of different things. I did an IPD training and development qualification, MCI. I've done a whole range of things over the years and so I was very conscious of what was available in the market place. I am very keen and was very keen, when I was doing MCI stuff, to take MCI qualified people rather than traditional qualifications because it was bloody hard. To do a vocational management qualification is a lot harder than some degree from some unknown university and you could guarantee the level of competence that you'd expect. But that has not materialised. Very, very few that I've seen with MCI level 4s never mind level 5s.

Q ***Why do you think that is?***

A It's hard! And if you do it at a time in your career when you are also working very hard it is fairly difficult and why bother when there's a route there that if the employer doesn't know the difference between a masters degree from the university of 'couldn't give a shit' to whatever else then it doesn't really make a difference.

Q ***Since the early days of the degrees being introduced at Cramond and Jordanhill, the FE sector has developed HNC/D qualifications. It's fair to say that there has been a mushrooming of leisure qualifications since then. Has this development been an advantage or disadvantage to the leisure industry?***

A I think it was an advantage insofar as it gave a number of other entry points for people and also a progressive route that they could work up. Someone with an HNC moving onto various bits and get some practical work-based experience, further vocational training, additional post-grads with that. I've been quite happy to steer people in those directions. I don't have a difficulty with that. I think it has been a benefit. I think where it has been a disbenefit is that there is not a great deal of clarity from the employers side, about where those various qualifications exist, what their strengths and weaknesses are and what the map is in terms of where you would be expected to look. We've even had it in terms of trying to recruit someone. I went through an assistant director recruitment when I put on the employee spec. degree qualified and one of our in-house team has ILAM membership by qualification -diploma - and they wouldn't accept that as a degree equivalent. I then had to go and say to personnel to go away and find out the various routes. Now that kind of route map would have been useful for the individual in conjunction with some in-house support, mentoring to say that it's not the end of the world if you don't have a degree because what you aspire to be is there because there are loads of examples of that both in the past and now.

Q ***The last area I would like to touch on is the notion of competition. We've talked about in-house competition but what about the commercial sector? How has it changed as competition with the public sector and what impact has that had on the public sector?***

A I think it's made us more aware of how inadequate we currently are in terms of impact of budget reductions, in terms of our inadequacies in marketing terms and that's certainly a local view but I think it probably does extend right across the country. An example that Brian Porteous will have given in Glasgow is that they have aggressively competed with some of the new people on the scene, the David Lloyd's and so on, on the basis that they cannot afford to lose the top end of their fee-payers, their pay and play customers, not to be there, otherwise they will not get the same investment that they've currently got. So they've invested in their facilities in order to try and retain the spread of customers. We haven't done that. We're losing customers on an annual basis and whilst there has been a fair number of new private facilities in the city, I don't think sufficient to have taken our losses and therefore my premise is that a number of people who were former customers have been lost to other providers as a result of our failure to administer, our failure to respond to their needs and that's been one of the effects of competition I think. Generally speaking there has been an increase in the quality of provision in the city, which has not been matched by us. There has been no competition in terms of people willing to take over our facilities. What we are now into discussions with companies about what level of collaboration they would be wanting and we might expect. So it's a different dimension to the competition now.

Q ***Is that going to be a good thing for this authority?***

A I think it's a good thing for the city. I think in the longer-term it will be a good thing for the authority because it will be a major jolt to the system to see how far we've let things go. I think it will be a good thing for the customer, particularly their customers in the short-term because there will be major high quality, good service new facilities in the city. And in the longer-term we need to learn from that. Competition has come in a slightly different way for us now instead of waiting for them to poach, we've gone out and tried to offer the range of services that they have. So we are always looking at spending to save. So what I mean about in the longer-term was the new influx of cycle-stuff, for example, will be of benefit only if we can match them.

Q ***My last question picks up on your point of customers or the community being more open in expressing their expectations and so on. Does that mean that Margaret Thatcher achieved what she set out to achieve in terms of increasing efficiency, exposing public service to the market?***

A I think there have been some successes in terms of her philosophy. Earlier on I actually agreed with her philosophy. I though we were poor, but I think we are still poor. Where they have not exposed the inefficiencies of our operation is largely down to the practice we deployed and the weakness of the auditors, Audit Scotland in particular, of not being able see how they were being conned. In Kilmarnock how I got the job was as a result of the former director being sacked because of inability to deal with CCT and I came in with a fair amount of bullshit and bluster about what I could do to remedy that. Got the job. Within the first few weeks I had to meet with the external auditor to set an action plan. We had two years where the auditor refused to sign off our accounts because of the quality. A third year and we were out. I had to from the July until November, I think, to get an action plan about what was going to be put in place to counter all the ills and I did it, but it was bollocks. It was total bullshit and they signed off the accounts that year because the action plan was credible but there was very little difference, in operational terms, to what had been done before. In essence the director of legal services had done the dirty on the director in exposing his tactics, the tactics of the council and I came in and put different tactics in place that were acceptable. I have spoken to external auditors, I don't know how many times, about the corruption that is in existance in Aberdeen's contractual operation and they cannot find it.

Q ***I think I've covered the key issues. Are there any general comments you would wish to make to summarise the impact of the Tory Government on leisure services?***

A I don't think so. I think what they will be remembered for is CCT. It's not all bad. In fact, I would say it's not been bad at all. And when you look at what's replacing it, and the fact that we seem to have taken such a long time to find something, it's quite clear that there has been some substance to the rationale behind it and I think that's the main thing that's happened. The one negative, and it might be worth looking at it in a bit more detail, is the denigration of the public sector that almost was there as the precursor. CCT

was brought in too much as that kind of wild card. There were some and are some very, very good examples of management that will oust anything that is in the private sector. It's unfortunate that you could not have used the tool that promoted that and did the kind of political job inside the thing and found a way politically that was acceptable to drive our inefficiency, to put the leisure service, and other public services, at the forefront of public sector service. For me, I still believe that things like the excellence model (EFQM) and tools of that type could have been and should have been used.

Q ***That's interesting to hear you say that as Tim Cruttenden was of the same view. Thanks very much for talking to me today.***

INTERVIEW 11: DAVID FAIRWEATHER 11/3/02

Former Chair and member of FE Leisure Management Consortium 1987 – 1999, Director of Curriculum and Quality, Falkirk College of Technology

Q **I'm looking at how leisure education developed. When did leisure education first appear in FE?**

A I reckon it was around 1984-85 at National Certificate level and that was a kind of bolt-on idea that there are leisure centres, there are sports centres around and they've got attendants and they did a bit of first aid, basic stuff. Certainly, in here, we started a provision like that in 1986 and it was termed Sport and Recreation and within about a year and a half the type of student who we were having apply to that course, which was National Certificate, had three and four Highers. We were saying 'why are you coming onto a national certificate course it seems a backward step?' Many of them were saying that the only other provision, which is available to us, is to apply to become a PE teacher. The outdoor ed. was post-grad at the time. You couldn't actually do a course in that. It then did seem to us that there was a big gap between the sport and recreation provision and what that was in terms of very much activity-based and degree provision. So there was a huge, huge gap. Then we started to say then there maybe should be the next step for these people if they are working in sports centres or leisure centres, covering supervisory skills and we were considering what would that be. Unknown to us, there were several other colleges having the same thoughts. We contacted the SQA. They said 'there is a national look at this now would you like to join a consortium?' So that's really where it kind of started for us.

Q ***Was that developed more out of a business perspective of the college as opposed to an approach from the industry?***

A It's hard to say whether it was from business perspectives because in pre-incorporation terms colleges didn't necessarily have a business perspective. It was natural for us to go that way with the staff that we were seeing and the students that we were seeing. It was much harder I think to actually convince the industry that there was a need because many of the people who were in the position in industry already had qualifications. Some of them were not even sport related. They came from broad management or hotels and the notion that you had to have a qualification that was related to the management of a facility in sport or leisure was just 'why? the system seems to work'. I think part of all of that might come into the balance of how they developed. It's hard to remember but in the '70s, even in the late '70s, there were very few leisure centres. There were some big examples, perhaps like Meadowbank developing for the Commonwealth Games, but they tended to be the exception rather than the rule. I think the drivers were actually within Further Education, almost internally within the colleges, rather than the industry. I think, as well, many of the professional bodies, probably ISRM, again were more focused on technical skills type provision rather than

stretching it through to supervisory, assistant manager level where HNC and HND were aiming to hit.

Q ***So the leisure management consortium that SCOTVEC pulled together - it was set up to develop an HNC/D?***

A HNC/D in Leisure Management, yes.

Q ***What was the process that the Consortium went through to develop the qualification?***

A It came along at the same time as SCOTVEC were changing the way that they would design HNCs and Ds so that it all became unitised. So the leisure management HNC/D became one of the pilot courses for unitisation. So there was the whole process of learning how you would write something in a unitised way as opposed to a syllabus –based way. What we did was we came together as a group of colleges, quite geographically spread, and I think that was one of the strengths, because there was a good agreement with the colleges of how we could work together. We looked at it very much on the basis that if all the colleges in Scotland started this type of provision there would be no use for any of this or we would actually swamp the market with these students. So we were quite naturally geographically spread which was a good thing. Following that we then had meetings. Now some of the specialists on that were very much management specialists who saw the development of this as a management provision and there were other specialists who saw it from the side of arts, or sports, or cultural activities, parks. This probably started to reflect some of the influences of employers because a lot of the employment at that time I guess, within the councils, was parks management, the gardeners or whatever, country parks. Then there was an agreement that there had to be a core within that provision, core management skills and then, wrapped into that, students got an option to decide whether they wanted to be involved in sport, parks, arts etc. A consequence of that was not a lot of industrial input. The employers probably had the view that they would get their staff regardless and what was this new qualification going to be about? So there was an initial reluctance, as far as I remember, from them to play a part fully, although they actually did participate and some people would say that was because they saw some advantage. Stow College were already running ILAM courses at the same time so there was certification there. They saw it as a means of having an HNC/D that was cross-certificated. So there was a tying up there. There may actually, in fairness to them, have been some influence that came in.

Q ***As I remember the HNC/D was validated in 1988. From what you're saying there was, not reluctance, but industry didn't exactly fall over themselves to be involved in it. But now that it has been running what impact do you think the existence of that Higher National programme has had on the industry?***

A I actually think it has raised the game in terms of their perception so that now you do regularly see adverts that say minimum standard is an HNC. It might not be an HNC in Leisure Management. It might actually be an HNC in Health and Fitness now, but none of these new qualifications existed then. They emerged probably as part of the original politics of the thing, where colleges were prevented from entering the market place and many of the colleges, who weren't playing, all of a sudden realised that there was something that they wanted to be involved and they were being barred. It probably created a schism that's stayed with us the whole way through. Initially when these courses were validated there were external people on them. Some were university people and some were other colleges. I remember at the very first validation meeting there was a representative from **sports**cotland or the Scottish Sports Council as it was then. Interestingly that individual didn't have terribly much to say or offer on the day.

Q ***Has the relationship with industry changed in any way over the years?***

A I think so. One of the reasons for that might be the fact it is our students, who had initially taken part in the provision, who have now stepped up the line and are now in management. So they actually now understand their own qualifications and where it came from and so are quite happy to accept that. I think some of the professional bodies, as well, have started to accept that there is a value in the HNC/D.

Q ***You mentioned that when this initiative was first mooted you had a hard job convincing industry that there was a need for such a course. A number of publications, not least of those by Bill Bacon, claim that leisure managers have never really defined what the discipline is. Do you think that the attitude of industry toward this development in the very early days was a reflection of that? That they actually didn't know what it was their job entailed, now or in the future?***

A It's probably all of that. I think they probably didn't see where the industry was going. There was not any vision of how big it may become. There were a few people around – the David Lloyd centres- in terms of sport, but it was very difficult for them to understand what leisure was. I certainly remember a conversation with someone from the industry who said 'I don't know what you mean by 'leisure''. We saw it as being something that was kind of a holistic view of something that they did outwith working time, whatever that was, whether it was sport or the arts or whatever. There was a kind of openness to accept that that was valid and that people's working lives would change and they would have to have organised provision rather than a kind of happen-chance provision that went on. So I don't think the staff working in leisure understood it nor did they have the time. I think they were busy trying to work out how they managed what they were managing and 'don't ask me to think about training as well'. I think there was a kind of disinterest because it gave them another task.

Q ***If you were to go to a leisure organisation now and ask what are your training needs, do you think that they are more in tune with that concept?***

A I think there is an acceptance that, just as electricians or other HN provision that has existed for twenty or thirty years, is understood in their industry, I think our industry now understands that the HNC and an HND is a valid place to get employees. I think they do understand it.

Q ***There has been a variation in how colleges work with industry. You work with West Lothian Leisure. How does that partnership work?***

A It was built on Scottish Vocational Qualifications. In the initial days most of the qualifications that West Lothian were interested in were set around SVQ level 1. Level 1 was very basic standard, and they had a few staff like that. SVQ level 2 was more pointed towards their attendants that they would have within the sports centres. The biggest gap that now exists is moving them onto SVQ level 3 because it's at SVQ level 3 that supervisory skills come in. The difficulty is that the funding for that from the LEC is not easy to obtain for staff. So there is almost a knowledge gap there where it might be as easy for them to send someone to college to do an HNC day-release which is equivalent to level 3 as it would be to do it on site. So while we had almost 80 candidates at level 2 there are kind of management issues about how all of that worked and funding issues that just stopped the whole concept of lifelong learning, of working learning in a sense.

Q ***So what's your key role in that partnership? What value does West Lothian leisure see in working with a college?***

A I think probably the main goal is one of quality management, the side that actually looks at the verification of courses, the internal verification of provision. Our benefit is that where they have been unable to deliver something from their own staff in terms of their staff training, we would go in and deliver a component. It happens less frequently than I think it should. The difficulty again is to fit staff into training half-days and it becomes a bit of a mess in that they are pretty geographically wide-spread. So what we are looking at are flexible means of delivery.

Q ***Have you ever been involved in training needs analysis of West Lothian's staff?***

A Only on the side of things. They did their own training needs analysis and came back with one or two suggestions, but we were not key participants in that. They really did it for themselves.

Q ***If we can move on to the other side of education, that being the management of further education. From my own experience the biggest impact was incorporation following the 1992 F & HE Act. How do you think it affected FE?***

A Well this Region's a very good example. Previously Central, as it was, had two colleges involved and year on year we had an operating deficit of about £300,000 between the two colleges and no one was ever worried about that. It was just one of these things that was written off to the public purse and what it did mean, particularly for this college is that in relative terms we were quite well resourced compared to the other college. So the first thing it did was brought an element of regulation into how we spent the money that we got. Borne out of that was the notion that if you put on a class before with ten or twelve students it was always 'well that's that's fine we'll just run a class, that seems like a good thing to do', it seemed to be progression for them. And that was about the extent of the management of that and a lot of the real management was handled centrally by Central Region Education as opposed to the college. Incorporation brought around the situation where we were basically told, initially retrospectively, how much money we had to spend and that was quite difficult because year on year we started to run provision that wasn't actually paying it's way and the notion that we had been working to before, couldn't continue. In fact, what it did mean internally, was that even subject areas internally were happy to compete with each other. They're not happy in the way that they were aggressive in the way that they would produce students. So that if a student came to do a hairdressing course as opposed to doing a management course, that was fine; that meant that that area was actually buoyant and could command resources for that. So it was the whole notion of competition.

Q ***This notion of competition, how did that affect the development of leisure management courses?***

A It didn't make such an impact in the first few years round '93, '94. What we saw in terms of, maybe not so much the development of the course,.... The courses were revalidated in a four or five year cycle anyway, so there was a kind of look of 'this is what we did the first time, how can we look at it and make it better and more understandable?'

Q ***This was still under the consortium?***

A Yes. It probably on the ground had an effect of being that other colleges came to the fore in terms of 'well, I'm not going to play the leisure management game, because I can't really enter that market'. So what they then did was start to establish other related programmes, some of them in things like sports coaching, health and fitness, there were some in arts management, event management. These were all things that originally started as quite generic units within the leisure management.. All of a sudden they became HNCs and HNDs in their own right. That's probably where leisure management was very important. It actually set the framework for the others. You could almost take every single unit and split it up and you would find that by 1995 there was an HNC or HND called arts management or whatever it was. The impact of that was that initially the very first year we recruited for leisure management we had 130 applications and for whatever reason we only took about 30 of these applications, but there were students who were applying to go to several places or other

courses. We didn't turn away too many of them. But year on year from 1988/89 onwards the applications to leisure management went into decline and I'm sure they declined because there was gradually more and more opportunities for them to select a different programme. Not that leisure management wasn't as well thought of, it was just that the choices that they had available were much greater. That's probably what incorporation did. It allowed FE to write courses, units to be written. SCOTVEC took their hands off. It was often just the same units that had just been re-typed, or slightly reworded. Most colleges claim that there was an industry need for all these courses and the claim came.... I suppose they would get who they knew on the validation boards and all the rest of it and who would agree with them that they were doing a good job. What I think happened, certainly in the initial stages around 1993 and certainly in 1998 when they revalidated it for a second time, market research was done on a national basis for the other colleges that became involved so that while there was an availability of jobs, that was then being used by individual colleges in approval events within a college to say here are all the jobs that are available. They used the same figures.

Q ***Does that imply that the notion of consortium working was affected?***

A I think so, yes. There were some almost explicit examples of that where even in our own consortium we found it difficult for two reasons. One was the issue of individual colleges not wanting to give out their intelligence of what they were developing. The other one was financial because of cost to send people to these meetings. By the time I had gone into the Chair it was getting quite hard to get people to communicate in a quite open way. A few colleges still worked very well together; you could gather market information better as a group than you could as individuals. Some colleges became actively aggressive only to get information for themselves. I remember some of the bigger meetings that we held, there were people who were quite happy to just run with sports coaching and health and fitness and kept questioning the whole notion of leisure management which, in actual fact, still stands up quite well in terms of a lot of the skills that were required by the industry for supervisory activity. I'm probably targeting a supply rather than demand situation.

Q ***Does that then give a further implication the situation was just as it was in the '80s in that there was no industrial involvement and that courses were developed by the colleges?***

A I think generally that you will find that colleges will still have a 'bums on seats' perspective of things, or not just bums on seats, but also deciding whether those bums generate enough income because the student unit of measurement, the SUMS, can be weighted. But if courses are falling down towards single figures, even below twelve, there will be an approach taken at the college which says we can no longer sustain this. It becomes particularly bad for an HND course if, in the first year, they recruit less than 18. It means by the time they reach the second year you're left with ten, eleven, twelve and you're still therefore required to put in a whole teaching resource

to make sure that that works. So in that sense the business situation is you only then run courses which are seen to be sexy in terms of the supply side. It's true of things like childcare. There's always a hundred applications.

Q ***On the basis of that is there then a widening between education and industry?***

A The best example I can have of that is in this area finance is actually a growing and developing business and there are some big companies, for instance, in Stirling setting up, who have demands for finance. We've tried to run courses in finance, but because of low numbers of students they've been chopped. There is a divide. We work very closely with the LEC who give us information. Part of the problem with the information we get from the LEC about demand for courses is historical. It comes a year to a year and a half later. We can up a resource in an area thinking there will be a demand, there will be quite a bit of money spent. In the strip in the Livingston/Bathgate area mechatronics has taken a bit of a nosedive. So we spent quite a lot of resource both in staff and in equipment and it's not paying back. Colleges are quite wary of setting off down a certain path.

Q ***Taking all these issues into consideration has incorporation been a good thing?***

A I think probably with the benefit of hindsight I think overall it's been a good thing because it forced FE to look at itself in terms of the way it was resourced and there were activities that had been here which were no longer viable. So there was always a legacy of these things lying around and no one had the courage to stop them. In a sense on the one hand it forced us to look and say this isn't correct. The biggest problem was the element that put us into competition. The change that has been made in the last few years is that we have our targets ahead of the year that we deliver and is much better, so the funding is led ahead. It also forces us to work more collaboratively with others. That's fine, but I think it's still got a long way to go. We need to probably be getting to the stage of saying why should we be running a course with ten or twelve students and a college fifteen miles away be running the same course with ten students. It's not efficient and nor can colleges actually afford it now.

Q ***Referring back to courses in leisure management, health and fitness and so on, what do you think the overall impact has been since 1988?***

A I think it has raised the game. I think previously it was not seen, and it needs to still continue to raise the game because one of the related industries that we continually talk about is tourism and hospitality industry and we do, I think, particularly badly in that respect. I think the Scottish economy will become more reliant on hospitality, tourism, leisure. It's good that there is an awareness of that provision there. It will not really raise the game until industry pays appropriate wages. You can actually go into a sports centre and find even people with degrees who are working for very low pay, and that might be as much to do with the way councils look at their own budgets.

We've had one or two quite close working relationships with people like Living Well because they actually discovered that they had employed about seven or eight of our leisure management students to run fitness centres. Again they kind of tailed off with all of that. I think they can recruit people with qualifications that they want without working too hard at it, so the whole notion having a partner that they could do that with just died off.

Q ***Well I think we've covered all the things I wished to so thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 12: DOUGLAS FORMAN 12/2/02
General Manager, West Lothian Leisure

Q ***As you have seen from my interview briefing I'm particularly interested to hear about your views on the development of leisure management and how the nature and the role of the manager has changed.***

A I suppose we should really go back to '69-'70 and how it's viewed as being a leisure profession. I'm probably one of the people who got in at the ground level. Now it really was late sixties before we started to put the whole package together in terms of moving away from having a concept of the public baths and washhouses in local authorities into a more all-encompassing vision of what we should be doing in the community. That was some of the work that was the kind of development that was taking place. I mean, the big explosion in the Scottish context was the Commonwealth Games in 1970. Everything that led up to that had been about developing this wonderful service that would accommodate the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh in 1970. Everything else flowed from that in terms of development of facilities.

Q ***Are you saying that was within the Edinburgh area or did it impact across Scotland?***

A The impact it had when we knew the Commonwealth Games was coming to Scotland was an immediate sharpening of focus and the development of an infrastructure that would allow people to participate in sport. I'll give an example of that which is when I started my quasi-professional career in Dundee. The first job I was given was to open up school sports facilities for public use in evenings and weekends and that job in actual fact was something I did in 1971. That was a direct fallout from the whole concept of building purpose-build facilities to allow people to go out and take part in sport. That was where it came from.

Q ***Do you think that when the Thatcher Government came into power in '79 that they continued the emphasis behind the development of leisure services or did they have a different perspective of what it should be or what it's function should be?***

A I don't think anybody ever lost the perception of what they wanted from a leisure service. I have seen very little change in what people see as being leisure services in the last 30 years. What I've watched is people develop opportunities for participation in a range of activities of leisure. I've seen a bringing together of viewpoints about dry sport and wet sport, i.e. swimming pools and sports centres, to amalgamate these together in single buildings, to single management structures; to do all that kind of thing which has been to the benefit of the industry. In terms of developing of facilities it's almost been a natural development that fell out of desire from certainly going back to the Harold Wilson Government because it was Harold Wilson who appointed the first even Minister of Sport (Howell) and it was Howell and

Wilson who almost lit the blue touchpaper in terms of development of sport and leisure, in terms that local authorities were empowered to go and put money and spend money on building a building for sport rather than for the community, which is what they did. Local authorities did that and that was the springboard that started it all. Now that process carried through in the Scottish context all the way through the late sixties, on through the seventies and on through the eighties and the early part of the nineties in terms of the money that was made available to develop particular building for sport and leisure. And the concept of sport and leisure is something that had almost had its own life-cycle within that context because when you look at how the two strands of ILAM and ISRM have come together in terms of their view as to professionalism within delivering services for the community, whether it be public, whether it be private or whether it be voluntary, there is very little difference between the organisations.

Q ***With that drive, there was a phenomenal amount of investment in facilities, is that paralleled in the status that the leisure manager had or has?***

A The leisure manager didn't have status. The leisure manager has been struggling to achieve status ever since the sixties.

Q ***In some of the articles I've read it's suggested that because there seemed to be an authority given to leisure managers to identify the needs of the community in strategies, one might argue there is an element of status derived from that.***

A You might argue there's an element of status derived from that but the practicality of the situation was that people who tended to end up in leisure management were people who did not have degree status, did not have a further education qualification. The exceptions are those of us who took professional qualifications. But our route into the profession was through professional leisure management qualifications. It was through sport, it was through the teaching profession, it was through all of those things.

Q ***Was that suggesting that what underpinned the profession was a qualification?***

A The old theory of what is a professional, there are five rules: to be a professional you are looking someone who is 1) educated, 2) qualified, 3) licensed, 4) regulated and 5) has accountability for their actions. That's the old definition of who is a professional.

Q ***Whose definition is that?***

A That was a guy called Bale. Bale's theory of professionalism had five core points. Whether or not the "leisure profession" is professional is a different debate. It's a question of whether we're a new professional organisation or an old professional organisation. The old professional organisations are teaching, lawyers, doctors, dentists – that's the kind of thing – because they

fit those five criteria. The new professionalism, the word is used differently. The word is used now to recognise that there is an attitude to the work that can be deemed to be professional.

Q ***What's brought about that change in what professionalism means?***

A Some of it about the expectations of the customer and the service that they receive. In terms of the fact the customer expectations in the late 50s, early 60's would have been low. Customer expectations now in the 21st century are considerably higher. They expect people to be open with them, to be honest with them and to deliver services that are perceived to be value for money. Professionalism in terms of the eye of the customer is the organisation and the individual in that organisation looking to deliver that service to that level.

Q ***If customer expectations have been the main driver of that change what is it that has effected a change in customer expectations, for it seems these expectations have risen?***

A The global economy has created a rise in customer expectation and the Governments we've had in this country have driven up customer expectation.

Q ***How? Can you give me an example of how they have done that?***

A Yes. I think the best thing that ever happened to the leisure profession was CCT, introduced by Margaret Thatcher's government. The reason I'm saying that is quite simply what it did do was that it actually made people in the leisure industry waken up to the fact that they had to behave and act responsibly in a professional fashion, in terms of new professionalism to deal with the customers they were there to serve. I'm not saying that for the private sector, by the way. I'm saying that purely because the leisure industry in the early '70s was predominantly by far and away a local authority industry and developments like that for most of the 1970s and even the early part of the '80s.

Q ***What would your perception be of professionalism in the commercial sector? I appreciate that your background is public sector.***

A Well I think there's an issue because I'm not sure that professionalism is the correct term. I don't myself as being a professional. I see myself, I hope, a highly skilled, highly motivated and reasonably well educated manager who believes in the customer service ethos in terms of what we are providing for the customers who buy our services. That's very, very much a personal view built upon the fact of the recognition of what we're here to do. We are not here to serve ourselves. We are here to serve the community that we work in and the customers who come and use our services. Now that's exactly the same as the private sector, except the private sector are looking to service another set of masters other than the community. They are looking to serve

a set of masters who are the shareholders who require the dividends from their investment in that it's a business opportunity.

Q ***That viewpoint necessitates a lot of self-regulation on your part to be professional in the context that you've described. Your monitoring, your self-evaluation as you go along. Is that not a component of traditional professionalism?***

A Does Disney reflect a degree or component of traditional professionalism? Because the consummate professionals, in terms of the leisure industry, is Disney, in terms of what Disney does for its customers. That's the consummate professional organisation in the leisure industry. What they deliver, what their output is, is so far in advance of most of the rest of the industry and the rest of the world that they are held to be the shining examples. For example, I'm looking to send my staff to the Disney School, or some of my staff to learn about what it's all about to offer a service at that high level, which indicates that they are achieving a degree of professionalism in what they do.

Q ***How do you expect going to that School to impact on the way in which they conduct themselves in their day-to-day tasks?***

A I expect them to learn the lessons that Disney instils in its employees, and to bring them back to share them within our own organisation.

Q ***Which is?***

A The customer is the centre of what we do. It's the customer satisfaction, the customer journey that is absolutely essential in terms of us creating a successful private, or quasi-commercial business.

Q ***That is very much fully embracing the marketing principle, or fully embracing the concept of marketing.***

A Yes. You can go into the marketing principle as well, but you cannot market something that's not customer-centred or customer focused. You can't market a square egg.

Q ***Well, only if there is no demand for it!***

A Exactly. That's really a personal philosophy. My view is very much that we don't have a leisure profession. What we have is people who work in a leisure industry who will offer varying degrees of service to customers who are paying good money for a high quality services, or supposed high quality services. Now our job is to deliver that high quality service with a high level of customer satisfaction to them because they're the end output. We can't exist without the customers. If we didn't have customers all I'd be selling is square meterage space in a big box.

Q ***Is that what was being sold or delivered in the 70s and 80s?***

A. No. What was being sold in the late 70s and early 80s was a mixed bunch of messages. The mixed bunch of messages that was being sold was that sport was good for you, and we want to produce champions, and we want to do 'x' and we want to do 'y' in relation to sporting activity. And yes, let's have another edifice to another local elected councillor- we'll build the James Bloggs sports centre or we'll build the Winnie the Pooh swimming pool. That's what was going on. A lot of it was about 'well, we can get more capital money and we can build this wonderful edifice which, by the way, will be used by the community'. There was very little thought given as to the market research that went into them, as who would likely to use them, what they could be used for and what the real role of that building or facility was for a community. Very little thought went into that, but, it very rapidly began to change because as a focus people began to realise that we cannot continue to plough money into public facilities without some form of return from the customers themselves. This was completely different from the traditional viewpoint of local authority services. Local authority services were traditionally 'thank you, I'll take that' and don't have to pay for it. It's was the same with Council house rents, it was the same with everything else and that was the circle that we had to break, we had to get out of. So there had to be recognition that you write public services, but some public services will certainly be free, others will not. They will have to be paid for. When you ask people to pay in addition to what they perceive they are already paying you must give them and show them value for money. That's perception has been growing and has steadily grown since the '70s.

Q ***You mentioned CCT as being significant and a major contributor to the evolution of the way that services are managed. We seem to be going down a very managerialist line.***

A Well, let's look as what CCT did then in terms of what we were doing in terms of service provision. What CCT did was make everybody who was managing sport and leisure services in the country ask the question what's that person doing? What are they actually contributing to the overall package, what are the outputs and what do they evidence do prove that? So every single job went under the microscope to say is that job producing in terms of outputs, or is it a job that's worthwhile keeping? The major decisions were focusing on that. We now as a direct result have a far more focused view about when we run programmes, or when we start them, what we do in terms of energy efficiency, what we do in terms of the overall operational expectations. We produce business plans before we build programmes, we produce marketing plans. That's the leap. It's not a giants causeway. It's a quantum leap. But it's that awakening of the awareness in people of what their job is really about, what the service is really about.

Q ***West Lothian Leisure Trust was one of the first created. You have accountability to the local politicians. You have mentioned a lot about customers who are procuring your service. How much influence or constraint do you encounter from local councillors?***

A Very few. What we do is we offer a service on behalf of the local authority. We are basically a company providing a service contract the local authority. That local authority has specified that it wants a service to encompass all of its communities, it wants it target groups to be looked after. We've got a price for delivering that work over a period of time. That's what we do. So, there is no conflict between the objectives of what we're trying to deliver and what the local authority want to deliver. It wants concessions, for example, for the over 60s. Concessions are built in and we know what price we can deliver them for. So, there is no conflict here. Conflicts come about when a customer complains to a local politician and the local politician wants us to change the policy of the organisation to suit them. It doesn't happen because the organisation's politics are built around its charitable status about where it needs to be and about how it position's itself in the leisure market. The local politicians cannot influence that. All they can do is to withdraw money and funding from us at a later date. But our Committee of Management, similar to that of the Edinburgh Leisure Board, is not purported directly by the politicians. It's proposed by people who use the service, it is reported by people who work in the service, people from the business community and elected members.

Q ***So how many elected members do you have on the Committee?***

A Three out of twelve.

Q ***That's quite a small representation.***

A Well it has to be because the organisation is a completely independent organisation to the local authority. It cannot be seen to be under the undue influence or shall we say, policy direction of that local authority as an entity. We can get all the policy direction the council wants in terms of service advisors. As an organisation we must have our own unique identity and we must have our own set of perameters that we work to, our own values and our own strategic objectives about what we need to do.

Q ***I'm slightly surprised because of my own experience in working with Edinburgh Leisure, which is slightly different. It seems that there has been an opportunity provided to move in the direction you suggested and you've taken a very conscious decision to make the most of that opportunity.***

A Yes. The one thing that moving away from the local authority did for this organisation and this business was it freed up the talents that were suppressed under local government.

Q ***So your job is more ...***

A Not for me, Fiona, but the people who work in the business; the ability to feel that they own what they're doing and make a contribution and that someone values that contribution and that a decision will be made within a

reasonable timescale, maybe 24 or 48 hours, rather than having to wait six months for a decision.

Q ***What was it in working in local authorities that suppressed the skills and maybe the motivation and creativity?***

A The way of management.

Q ***Can you elaborate?***

A My preferred term is layered management because that is what you see, layer after layer after layer of management and somebody who makes a decision working on-site. In local authorities I might have to go through five layers of management and then go to a Committee to get a decision about whether to do something operational. That's gone for us and thank goodness it's gone.

Q ***With this greater scope you have created, as well as being presented with, when you are looking at or considering evaluating an individual's performance are the criteria different from what it would have been in a local authority?***

A Oh yes, absolutely. You're coming back to the organisation's values. I will show you this, it's easier shown than to explain. We developed a set of organisational values that speak about us as an organisation. What they say is what we want to be and where we want to go. Delivering quality and success is our mission statement. That's our values. When we carry out an appraisal of any individual, all the way down through the building, we ask the question of them 'what have you done over the appraisal period to meet those values? You demonstrate clearly to us what you did as an individual that met all of those values in terms of the organisation. So what did you do? And if you didn't do it why didn't you do it? And we set targets and we set, if you like, goals for people to achieve linked to those values. That's quite different.

Q ***For the benefit of the tape – people first, respect, integrity, development, and excellence. Is that a different interpretation from SPRITO's PRIDE awards?***

A It's about lifelong learning and the point about this we are an Industrial Provident Society. Our workforce have a stake in this business, they have a right to be treated with that (PRIDE) because they're also customers of this business and they have a right to be treated in that way by us as managers. We have a right to expect that they will deliver those (values) in terms of the lifelong learning agenda. We are very different and that's a personal philosophy, but it's a philosophy shared by my Chairman and the Committee of Management who believe firmly in that. That's exactly what we want to do. We don't want to be the David Lloyd's of this world, we don't want to be Next Generation. We want to be successful at what we do, we want to grow the business certainly, but we will not lose sight of those values.

Q ***How different do you think that is in terms of what exists within in local authority leisure services today?***

A That's an unfair question because I sit outside. I think you have to temper anything you say about local authority leisure provision with a pinch of salt. You have got to recognise very, very carefully what the constraints are and where some of the problem areas lie. Some of the problem areas lie, just very simply, in the fact that the service has got no morale. The service in the last three or four years, I would suggest, has had the legs cut away from underneath it. It has very few robust support mechanisms. There isn't a single director of leisure services left anywhere in Scotland and as a result the whole concept of leisure, as something that is not part of education, has just got lost. And if you link leisure with education you cut off probably 75% of the community who want to take part in leisure, Because a lot of people who look back on their school days today will not remember them fondly. They remember their school days as being, if you like, as some of the most upsetting times of their lives, some of the most stressful and pressured times. People will carry that with them to this day.

Q ***'Remembered pain' as Frederick Herzberg calls it.***

A That's where a service like ours, and a service that the private sector provides, is crucial because there's a whole raft of people out there who don't want to go back to a school building to enjoy their sport or their leisure time. They want to enjoy it in an environment which is very high quality, which is very customer- focused, which is run by people who believe in customer service and who are actually delivering services which they feel are value for money.

Q ***We, in effect, then have no leisure profession and perhaps no specialism?***

A It's a personal opinion, but as far as a leisure profession is concerned I think we aspire, in vast numbers by people in the leisure industry, to be a profession. I don't see myself as being any different, for example, from the guy who manages ten bingo halls. I don't see myself as being any different from the guy who manages a couple of caravan parks, or the pier at Blackpool, because at the end of the day it's about people enjoying a leisure experience and we're providing that and providing sport as well. You can make all the arguments you want about sport being good for health, it's good for all the other bits and pieces, but when it comes down to it, the people who run the business, the people who run the buildings are providing a customer experience. At that customer experience, it doesn't matter was it is, should be of the highest quality. And we don't have to have a particular professional qualification to be able to do that. I could bring some of Disney's site managers along and have them revamp some of our sports centres and probably produce marketing packages.

Q ***So what criteria do you appraise people against?***

A When we appraise people against what they did under each of the headings state in our values and the appraisal forms actually say that'

Q ***That in itself is interesting because if that's the backbone of the appraisal form it lifts it away from managerial output and more about the manner...***

A There are still outputs, because all these are about how they have dealt with the resources that are available to them to deliver the service. So they have to account for the resources they have delivered, but they should be talking about it in these terms (values) and not just purely financial and 'numerical nonsense' if you forgive the expression. What we are about is the overall view about what contribution individual's make to the business over that particular period of appraisal.

Q ***How do you balance as you go along the priorities of meeting customer needs with the public service welfarist aspects and the demands of running a business which has financial pressures?***

A But that's what our business is about.

Q ***Is there any conflict?***

A It goes back to what I said about the reason we are here. We are here to provide a public service, a sports and leisure provision, and anything else we can do as a charitable organisation for the communities that we serve. The communities that we serve are made up of our customers. Now that's what we are here to do – to serve them and to provide services to them. So the higher the quality, the better the product, the more they will take it up, the more they will use it, which is the evidence we've got from the past four years of trading.

Q ***What about the social inclusive perspective?***

A We buy into that 100% in terms of what we do. We offer concessionary schemes and we are working with the Council to see how we can develop more effective concessionary schemes. The schemes are actually targeting people who have got no social inclusion needs. The biggest problem we've got in the Scottish context - we researched every single local authority in Scotland in terms of their concession schemes and discovered they have 34 different categories of concession, all of which were applied in varying degrees by every local authority throughout Scotland. It's actually quite disturbing that almost 100% of the population are described as target groups by local authorities providing services for communities. When in actual fact that doesn't address the social inclusion issues at all. Social inclusion is about people have no say, therefore what we've argued consistently, and are getting down to now and getting some sense out of it, is that if you've got concessions or you're offering, if you want, opportunities for people who are covered by the social inclusion criteria, you must target it. You must make sure it gets there. For example, you don't give free swims to the over 60's, when 90% of the people who take advantage of free swims are driving up in

a BMW, a Mercedes, a Ford Mondeo, whatever else. You have people out there who don't have cars, you have single parent families with kids who can't get access. That's about targeting. As an organisation we don't think we can absorb that. What we do is decide what aspects can go into the business (?)

Q ***All of that and all that we've discussed so far, is indicating a very different attitude towards managing our range of services and also perhaps a generalist perspective of management as opposed to leisure knowledge. It's focusing on marketing principles, market research, and the customer being the centre and so on.***

A It's how you apply that to your business philosophy. We still do market research, we still do all of the things about putting nice pretty packaging together and selling products in the market, advertising. We do all of that, it's part and parcel of what we do. We see that as being the opportunity to encourage more of our people to come and use the service. It's like bonding sales, that's what we're doing. What we are trying to do is ensure that people who come, come back again and again, because of the quality of the product that they've had, of what we've actually sold them.

Q ***What role is there now for professional bodies representing people who work in leisure, in sport and recreation?***

A You are using the word professional here.

Q ***It is how they describe themselves.***

A Yes, and I don't have an axe to grind with how they describe themselves, but what I would say is that if you go back to professionalism, some of the other things that came out of professionalism are about licences, about registration, it's about regulation. Now we're moving into a phase in this country where there is more licensing, more regulation. Because of some of the issues that politicians applied and are applying particularly about child protection and about the way things are done on that particular platform. It's my belief the legislation should cover kids probably up to the age of 14. So we are looking at a much more licensed and regulated working environment – the national fitness register, the child protection register, coaches register, teaching register, all of those kind of things. I think those are the kind of the things that that we need so that someone who works can have the strength of some form of institute round about them. Now I use the word 'institute' reluctantly because I think it is important that people have an opportunity to impact on their professional development. It is essential for the individual to personally develop their needs, that we have an opportunity to grow and develop our skills in a whole range and variety of ways. So there is a role for organisations who represent people who work in our industry. What the format of that organisation should be for the future I don't know. At the present moment we've got two professional organisations, so called, we've got one national training organisation. Now the problem we've got is that the national training organisation will not exist beyond the 31st March and

we've a whole new process to develop that will be a sector skills council which is a completely different kind of animal in terms of our industry. That sector skills council will have a heavy predominance of people who are practitioners who will run and develop that and will make sure that there are sets of occupational standards for the industry, to make sure that there are opportunities for continuing development for people in the industry. We will look at the labour market and some of the other aspects, and then we'll put that together. Now the role of the current organisations who represent the individual professionals, ILAM and ISRM, I think has got to be examined in some detail. I think the problem we've got is that there are two organisations and it's about choosing who they want to represent. They've both the usual thing which is to cast the net wide and see if they can pull all the people into the one big net that they've managed to cast. But there are two trawlers out there. The point I'm coming to is that, at the end of the day, it should be about working together. It should be about the partnerships. It should be about the strengths that we can build through some of the alliance stuff that we've done so far because that's how the industry works together. It's about me working with Next Generation, with David Lloyd, with the local authority, with Edinburgh Leisure, whatever it is. It is about working with them to provide better services for the people.

Q ***ILAM and ISRM are the oldest of the representative bodies. What kind of impact do you they think they had, looking back, in the 80s on how people and government, as well, perceived leisure services and the people who worked within them? Do you think they fulfilled the aspirations that were initially set down?***

A I can only speak personally, but I cannot say that ILAM fulfilled my expectations as a body supposed to represent me as someone who worked in the industry. I'm not sure if they've been that successful in terms of fighting the case, or fighting the corner, or as the case for sport and leisure in government's eyes. I think other people have organisations who did that more effectively than they did. I think that SPRITO has done that more effectively, certainly in recent history. ISRM had a major contribution to make in relation to one of the principle areas which was sport. ISRM are heavily involved with the UK Sports Council in the development of basically the safety in swimming pools which influenced Government to ensure that there were, in actual fact, robust circumstances of health and safety. All those aspects of it, I think they did that job particularly well. But as a voice for 'the professional' in the industry I'm not sure if they did. I'm not sure if they didn't miss the boat. What we failed to do was recognise that when you've got competing interests and competing bodies people are torn between those two bodies as to where they go for information, for advice or to even have dialogue over potential issues. Whereas a single voice would have, perhaps, served us better. Don't get me wrong. I'm not really knocking ILAM or ISRM, because as a member of both organisations I think that they have a valid and valuable role that they are currently performing. That valid and valuable role seems to be more about networking to me and the opportunity to share experience with colleagues,

than it does about interfacing at a much higher level. It is the one thing that is sadly missing – a strategic voice for leisure.

Q ***If we have no strategic voice is that indicative of us having no identity? Do we need an identity?***

A The debate we've got at the present moment is all about tourism. The debate is about what people call the tourism industry. What's happened, and it's been a peculiar quirk of fate, is that over the last two years a whole range of industries have been dumped into this concept of the tourism industry. I don't agree that tourism itself is an industry. What I believe is that there is a number of tourism products that a number of industries contribute towards. I think the biggest problem we've got is that the industries involved have been taken down a road, perhaps by government, which is not the correct road for those industries in the future. There is a danger that whilst this business involved in tourism, it's only peripherally involved in tourism. Tourism is not the major driver for this business. We certainly service tourism for visitors, but if you take a look at, for example, Next Generation, they do not cater for tourists and yet they're being lumped into the sport and leisure industry as part of that umbrella. That's a problem because it doesn't give them any incentive or focus as to what they should be doing in their aspect of the business.

Q ***So how do we create, promote an identity for us as employees and work?***

A I think there's two things we need to do. We need to make sure that the industry, in terms of the businesses in the industry, have a voice that can be heard and is recognised by government. For me the one way to do that is the formation of the skills council because it's the Government that's setting it up. They have said that the skills councils must be industry based. There's a strong case for a sport and recreation set of skills and I think that will happen. I think to back that up we have to have some form of creating a drawing together of the basic interests that are complementary. For example, both professional organisations have processes for providing courses to train and allow people to sit Institute exams and the rest of it. What we need to do is pull together a common role and purpose so that it is one set of Institute exams. If we're going to have an Institute, let's have a single Institute, let's have one set one set of exams recognised across the industry. Let's make sure that we do license and do regulate what happens to people working in the industry. They should be registered, they should be licensed, they should be looking at what their continuing development programmes are. We should perhaps insist that people have to do x number of days of development. We need to sharpen the focus and we need to make things far more clear about what individual responsibility is when they come to work in this industry at a managerial level.

Q ***Does a trust environment focus more on continuing professional development than is the case in traditional local authority departments?***

A I think yes. In a local authority environment the first casualty is always the training budget. It's always the one-day course, the half-day course from which you could probably benefit enormously in terms of what you bring back to the business, but that always goes because it's easy to cut. It doesn't hurt anybody. But here, what we do is develop an individual's training programme. Now we have people who do VQs, we've go people doing modern apprenticeships, people on HNCs and HNDs, on degrees and Institute courses, MBAs. We have a whole spectrum. We also have a training business. That's the view from the top.

Q ***I think we've covered the areas I hoped to discuss with you.***

A I hope so. I have a very jaundiced view that when people talk about professionalism, they are inventing it to give themselves an air of credibility, instead of really thinking about what they are really trying to do with this job here. I don't need to be called a professional.

Q ***What you've said has been extremely interesting. Thanks very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 13: DAVID LLOYD 4/5/02
Founder, David Lloyd Leisure, owner Next Generation Ltd

Q ***What I'm interested in is the effect of the Conservative Government on the growth and development of leisure and also what is so specialist about leisure management. I'm therefore particularly interested in how the David Lloyd centres came to be, how did you take that forward?***

A Well, I was a professional tennis player so basically the idea came fro just going all over the world and seeing facilities that were more than just tennis and were really welcoming for kids which was the main difference. I mean our old traditional tennis clubs- not many really want kids - and I just felt there was a need for a club that had families and indoor tennis and all the things associated with...this is not a tennis club. It's a lifestyle. The things that we have in these clubs now, compared with the old days, even compared with when we started – it's amazing what goes in them. People join who are mainly.....if someone said to me what makes money or you successful, it's the whole lot together in a lifestyle and that's when we started. I knew that we didn't have anything like it. When we built Heston in 1981, opened in '82, there was nothing like it. People wanted to be part of it.

Q ***Was it a relatively easy process to get people to buy into it, to invest in it?***

A No. Investing was nearly impossible. It was like pulling teeth. It really was very, very difficult to get people to believe in you, because there was nothing to show. It was just me saying 'this is what happens in other countries. Here's my plan, here's my dream. I'm putting in a lot of money of my own, all of my money, come and join me'. But they would say 'show me one'. I said 'the only places I know are in America and Holland, there's nothing in Britain – that's why it will work'. To make people believe that a tennis player, who left school at fifteen, could have the affront to ask people for money to build something, that in those days was about a million and a half pounds, it was a lot of money, they just looked at me like I was from space. It was very hard. But once we got it going and we started to build and opened and it was fully used, everybody crammed in. It was a goldrush.

Q ***How quickly were you able to expand through the '80s?***

A Well, what we did, we pestered, because Heston was a very good site. It was so successful. We had 12 tennis courts indoors. We, within one year, built another hall with three more courts out of cashflow, which again went very, very well. Then what we did, which was a mistake, we brought in a partner because we felt we needed one, rather than doing it all ourselves with even more cash. What happened then was there was an argument and they reneged on a couple of things. So, we got out of that one with the second one and that put us back a bit. So that put us back about three years. But then from about '85 onwards we expanded very quickly. In fact we opened four within a week of each other.

Q ***That's a lot.***

A Well, our plan when we started ....when Heston was built the ring road, which is the M25, was planned but not built. The only road that was built was the M4, which is the busiest road in Britain, and these clubs have got to be near major roads. Renfrew, for example, was a perfect location. Leith was a bit of a.....the reason we went to Leith was the fact that we know houses are coming round it.

Q ***That's right it's the 'new area'.***

A Yes, we know it's going to work. But, in theory, you should try and put it as close to a major road as you can, where people have to go past both to work and home from work and the housewives, if they're not working, with their children can get there very easily. So location is absolutely vital. We here it many times – location, location, location. You can be the best manager in the world, but if it's in the wrong place it isn't going to work, and you need a lot of land. So it's not that easy to expand. I mean you really need to pick your sites right and they're very expensive. I mean this club here (Next Generation, Anniesland, Glasgow) is £11m worth of investment. That's a lot of money so it's very capital intensive. But once you get over that hump then it goes very well. We have enough money to build. We will have ten in Britain and three in Australia with the funds we have and they should all be building or be built by early next year. And we will also have bought enough land to build the next phase. We will have by November/December nine sites, extra sites to those thirteen, that I've planned and then we will go to the stock market to raise money to build those nine which we will build out over a period of six months.

Q ***I know it's digressing slightly, but what about China, the Chinese market?***

A We've been to China.

Q ***We're getting applications for our Masters programme from China and Taiwan.***

A I was actually in China five weeks ago and we are exchanging terms with the Government of Kumin City, which is the province in the south-west corner. They want us to come there and we think it will work. Kumin has got about five million people and we're just talking to the Beijing Government now. We're looking at Dubai – I was in Dubai last weekend. That's coming on very well. Australia – we've got one open now and one opening in August and one that's just starting to be built and it's doing fantastically well.

Q ***If we can come back into the '80s. When I was doing the reading for this research it was stated that Thatcher was trying to encourage commercial development, a spirit of enterprise and so on. Did that in any way have a positive effect on you?***

A I think...Maggie we knew very well. She was actually about our first member of Finchley. She opened it and she used to come down often. It was in her constituency. She used to do all her Party meetings there. She loved the concept and I think the spirit from the unions perhaps being not quite as powerful and that being gradually eased and so we could invest money. It definitely helped but where all governments, and I'm not sure whether the Conservatives were worse than Labour, it's difficult, they are both very bad on planning for leisure. Very bad. They have no foresight. They have too many people.... some of the rules and regulations Gummer brought in were just so stupid that the man must have been on the moon. It's all well and good saying that you must have all these downtown things – people don't want to go downtown half the time. This club I can't build downtown. No one's going to give me ten acres in the middle of Hyde Park. It isn't possible. So when he wrote these rules and PG17s, all these planning car parks, I think he must have been off his trolley. The Labour government's the same. They don't seem to have any.....they see a lot of investment, leisure is going to be the in thing. It's very hard to get planning in some areas. It takes a lot of time and they just come at you which to me is silly. So I don't think governments help at all. The best guy, actually, was Tony Banks. He was the sports minister. He went nuts and said 'look these guys have got the money'. We're terribly backwards in tennis terms. We've got no indoor courts. We still have less than any other European country. We have no tennis players, apart from Henman who we found and Greg who comes from Canada. What are you doing about it?' Well, all the civil service people were there and your Green Belt policy doesn't allow it and it's very hard. So that's why these (Next Generation clubs) have not grown as quickly as I think they should have done. I think it would have made an enormous difference to sport. Not just sport. It helps crime. It does, you can prove it. People come here and they're looked after and they don't go on the street and punch somebody. They have no sector in British planning law for something like this (Next Generation clubs) where all the other Europeans do. There's a sector for leisure and in their plan they'll have a plot of land that is identified and can only be leisure! It can only be tennis. It can't be a supermarket. We don't have that. We are deemed, because of the size of the building as a supermarket. Well I can't pay £9m - £10m for a site. It's impossible. So we have a site here which was the first site Next Generation signed which was in fact on the other side of the river in Newton Mearns, just off the M77, right on the M77. It was a field. It was green belt, but it was a field and the whole area is going to be developed so it's not going to be green belt forever and it's now got a bloody motorway running through it. The Council gave us permission. It went up to Dewar (First Minister) at the time and he turned it down. Well, how? That to me is just ridiculous, it's madness. Why? Proper green belt I understand totally, but when it's a tip how is a tip green belt?

Q ***I know when Parklands Country Club went up they had a few battles with the Council.***

A But that is a location I can understand them having trouble. These houses here have come after us. This was a horrible piece of land and we turned it

into a nice piece of land. The bit we were looking at is a field that is overgrown. No-one complained in the whole area. Well why? There was no complaints. Why does the government interfere? It's a £12m investment to the area which is what they're supposed to be doing in Scotland.

Q ***I know Newton Mearns quite well. It's an economically affluent area.***

A Yet we have got permission in Deaconbank, which I can't believe we've got. Given by Glasgow City Council. We have permission, which we will develop soon, on the Rouken Glen Golf Course. We own that. We will knock down the building and the driving range and build one of these. How that happens in a park I don't know, where it doesn't happen in a field that has got nothing but trees.

Q ***It prompts the question of whether the council gets more for houses, from private developers than you?***

A Well it's green belt. So in theory they'll never get houses on that, so I don't understand it. But that's planning. It's very strange and I think governments cost fortunes. If the local planners and the local council pass it and we go through all the proper channels, it takes about nine months. I see absolutely no reason why the government should overturn it because on the one hand they said we've got to go back to local government, then the other hand they take it away. Any building over 50,000 square feet now has to be given up to the Scottish Office or the same in England to have a look at it. I mean the work that's created is just mind blowing.

Q ***That's fascinating because again a lot of the things you read is all about economics and trying to assist through grants and so on, but in the case of leisure it's the planning side of it.***

A Well the thing is you've got different departments of the governments of the countries, Scotland and England, where they don't liaise and they don't care. We have planning consent from Aberdeen Council. It's had to go up to the Scottish Office. They've now had it for five months. I know the answer is going to be no. It's not hurting anybody, there's no complaints and the local government passed it. There is nothing in Aberdeen and yet I'm absolutely certain the Secretary of State for Scotland will say no. It doesn't make any sense to me. The company, Next Generation, if it gets it and it gets the other one will have invested close on £100m. How many people do that? We've spent £30m already. In Dundee, in Monifieth, we brought enormous employment to the area in Monifieth and we've got Deaconbank. £60m we've spent in Scotland and created at least 600 jobs and all the building, which is 200 – 300 people for a year. I don't understand that.

Q ***Is this government then, in terms of issues like planning and so on, worse than the Thatcher government?***

A I think they're both as bad as each other. I think Gummer was stupid. They had no vision and then the other guy, Chris Smith, he came in and took over

-he was useless too. I haven't met anyone who has been any good, to be quite honest. When planning was at its best was actually when Heseltine was in charge. It was before my time but he did a lot of things. He, for example, insisted that an appeal had to be heard within sixty days or something. You could be tied up for two years now. All they do is issue, I think it's a Section 52 which....by law you have to have a decision within I think it's about 60 days or whatever. All they do on the fifty-ninth day is issue a Section 52 that gives them unlimited time thereafter. It's a waste of time in the first place. If planning consent is granted by the local authority and it's referred to the D of E or the Scottish Office, if they don't get back within twenty-one days it's deemed to be passed - off you go. On the twentieth day you always get notice – 'by the way it's been called in'. So you then spend £50k at least, minimum of my money, and the council, sometimes there's not one single objection, they have to get a barrister as well against who, 'cos there's no complaints. That costs the taxpayer another £50k - £60k - it's a five day hearing. Then you don't hear and again, they've got tell you within this time-span and sometimes it's two years. I don't understand it.

Q ***No I don't understanding it either.***

A There doesn't seem to be any logic. And I don't think these people know. I don't think the Blairs of this world...it's too small for him to be taking notice. I write to them. I used to always get replies from Major but never, ever from Gummer.

Q ***Do you think as far as leisure is concerned - you mentioned that there was no planning etc. in terms of building planning is one thing - but planning for leisure, do you think that they have ever come to grips with what leisure is and what it can do?***

A No, absolutely. I know Seb Coe very well, we've done lots of speeches together, it's the same thing in his field. There is no planning. Other countries have planned it. They plan their leisure like a new town will plan their road 'cos leisure is healthy. It does keep people inside. It does get people off drugs. It is health. It is part of keeping fit. All these gyms we have now we have specialists, we have diets. It helps - it must help. But there is no planning. They just toss a coin up. We might like that land, we go in and we're at the beck and call of some stupid planner or the government turns down a good plan. And the investment's there from a lot of companies. Sport in this country is nothing like other countries. I've had lots of chats with people on the old Sports Councils. These people – they're all in it for knighthoods. No one is there to do the job. I mean Trevor Brooking's a lovely man, but he wouldn't say boo to a goose – that's not the way he is. No one is going to rock the boat. You need a very tough cookie who doesn't care what is said and gets on with the work and does it and starts pushing people around. No, I think sport is terrible.

Q ***From some of the people I've interviewed what has come out is that the creation of David Lloyd in Renfrew prompted Glasgow's recreation***

services to review what it does and to develop and up their standards of provision because of the quality that was seen in David Lloyd. Do you see public sector in competition with you now or an increasing level of competition?

A No. Not in this. I think it is in slight competition to what we would call the stand-alone gyms, you know, the Esportas, the Greens. I personally think that market is overcrowded and will get more overcrowded and I think they're cutting each other's throats. But they can't compete with us – we're the same price. I just think there are too many of them. I do think local authorities can compete and are competing and also companies – they're building gyms in their offices, just putting a couple of staff on and letting the people in the firm use it. So I think that market will be saturated very soon because it's very simple to do. Anybody can do it. You don't have to buy the land. You just rent a 40,000 square foot box, pay a rental, put your gym equipment in it and you're there. I mean anyone can do it. There's no skill in it. You just need a couple of managers. This is a very skilful business. It's not a university skill, it's a skill of being.... A lot of managers are tennis players. Ross, whose the manager here – he's the number one player in Scotland. They learn the trade from us. I mean all my top guys, a lot of them are ex-tennis players. They learn the background, they learn the business side. That's quite easy to teach and they're pleasant people. They will go to the bar and will chat you up. That's what it is, it's a customer business. If something goes wrong today and the maintenance guy's off today, well Ross has got to mend it. He can't just hang around and pick the phone up. He's taught to go in and do it himself, 'cos that's the business we're in. We don't have thousands of people. You can't afford it. So, it's a real common-sense business. I tell you what, they're not easy to find these good managers. They're a very special breed.

Q ***I've been asking everybody what is so specialist, if it is specialist, about leisure managers? Is there a distinction about managing a facility such as this?***

A It's not easy. There are so many things that can happen. You can't train them for it. Like, for example, today they've just put a new menu out and there's a typing error on one of the prices. Okay, so that's a mistake. So Ross has just had ladies going nuts. Well it was a genuine mistake, but those things....the jacuzzi will break down when you don't want it to....you have to be able to handle that problem. You can't keep that level of people because you're not making the money. So you have to keep it, not low, but a set number people. They have to be able to do things that are just common sense but then they also have to be able to do a fully-fledged P and L budget on a weekly basis. They have to know something about marketing because they've got to get members in. It's just a lot of things to do and you tend ....it's very hard to get one person to be able to be all of that, 'cos for what we look for is actually managing director quality at clubs. Ross is really managing director of this unit. He's not a manager - that's how we teach him. He's got to make his own decision. I'm at the end of a phone, I'm not here. If Ross wants to do a barbecue party night he can do it. That's the

difference between the old David Lloyd and the new David Lloyd (Next Generation). I mean with Whitbread you're a number, you're not a person. You're not allowed to make that decision. If, the old David Lloyd club today, you went in there and a guy wanted to spend £10k on something really special, the paperwork involved in that would be mind-blowing. That's why I left. It would go back and forth, back and forth. My guy can spend it and if he screws up he might get a bollocking. If he screws up next time I don't know. If he does it a third time he's obviously not the right guy. But he has to be able to do that. He has to be, otherwise you can't run these clubs. You can't have this, which is what new guys coming in today (into David Lloyd) now have to do; the staff went from a £1m central costs to £10m, which is pretty much how they run their business – with middle management, there's a reporting line. You can't run a business like that. You don't have the money and that's why we were hardly making any money. This new guy coming in is cutting that out, but then he's got to go back to putting a person in at the unit level like Ross and trust him and that's hard for a big company to do. And they had this enormous reporting system. We don't have that. We have very strict controls but within those Ross is allowed to do what he wants to do and he's really a managing director not a manager. The only down side of our system is there is no real...he's a managing director, he can't go to area manager because we don't have them. So, he actually doesn't have the same career path as going up this ladder, suddenly I'm an area manager doing bugger all – they do absolutely nothing. How can an area manager with seven clubs coming in maybe three hours a week to a club have any clue about how the club runs. It's impossible. We had clubs in very Jewish areas like Finchley, a 90% Jewish club. The guy there has to be able to make Jewish food. I can't come in and say standardise the food. Jewish people want something different from other people. That's the way it is. So the manager has to be in charge of his own club. I take him round. In the old David Lloyd I used to take him all round the club and I used to take him to the sign and say what do you see and he'd say David Lloyd. I'd say 'no, it's your name, it's your club, it's not mine, I'm not here. It's my name but you imagine your name up there, now how do you see this club? It's yours and if you can spend your penny you can spend my penny. If you wouldn't spend your penny then don't spend my penny. It's that simple'. And that's how they do it and it runs very well. It's just getting the whole person in one where he can come out front and buy the member a drink, meet the member, play tennis with the member and get his hands dirty in the back there, do budgets and margins and restaurants. You've got to be able to do that. Normally like in a hotel you have a catering manager, you have a banqueting manager, you have a sales manager – we can't have that structure, we don't make enough. We'd have to charge about £2,000 membership to have that structure.

Q ***In the philosophy you've just described, is it absolutely imperative that your potential managers have come from a sporting background?***

A We tried hotel background, we've tried catering background, we've tried financial background and the way to do it is the top person can either be tennis related or sport related, hotel related or finance related. It doesn't

matter which one's the boss but they must have these two as assistant managers because it's not possible to have all that skill. So Ross here - he'll have a financial controller in the back who would also be assistant manager and maybe the gym manager who is specialist in the gym is also assistant manager. We try not to call them assistant managers although the name always slips out. We want them to be manager-on-duty because if Ross is not here the guy or girl who's in charge has to make the decision. They can't keep picking up the phone. Members - sometimes you've got to kick them out. The guy or the girl has to have to confidence to do that and get the backing of the management down the line because the letter will always come to me. It will always be me down the line and I have to back my staff up and I do. And so it's a mixture but on the whole I think the ones that turn out to be the best managers would be, in fact, tennis players. Some are ex-pros or virtually ex-pros – you've got Donald Watt, Steve Matthews, John Marnock, Ross Mathieson – they've all been good players and John Marnock is now manager of Ipswich, which has gone through the roof. They worked for me in my old company. They're more my age than my son's age, except Ross, obviously, and they are good managers. And I taught them the figures. That bit I've drilled into them - what the margins are - and so they get that and then they have someone behind their back who at least makes sure they're getting the necessary financial information; how many members today, what's their average sub, 'cos that's our business. We don't hard sell.

Q ***They clearly have to learn a lot on the job and they do learn a lot on the job. But do you have any kind of formal training programme?***

A That's what happened with Whitbread. Suddenly my managers were going three times a week to a training course. I really think it is a buzzword. People set up companies, make fortunes out of it, outsource training, outsource this and yes of course they've been trained. I think it's right to train on the job. You've got to give them a real background and then explain the philosophy of the club, the heart of the club, the beat of the club. Yes that's training. Someone has to know which button to press on the computer – that's training, but around that, I think you have really got to let them get on with the job. I think you can over the top, I really do.

Q ***I know some companies do a lot and some parts of public sector don't do it at all.***

A I mean, obviously lifeguards - the specialists have to have training.

Q ***Well, legislation drives that.***

A Yes they have to have that, but I want my managers, actually, to have some flair because otherwise you get no feeling back. The basic training is there by them just being here, by answering the phone. I mean all those things are just standard.

Q ***One of the things I found in going to Edinburgh Leisure was that from being there originally to devise personal development plans for managers and source training etc., etc., it has moved more into the culture of the organisation. Is the culture reliant on you going round all the sites to develop that?***

A Yes. My son goes round them all now. I used to go round them all. I never had an office, well, I did, but I never went there. All my meetings were at the club. I just moved them around. I was there, I saw the members, I spoke to the members and the staff. It was just a culture that was really very easy to see, you know every staff member should pick up a cup as they pass. If they said 'isn't that the waiter's job?' I'd say 'no, it's your job and if you're passing pick it up'. That's in the company. You get that feeling as soon as you join it and if they don't like it they leave. I mean, in leisure you lose a lot of staff at the beginning just because they think it is beautiful etc., etc., and it's going to be easy. Of course it's not. It's very hard. The hours are long. Once they get over that they're there for life, they love it and there's a real buzz in the place. It's hard, but it's different every day. That's the beauty. I mean job descriptions – I understand in some things, but because it's so diverse you couldn't write a job description. I could write a thousand pages and I still wouldn't cover it and when you write a job description you've actually itemised rather than letting him write the paper. So I think in certain areas you must have these things, but I also think you've got to be very flexible. When people ask me for a job description I can't actually give them one. I've tried to give you what the managers do, but I don't know what's going to happen tomorrow.

Q ***Do you regard your managers as professionals?***

A Professional? Yes, I do.

Q ***What makes them professional, what's your definition of professional?***

A I just use the word as an adjective. They behave and act and have all the things that I would call them professional in their job rather than...

Q ***About they way the actually do something?***

A Yes. The politeness, the, well I mean, Ross has authority. They are the managers, it's their club. They're walking around and members will come up to them, or they question something. So they act and behave as professionals.

Q ***If they act and behave as professionals, is there such a thing as the leisure profession?***

A Yes, I think what you see there I think it's .....if you've got young tennis players now, in the old days parents used to say 'he can't leave school at sixteen, he's got to get his A-levels because if he doesn't make it what's he going to do?' Now if a parent asks me that now I say ' if he doesn't make it

he can become a coach. He has a career now because we are crying out for these types of people. So there is a good career which to me is a profession. I wouldn't hesitate now in telling a parent 'don't worry if he doesn't make it' and he really wants to get into this type of industry. It's great fun, they all do well out of it, they work hard, they all get share options – all the things that people get – so they don't have to worry about necessarily getting those three A-levels or a university degree. In fact, hardly any of the people who work in here have a degree. The only people who have degrees will probably be at Head Office where we have the Financial Director and people like that, - the architect side etc. So we're looking for qualitative drive and we're looking for mini-entrepreneurs, and in the back office I need the people who are tying it down.

Q ***I spoke about running a Masters programme – should I rip that up?***

A (laughs) I have people, like the girl who runs my Australian operation, she has a degree, a very good degree, and she's fantastic. But she is really managing director. She ran the club now she is managing director. So, yes, once you get to that then I think you need to have it because you need to meet with the banks, you need to be able to talk about interest rates. I learnt that, and I learnt it the hard way by bluffing and I learned very quickly and I think I could stand up to anyone now. I think the top of the tree, if you want, would need a degree of some sort. It might be a leisure degree. It might not even be related. It's the ability to think very quickly and make decisions at a very high level. Ross can do this, but I couldn't send him into a bank to negotiate on a base rate rise because he would be out of his depth. So, yes we do need them. We would probably have about 10 – 12 people who have degrees or qualifications, architect or whatever. I mean we are looking desperately for an in-house lawyer to become a director because you pay hundreds of thousands of pounds and that is to me the biggest rip-off of all. I have no respect for lawyers. I tell them that to their face. They're good, they're bright and we need them, but it takes forever and they do it on purpose. In my opinion they do it on purpose. And so what we are looking for is in-house lawyers so he can then get a document that is virtually ready then just pass it to me to sign it. It costs a fortune, and I mean a fortune. And at the end of the day, I've done it, my son does it, we will pick up errors that they haven't picked up because they do too many things. They've got too many clients and they've got juniors checking it and they don't know the business. They wouldn't pick up on something like a way in on a road or something. They wouldn't pick it up because they don't know because they haven't visited the site. They wouldn't have a picture of it and we would, because we're living it every day and they don't. They never pay you for mistakes. I don't think Scott could have done the things he's done, he's 27, unless he had got the degree. I don't think he could have made the decisions, met the banks, put packages together without a qualification.

Q ***What's the big difference, if there is one, between the skills that your managers have and, from your understanding, public sector managers have?***

A I don't think there's any difference. The trouble with the public sector manager that we had, and we've employed them, they have been.... Often they haven't had to make a profit. Leisure centres have run at a loss so they have no concept of actually trying to make a profit. I mean we have to make a profit. It's quite simple. We have to pay the bank. We have to make a profit for our shareholders. They come in sometimes very left wing, unions and whatever. This business can't do with those rules. It can't have a thirty-nine hour week. Leisure can't be like that. We have to be flexible and if the people don't want it they can leave. It's not a problem. I can understand that. But when you're tied to -....all these things have an enormous effect on this industry and I think they come in, sometimes their training is too...it's not flexible enough, it's not entrepreneurial enough and the word 'profit' practically is a dirty word to some of them and you have to try and change them and we haven't had much success. Although, qualifications wise they're actually very good. For example our first manager of Leith was very qualified. He was good, but he wasn't good enough to actually be a managing director. He was too blinkered. He's still with us, doing specialist things in gyms.

Q ***That's one of the things I've noticed. Managers tend to think vertically rather than laterally.***

A I think that's right. It's beyond the scope of what they've actually been taught which is stupid. We've had lots of discussion and we've really tried to encourage universities to go to the private sector for some of their training in the last year, not the public sector, because we're different. We are commercial, we have to make money. We have to know how to deal with licenses, all the alcoholic laws and so on. It's a training they get from us, which I don't think they get in the public sector.

Q ***The differences you stated between the commercial and public, some of that surely must come from the top of the tree, be it the actual councillors themselves, or the directors of the service. Do you think that some of the limitations that you mentioned earlier in the public sector come from a blinkered view or perhaps an unclear view from the top?***

A I don't think the person in charge in leisure, normally the director.....at the very beginning all our land was council land. We leased it from the council because we didn't need to buy it in those days and they couldn't sell it because they weren't allowed to. Thatcher changed that for a bit and then someone else. They couldn't use it as revenue, they're not allowed to. So we used to lease it and every single lease we did we used to have a usage clause, so the council got rent, it got profit and it got usage of 3,000 hours a year for tennis, for this, that and the other. It was in the lease. It was perfect for them. It was a great deal for them and a great deal for us. And our first six clubs were all on deals like that, slightly different but that was the concept. And it was totally down to the leisure manager of the area – they didn't even take one hour and it was free! It was free and they didn't come! Where other ones would phone and say can we get some more hours because they were sports mad and they were into it. So it was really down

to personalities. It's like a schoolteacher. In the old days the schoolteacher didn't have to teach sport but they loved it, and then you'd get another one who would say bugger that I'm not doing that. So it's down to the person and I think the people who are in it just for a job don't really care about leisure, it just happens to be where they land. But the person who really cares, that will filter down into all their own leisure centres in their burgh and the private ones in their area. We still do it. This club is giving 2,000 hours to Glasgow Council. We do it even when we own the land we do it. We want to keep the community happy. But some people don't use it – they won't come down! I've never understood it.

Q ***That was going to be next question because you mentioned about profit and sometimes public sector think it's a dirty work. How important is the social aspect, the contribution to the community to your company?***

A It's enormous. We do encourage it. As I say even if it's our own land we would go to the leisure guy and say look can we give you a community package? It's a thousand hours for you, come down because it's important. We're neighbours and we are sport. It's very important and the word gets around and it's good. But I tell you it goes entirely down to the person in that area and sometimes they can't be bothered, which I think is sad.

Q ***One might argue that a commercial company contributing to community, giving things away, yes, it's goodwill, but it's goodwill that's recouped in marketing value.***

A In the beginning we were forced upon it and we thought it was good. We just think it's something we do. I don't know whether we get anything out of it or not. I think we get a good reputation. For example, a council in York could phone up Edinburgh council and say 'is that Next Generation any good?' and they might say 'oh yes, they've done a great community package'. That helps, yes. I think it helps things like that. Marketing, to sell memberships I think it might do because some of the parents might come and watch their sons on the community package and think I've got to join this club, it's great. I don't think it's a great deal. We want to be helpful to the council. We're not a developer that slides things through. We want to be open. We will go to the council straight away and say look 'we'd love to come here, we'd love to build here but what do you want, can we help you?'. We've got to be friends because at the end of the day you've got to work with them. We're not like a developer, who says we'll give you a few thousand quid, supermarkets – they give millions, donations to the governments to get planning, we don't do that. We couldn't afford it and it's wrong anyway.

Q ***The amount of money you've been talking about in investment is quite phenomenal. The success you've achieved is self-evident. Would you have been able to do that regardless of which government had been in power?***

A Yes I think we would.

Q ***Is it down to your drive?***

A I think we would. I think we were probably more profitable in the years of recession than we were in normal years. We think we can prove that it actually doesn't go with the economic cycle as much as most people's. Because what happens when people join a club, it might be a little different now because of the joining fee element of a club is declining because of increased competition, but people in the '80s in the recession – we had our best years. People cancelled their holidays but didn't cancel their membership. They had their summer holiday at the club because we have, apart from whether it's going to be sunny or not, you have swimming, you have tennis, you have anything you like here. You can have ice cream, you can go to camp. So people actually didn't cancel their membership, they cancelled their holiday and we got people to join. So it wasn't really affected by that. It might be slightly different now because obviously I think people might start to get a little bit worried and the joining fee element isn't there. They don't pay any joining fee now. Sometimes they do but not many because there's competition so they're not losing money by leaving. Whereas if you've just paid £300 - £400 pounds and you think I don't want to lose it they can rejoin. They can rejoin you see. In the old days if they'd left they'd have to pay another joining fee. So that might be a change. But I don't think so. I think this is so special and people want it or they don't want it. I mean, let's face it, we're talking about for an individual member it's about £1.25 or £1.30 a day. That's what it costs. Well, what can you get for that? That's a pint of beer. So if you look at it in those terms this becomes their life, they meet people, they come for a cup of coffee, they come for a chat. It's more than just a gym. Gyms might be affected. This is a whole lifestyle. I don't think people want to give up a lifestyle unless they really have to.

Q ***I understand that. I joined Living Well club for the gym and the social aspect. There was no social aspect so I left.***

A It's a gym only you see, you're not going to get it. Our gym here's big. All our gyms are massive, but they can still come in and sit down on lovely settees and have whatever and stay as long as they like. Other clubs don't actually want you to stay.

Q ***I come to the last question because I'm conscious of your time. I'm involved in one professional body, but I know there are other associations for sport businesses and so on? Are they particularly important to promoting the commercial side of leisure?***

A Yes I think they are. I do a lot of talks. I actually did one at Dumbarton Council not so long ago. I think councils can be partners. I actually agree with the partnerships. They have land - I need land. They can't build because they haven't got money - I've got money. I think there is a partnership here that can actually be very useful and I've done lots of talks to councils because I think they're the biggest landowner and we need them. That's our problem. They own 8 – 10 acres of prime land in an area where

we can get people in quick that is obviously not developable land; it's either white land or green land so we need their help. There's no two ways about it and I think they need our help too. So I think there should be more liaison and councils are good. The government does interfere. York, for example, we got planning and government turned it down. They were so keen to give it to us in York they fought through and in the end they gave us another lot, which has now been built. But why did they turn the first one down? It wasn't hurting anybody. They'd (York council) given it and they want it. They'd got no indoor courts in York at all. It's a very good tennis area, York. There's only 57 of these type of clubs in Britain. There's 4,200 gyms. There's 57 of these. It's very limited you see. You could get 300-400. I mean we've proved you can go to Dundee – Monifieth has 4,500 members. Ipswich has already got 5,000 in less than a year. So you know they can go to places that you don't think. In fact they probably sell out quicker in those places than they do in the big places because there's no competition.

Q. ***Yes, I've been in the Monifieth one and it's quite a distance away.***

A Yes, it does very well. I mean we've got them in York and until then if a kid wanted to play tennis they probably had to go to Leeds. Sheffield doesn't have any. It has an ITI, which is a government one. You see I've had this argument with the LTA and the Sports Council and I said 'look, do you understand that the pay-as-you-play is more expensive than my clubs? If a kid wants to play at an ITI centre, Scotstoun down the road, it is £12 an hour and sometimes £14 an hour. That's what it is. A junior member of our club here is £18 a month and they can book tennis as an adult. So it's much cheaper. To be a professional tennis player when your 13 or 14 you've got to play a minimum of 4,5, 6 hours a day. Well down the road there they'll be paying £100 just for the court! So he can't play.

Q ***There used to be divisions between public sector and the commercial sector. In the early days much of it was to do with pricing. Is this not the case now?***

A If I could sit own with the guys from Sport England who come in with an open hand and the leisure people I can explain very easily that to join a club like this is less expensive than going to their leisure centre and it is, by miles. They have to pay for a locker, they have to pay for a sauna. They have to pay for everything. When you add that up you come out having spent £12. For an individual member here I think it's £52 a month. You don't pay for indoor tennis, a dance class is nothing. Okay, so they say they don't have to pay for a year. Our customers have to pay for a year but it encourages people to use it more whereas in the other one they probably come in once a month but it's £10, £20 or whatever and they're getting bugger all for it. So for young kids you've got to make an exception to the young juniors. A junior should have a monthly or even a weekly membership of an ITI. Not an hourly charge. It's not possible for a parent to pay that amount of money. Impossible! Just for the juniors – any junior here can book a tennis court. They are absolutely equal to you and that's

what we started 23 years ago and you probably think I'm nuts. We are in a way, but we want kids to play. I mean normally you go down to a tennis club, juniors aren't allowed to play, aren't allowed on the court between four and six o'clock. Well, that's the only time they can play, or at weekends. Well that's the only time they can play, well how can they play? Sport England and the LTA could change that overnight. They could say 'if you can't do it then no Wimbledon tickets'. They could actually do it. I've been on the LTA, but I'm not there any more, but I said 'why don't you do this? I used to go round watching these kids play. I used to see a sign on the side of the court 'no junior allowed on this court Saturday or Sunday between the hours of....' Well, when can they play? That's so simple. The LTA could take a one page document to the clubs 'if you don't instigate a junior programme and juniors are allowed to play any time, under this situation you do not get registered and you don't get your Wimbledon tickets'. It's the same with the ITI's. They have to allow a junior to pay maybe £20 a month, not court fees. So if you're a parent you've got to go down to play five or six times a week that's peanuts. But to play and have time with a coach, because a coach is £20 – 24 or whatever, you can't. The reason we can do it here is that we're a jumbo jet flying full. That's what we are. We're not a 737, we're full and we can do that by having it big enough. If it isn't big enough you actually can't return. If you do your 3 – 3,500 members you've broke even, and you get 5,000 members you're making a profit, and if you get 6,000 you make a bigger profit, it's that simple.

Q ***I think we've covered all I wanted to ask you. Thank you very much for your time.***

INTERVIEW 14: RON TUCK 5/2/99

Chief Executive, Scottish Qualifications Authority, Former Chief of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools

Q ***The first thing I would ask is if you could give me a brief biography of your involvement in education?***

A OK Very briefly in 1974 – 85 I was at Angus College – a variety of jobs starting off as a lecturer in general studies leading up to becoming a Senior Lecturer really responsible for a range of short courses. Got secondment as a development officer for the Action Plan in 1983 shortly thereafter that was an HMI in 1985 working for education and then Chief Inspector in '92 – 97 and at that time had the main responsibility for the Higher Still programme.

Q ***So your involvement has been at quite a crucial time in that so much has happened don't you think in that period? It would be interesting to hear from your perspective what kind of involvement the Inspectorate had in the development of some of the key policies that came into Scotland in the 80's.***

A Right. I was reflecting on that in advance and it seems to me there is a clear divide between policies which were about curriculum qualifications where the Inspectorate was the lead and very often having to persuade Ministers to take a particular line and those that were to do with the organisation of schools where it was very much Ministers in the lead. So on the one hand in the first category you need to take Standard Grade, Action Plan, advanced course development programme 5 – 14 were all areas where there is still a strong Inspector lead. Then there was the advance course development programme – that was a kind of encouragement to SCOTVEC that they get on with it, but the other three - Action Plan, Standard Grade and 5 – 15 - were all very much Inspector lead. If you take on the other hand questions like devolved school management, schools opting out local authority control, the incorporation of FE colleges, these were much more politically lead.

Q ***If you take the first one's you mentioned you were saying that they were Inspectorate led. Was that very much a clear lead from the Inspectorate or very much prompts given from Central Government?***

A No. The initiative were looking at those things in the first place. The cue came from the Inspectorate.

Q ***That seems from my understanding a fair contrast of what went on south of the border where some of the National Curriculum was sort of an interventionist policy and is therefore a substantial difference.***

A The Inspectorate have a different role north and south of the border. In England there was much more an Inspectorate. It's function is seen, above all an Inspectorate. It had no formal role in development. It gave them a

certain advantage in terms of independence and although we now think of the acts of OFSTED being quite closely tied with the Government there was a view before Chris Woodhead when it actually was quite independent and sometimes apparently critical of Government. The Scottish Inspectorate always combined an inspection role with policy advice and a development role and therefore played a role in proposing in Scotland.

Q ***Did you encounter any resistance from Central Government, either by Central Government or by the Scottish Office for your initiatives?***

A Not resistance but you always had to persuade and I think that the Inspectorate and the administration in the Scottish Office performed sort of complementary roles. The Inspectorate obviously have the professional expertise and the deep understanding of educational issues. The administration will provide a kind of sort of lay or political slant on that and say OK that may sound good to you as educationists but what will parents think of that? Or what would be the cost implications or so on and so forth. So you get a kind of interplay between the two but at the end of the day although I said that the Inspectorate lead unless the administrators are persuaded it is not going to get to Ministers probably. Although the Senior Chief can go directly to Ministers, although on the whole it tends to be established by consensus and then it is taken to the Minister who can arbitrarily knock things back. There are aspects of the Higher Still report which were knocked back by Ministers three or four months before publication.

Q ***We will maybe come back to Higher Still. The policy formulation community in Scotland, the school developments were lead by the Inspectorate. Was there a consensus all the way through that development amongst the various bodies involved in Scottish education or was there some discussion and debate amongst that group?***

A Obviously some discussion and debate but I think there is some kind of commonality of values in terms of a belief in comprehensiveness, for example. It's a belief of opportunity for all, certain values in terms of assessments, student centred learning – a number of those things now attacked by the Scotsman of pedagogy of teaching, orthodoxy and it may be that's how it's judged but I would have said yes, particularly in the 80s and early 90s there was a reasonably strong consensus about the overall values which then enabled policy-making to take place in a reasonably consensual way. Although I think that the atmosphere of suspicion that had begun to emerge during the latter half of the Conservative administration meant that even proposals that were intended to be benign were looked at very carefully and suspiciously before the education community said well yes we accept that proposal.

Q ***You were saying that there was consensus and values. What would you say was the aim of education, school education in these initiatives?***

A Could you explain this a bit more?

Q ***In reading there is one view the government tried to make education develop in such a way that it was a ticket to employment and that there was a dominance of vocational perspectives in the curriculum. Did the Scottish decision-making community go wholeheartedly into that education viewpoint or was there within it a recognition that the education was flawed?***

A I'm not sure that there ever was much time for vocationalism in school education in Scotland. I'm trying to think which aspects of policy you would think achieved it in England. Much less so in England. In England there were debates about introducing explicitly vocational elements into the 14 – 16 curriculum and so on in terms of Part One GNVQs and all that kind of thing. In Scotland you certainly had the use of SCOTVEC modules mainly in S5 and S6 but also in S3 S4 but in the main these weren't particularly vocational. They were just really, as it were, general education based and the main reason schools used them they had nothing else for S5 and S6 who were now staying on but weren't' capable of doing Highers. So I think it's only relatively recently with the kind of education for work policy that there has been a very conscious attempt to make schools more vocational. Even TVEI, which was with that intention, was really sort of quite tamed by the Scottish educational system to make, in a sense, vocational purposes, but always general vocational purposes. The system was always resistant to early vocational specialisation and therefore it became much more about work experience, emphasis on core skills for employability but not much that you would regard as very explicitly vocational.

Q ***That resistance that you mentioned, and I'm delighted to hear you do so, because it backs up what Lindsay Paterson has written saying that that was one particular policy the Scottish policy community was obsessed by and diluted it at that time. Can you be a bit more explicit about how that resistance was demonstrated? What was actually done, as you say, to tame TVEI?***

A I don't know. I wasn't close enough to give you an answer on that. I think that TVEI was just sufficiently open in its aims itself. I think at the heart of the development of the policy there was probably that kind of dichotomy of tension between those who saw it really as being about a kind of general vocationalism and those who wanted something a bit more hard-nosed in terms of vocationalism. But it left itself open for a general soft interpretation that could be incorporated into some Scottish traditions about breadth of general education.

Q ***You mentioned SCOTVEC modules being offered to S5 and S6. Did you have any close involvement with what was going on in Further Education, with the rest of what was the 16 + Action Plan?***

A I had a lot of involvement with the 16 + Action Plan

Q ***Again, it came out during the period of resistance to TVEI. What was the key drive to that development?***

A The Action Plan?

Q ***Yes. Was it that people weren't too happy with TVEI and therefore what else can we do in its place?***

A The thrust of the Action Plan was largely to solve FE issues and I think in particular it gained acceptance in education authorities, who of course had control of FE colleges, really as a way of seeing off the MSC. That was the political interest of education authorities that here was something that enabled them, at it were, to respond to the challenge of YTS at the time. Now, there was a lot more behind the Action Plan than that. Within the Scottish Office there had been debates for some time about the need to reform in a more clear direction and it was interesting that in terms of Scottish Office thinking it was originally thought that it was as much for schools as for colleges, but once the Action Plan was published and it coincided with the unrest in schools there was a backing off of the introduction in schools and it became largely an FE initiative and then late in the 80s when industrial relations had ended and schools began to see the so called new 5th, the youngsters who were staying on to fifth year who previously wouldn't have, and who weren't capable of Highers on the basis of Standard Grade performance, they actually needed the modules done in schools and so they were gradually adopted in schools.

Q ***What do see as the key issues in FE at that time?***

A The key issue was lack of flexibility in the FE system. We had large-scale programmes that because they weren't modular weren't capable of being quickly updated. So it was seen generally as a lack of responsiveness and also I think the Scottish office wanted to move away from the plethora of Awarding Bodies at the time and they wanted a single simple system. So in effect, by an amazing sleight of hand the City and Guilds and RSA were shown the door. SCOTBEC and SCOTEC, when they heard of the system, merged into a single body - SCOTVEC.

Q ***Was there a secondary item on your agenda to bring back a greater emphasis on Scottish aspects. You mentioned that the RSA slightly marginalised such issues. Was that a conscious decision, or am I reading things into it?***

A I was too junior at the time. It's quite possible although I think it is always a mistake to attribute too much co-ordinating within the Scottish Office. That may perhaps be unfair to former colleagues but its..... personalities change and so on and you can get carried away thinking there is a very clever common thread running through it all but I think it is quite possible to say that desire for Scottishness was planned.

Q ***This brings us on to the Scottish Office and its perceived degree of autonomy. Just how autonomous was it in terms of education?***

A It's different in parts of the system. School education had been traditionally very autonomous. For FE a bit less so and a bit less interested in it. For other forms of education for training in the work place and so on that tended to be UK policy. So what happened I suppose up until the mid 80s there wasn't a strong political interest in education. Education minister was a kind of soft job and mostly let people get on with it. It was mostly from the mid-80's onwards north and south of the border that they began to come a political hot potato. So that then posed certain challenges for administrators in the Scottish Office. They had to work too hard to preserve its independence or relative autonomy and that wasn't just self-seeking. It was because officials in the DFEE, as it is now known, often made the mistake of forgetting that it wasn't just in Scotland and therefore policies with a UK stamp on it would appear at the quite late final draft stage and the Scottish office had two days to comment. It is that kind of thinking that I think began to sting Scottish Office officials to want take steps to preserve their degree of policy autonomy. And so it goes on to this day in the Scottish Parliament to some extent. Even now in training policy there are Scottish Office/DFEE tensions in the sense that there is always a tendency to forget Scotland's different. It has got a bit better overall.

Q ***Why do you think education has grown in political value in Scotland in terms of Conservative interests?***

A I think education become a hot potato relatively speaking because that reflects the reality of the importance of education to the public. If you go back to the 60s the situation was caricatured that education or qualifications were for a relatively small elite in using it to go onto higher education of certain kinds of employment like banking. For the rest there were apprenticeships, various kinds of training. Lots of jobs. So in that kind of situation there wasn't the same kind of public demand for good quality education leading to qualifications. From the late 70s onwards what really began to dawn on people were two things: first of all that qualifications were increasingly significant in terms of life-chances and also rightly or wrongly a strong association between a strong education system and strong economy. So both of those things conspired to make education and training a fairly high political priority from a about early to mid 80s onwards.

Q ***Do you think that the policies of the Conservatives gave sufficient recognition to specific needs of people in Scotland or do you think that in identifying needs that were evident south of the border that that was enough to provide the basic education policy?***

A I think the answer is a policy. I don't think TVEI was particularly right. At a slightly earlier stage there was enough conventional education wisdom in it to be some kind of marriage of the two. If it had been a straight forward NR policy it would have been much harder to domesticate if I can put it that way.

Q ***Do you think that the NR enhanced Scottish education?***

A I think you have to look at it policy by policy. Certain policies eg opting out as I mentioned, it just didn't succeed because it wasn't popular and there wasn't the demand to make use of it. Devolved school I think it was one of these areas where it was viewed with great suspicion. Nowadays I don't think anybody would like to turn the clock the back. I think too with incorporation of FE colleges that was seen as being an attack on the old authorities. Again most people will see that incorporation of FE colleges was a good idea, although among FE staff there may be concerns it has led to alternative conditions to work longer hours for less secure pay. But leaving aside the personnel dimension, most people will say that FE colleges have blossomed under incorporation. So there were certain policy areas where the government offered a lead, it was resisted but is now pretty well accepted. Other areas like opting out where the policy just simply didn't succeed at all. In terms of the qualification reforms these were initiated by officials in the HMI and then adopted by the ministers rather than them being the inspiration for them.

Q ***When the 1992 Act came along north & south of the border was that initially welcomed in the Scottish Office when it first appeared?***

A It was one of these areas where I wasn't directly involved at that time. I would have guessed that different members of the Inspectorate had different views.

Q ***Does that mean that Scottish education community has more autonomy and control in curriculum matters and less control in management issues?***

A Yes

Q ***Out of all of we have south of the border the national curriculum and various initiatives in schools like GNVQ, GSVQ and so on, one view might be that education north and south is converging and as such the Scottishness is being diluted. What is your opinion of that view?***

A I would disagree entirely. I think that there are both sides of divergence and convergence. Where there is convergence is because in the sense of education being Scotified. It would be hard to say this without sounding a little complacent or perhaps bombastic but there are a lot of people in England that follow a number of the different roads that we have taken. The FE community for example by and large wants unitisation or modularisation – a single credit accumulation framework which they have. They are many who oppose the tripartite English system of having academic quals, general quals and NVQs and who prefer the more unified Scottish comprehensive approach. So I think there are still significant differences between the two education systems and where there is likely to be convergence is because they adopt some of our systems.

Q *Is there much discussion between the policy-making communities in Scotland and South of the border?*

A Yes. I think it has grown in recent years because there has been a certain commonality of agenda at a macro level. So, for example, in both cases we want the qualifications framework to be simpler, more unified more comprehensive. So in Scotland that's achieved largely by having SCOTVEC/SQA, covering all qualifications except degrees. In England because there are a plethora of awarding bodies and qualifications then it is looking at a regulatory body called the QCA which creates the framework to put them on to. We have very close relationships with the QCA so we know what they are doing and they know what we are doing. By and large you can't apply the same solutions to the same problems because the contexts are different, but we keep in touch so that we can borrow any useful ideas. Also for example I sit on various bodies – the joint forum of GCSE and GCE awarding bodies – I attend that to keep in touch with what is happening. I'm on the OU Validation Board. Only yesterday they were discussing the possibility of adopting a credit framework similar to the one that we are adopting. Our general stance is that while we are a Scottish body serving Scottish society it is in the interests of people in Scotland that they are not unnecessary differences with the rest of the UK because Scots use their qualifications in any part of the UK. In a sense you are always walking that tightrope. You don't want to import English ideas if they are contrary to the spirit and values of Scottish education, but at the same time you don't want to retain differences that are unnecessary.

Q *I wonder if you would clarify for me one point. When I was involved in Motherwell College in 1980 and so was living through the implementation of the 16+ Action Plan at that time and when we were putting together national certificate courses, it seems, from my recollection, that there was little guidance coming from the Scottish Office about the constitution of a one year full time course in terms of ensuring the curriculum. What direction we got at that time was from the Region. Am I right that there was no central direction?*

A That's correct because the theory of the Action Plan is that it is a purely modular system and it wouldn't be suitable for awards as such. Students could study whatever programme they wanted or whatever colleges happened to offer and the modules they gained were listed on the certificate and employers would gradually be sophisticated enough to read that qualification and understand it. Although it seems that it was never going to work and colleges quite naturally said well we have got to put these into programmes in particular ways and give them names like a national certificate in. Although, as you know, there was no official programme, with one or two exceptions like National Certificate in Business. So there was no guidance and I think we would have been quite divided on it had there been an attempt. Although I suppose it would have mirrored the kind of views you got in FE itself between your vocational departments who might have said we don't need any of this general studies stuff, what they

need is straight vocational training and those that were more general education bent who said yes, along with the vocational skills they should be developing communications skills, general knowledge as well. So I think it would have been quite hard for the Inspectorate to give advice.

Q ***It seems that the values within Scottish Education indicate that breadth is just as important as preparation for vocational life and preparation for life itself and that here was a policy which, because of the total freedom given by the Scottish Office, was actually not supporting those values.***

A But those were the values of school education, not those of FE. FE had a strong tradition for preparation for particular vocational areas and it was much more modelled on apprenticeship and learning from expert tradesman. Some of the kids themselves viewed general education as school stuff, it's time now to get into the real world and what motivates them was the job that they wanted to do. General studies in FE were quite badly done and didn't do much to enhance the cause of general studies. I think it's only with Higher Still that we've started to articulate or combine the notions of general education with vocational preparation.

Q ***This leads nicely into the last part of the interview. Was Higher Still another example of Scottish education leading the way or was it in response actions south of the border?***

A Absolutely the former. The origins of Higher Still I think can be traced to a 1983 Inspectorate report on the senior stages of Scottish Secondary school and in that report you will find the gems of all the arguments that lead to the Howie analysis. That's where they first talked about the two-term dash about the drift in S6. It talked there about a reform of the curriculum. The time wasn't right in that the late 70s Donald Mack, the Deputy Senior Chief HMI, he held a lot of internal discussions within the Inspectorate about what should be done about S5 & S6 and although that work didn't lead to any conclusions it lead to the establishment of the Howie Commission. But the Government politically had no particular agenda about what to do beyond recognising that possibility that something you dealt with didn't have a great deal of interest. So what the Howie committee Report usefully did was to establish a consensus on what the problems were, although not establish a consensus on what the solutions were. After the Howie committee report, it was evident quite early on that there were aspects of it that were going down like a lead balloon and then we started to prepare an alternative policy.

Q ***Those aspects which were going down like a lead balloon – where was the resistance or the disapproval of some of the recommendations?***

A I think that is quite easy to trace. The fatal thing was twin tracking because the policy was interpreted as having two routes – one for academic sheep and one for vocational goats. Now, my own view isthat if we had gone ahead of implementing Howie we would have found ways of bridging the two not unlike the Higher Still outcomes. It wasn't at all the way it was

perceived. I think without personalising it too much that there were significant figures like Andrew McPherson who coined the term twin-tracking and it was very interesting to watch that after an initially favourable response to this line of attack coming mainly from Andrew McPherson, but others Ian Brown from an accepted currency???

Q ***You said that following that things have moved on in Higher Still and that there is a more conscious effort or component within Higher Still which maintains a breadth of education and not total vocationalism. Is this now bringing a common agenda to school education and FE?***

A Yes.

Q ***It also in the framework in various diagrams which reflects Higher Education qualifications. Is it an attempt to pull or influence Higher Education to have more involvement in the whole of education agenda?***

A I think there is a growing interest in Higher Education in that anyway. I think there has been convergence in thinking about curriculum qualifications across all parts of it. I don't think any particular sector has been forced in a particular direction. They have evolved together so that the notion that the curriculum can be defined in terms of outcomes is now broadly acceptable in HE as well as in Further and School education. And the QAA reforms in terms of writing programme specifications, which have outcomes, hasn't caused a great deal of concern within HE. So many have gone down that route anyway. Modularization now, I suppose, applies in more than half the university provision and of course it's the basis of all SQA's provision whether school or FE, SVQ – it's all modular. The notion that you use a unit-based system to create group awards was already there in some universities in Scotland, so in some sense we have taken an old higher education idea. So I think in terms of the way the curriculum is organised and grouped to qualifications there has been a convergence across the sectors so that it is now a very comfortable relationship.

Q ***What at the moment do you see are the big changes with the Scottish Parliament coming?***

A Well – I think closer political speaking. So for us as an organisation there will be a much closer political interest in what we do and how we do it and far more likely to be summoned to explain ourselves. A lot depends on the outcomes of the election. Clearly there will be a culture of where organisations that are not directly part of the civil service should come under greater public scrutiny. What it will mean in other ways I don't know. Lindsay himself talks about the new political paths. We as an organisation have a strategy for linking with stakeholders, but we don't have a very direct link with politicians. I think that's going to change and the extent to which Scottish political paths will start to drive the education agenda in different directions I can't speculate. We really don't know.

Q ***We have covered quite a range of issues. Is there anything that we have missed or you would like to add about Scottish education and the Conservatives?***

A Well, I think if I can summarise, the Conservative government has a strong influence on the organisation and management of schools and FE colleges. Most of that probably worked and some of it didn't. In terms of curriculum and qualifications Scotland has largely pursued it's own agenda and at the end of that period remains just as distinct from England as it was before, in some ways perhaps more so. I think that in many ways, without being at all complacent, Scotland for its size is able to pursue certain kinds of goals in terms of bringing the system together into a single comprehensive whole that England and Wales would probably adopt if they could. So that far from being Scotland being anglicised, I think that in England and Wales there are a number of people who would like to see their systems scotified.

Q ***Thank you very much for you time, it's been really interesting to hear your views.***

A My pleasure.

INTERVIEW 15: **BRIAN MEEK 6/2/02**
Conservative Local Councillor, Former Convenor, Recreation Committee, Edinburgh City Council

Q. ***From the briefing note you will have seen that I am researching the notion of professionalism in the leisure industry, particularly in the context of Conservative Government policies. I therefore wish to discuss with you today the policies and objectives of the New Right Government. From my own reading it seems that there are things that have been eminently successful and had a substantial impact, but at the same time there were some difficulties in implementing policies. Having done that and concluded that from books I'm more interested to hear from people who were actually involved at the time.***

A. Yes. If you wouldn't mind a little bit of history.

Q. ***Absolutely.***

A. The Conservative Party is the oldest Party in Scotland and there is something very curious about it. It is the only Party which has ever managed to get more than 50% of the Scottish vote. Now you will find that extraordinary when you think that there is great swathes of Labour MP's and MSP's and all the rest of it, but Labour have never had 50% of the Scottish vote. They normally come in at about 47%-48% and the 'first passed the post' system just connives to give them the seats. In 1951 the Conservatives got 50.7% of the Scottish vote and so it's a strange historical fact that only the Tories have ever had a majority in voting terms in Scotland which is amazing. So we almost, if you like, start from that point because that was the days of Harold McMillan, who was followed by Douglas Home, who was followed by Edward Heath and so it went on. I have a theory about that. I think that the Scots were much more easily able to accept the kind of patrician Tory, the landed gentry type of Tory, than they were the hard-nosed Tory. I think Mrs Thatcher had three basic disadvantages as far as Scotland was concerned –she was a woman, she was bossy and she was English and I think when you put that combination together I think it was a very hard thing for the Scots to accept. Now strangely enough Mrs Thatcher actually liked coming to Scotland. She liked Scotland but then she saw a Scotland which wasn't the one in which we live. It was very much a one where I go and stay with the 'Earl of this' up the road or I'll go down to Dundas Castle and stay with this person and all the rest of it. I think she had great difficulty in understanding the kind of social history of Scotland in the sense that I think the patricians in the Tory Party were liked because they were benevolent. They saw themselves in some kind of looking after poor people. It was patronising, but for a long, long time it worked. That's what people accepted.

Q ***The natural order of things?***

A. Yes. One of my MPs, called Michael Clarke Hutcheson, put his address in the telephone book as 25 Eden Square, London, because that's where he lived. If you wanted to ring him up you had to dial 01 and he never thought anything about that and he use to make visits to Edinburgh, like a kind of State visit. It was like 'I'm coming up to see my people' and you know when you think how could you possibly get away with that now. If you lived in London and you tried to represent a Scottish seat the people would laugh at you. But that was not an uncommon fact in the fifties and in the sixties.

Q ***It was interesting in the elections for the Scottish Parliament and in my constituency there were candidates whose address was in England.***

A. Really? I didn't know that. That's very interesting. We, nowadays, wouldn't allow that. Indeed, I know as far as local government is concerned, you wouldn't be permitted to stand unless you lived in the local government area. So there you are, times change. After Heath lost in '73 we went through this very strong Labour period when Wilson and Callaghan were running governments, where you had, in Scotland, Wullie Ross as the Secretary of State, who was a kind of, I think, a Governor General sent from London. Although he hated Scottish Nationalists, and hated Tories, he was a hugely powerful figure. He ran the Scottish Office like a provincial governor of a colony. So the Scots were, if you like, almost cut off from a lot of what was happening in England. We were also going through a very difficult industrial period, as you will know, because all of the industries, which were Scotland's pride when I was a boy, were all in terminal decline – ship building, coal mining, heavy engineering - all of these things. So, Scotland was faced with a very difficult choice. Remember some of the things we tried; we tried to make our own cars, we tried to make the Hillman Imps at Linwood and that kind of thing. A disaster. We had UCS strikes and that kind of thing. Every time there was a view of pits you always knew there was another five pits who were going to come out. So, Scotland went through a really traumatic time in my view during the Wilson/Callaghan years and it was very difficult and a lot of people lost their jobs. It was the start of a huge rise in unemployment. That had side effects for the leisure industry. I know you don't really want me to go into that.

Q. ***No, no. Please do.***

A. It was interesting because lots of people were paid off in the sixties and seventies, or were forced to take early retirement. These people had to find new ways of passing their time and I think that that, indeed, was partly the reason for the development of the leisure industry as such. You know I came into local government in '69 and in '72 I was Chairman of the Recreation Committee in the City (Edinburgh) and we had these facilities that we had inherited from the Commonwealth Games, Meadowbank, the Commonwealth Pool etc. We merged the libraries, museums and parks with the leisure department and called it the Recreation Department. You know, I couldn't find anyone to run this department because nobody was qualified. Who was qualified? How did they manage to run the libraries, or the

museums, but nobody to run the sports centres – they didn't have the faintest idea. Eventually we had to take the Clerk to the Committee. We made him Director of Recreation because at least he listened to all the discussions as we went along, but there were no professional recreational people who said I have been a Director of Recreation and I can see the whole picture. Maybe we did the wrong thing. Maybe we shouldn't have put the libraries and museums in the Recreation Department, I don't know.

Q. ***I don't think you were in unusual in what you did.***

A. But I mean it didn't work for a long, long time. What happened was that the parks man never spoke to library man. The library man thought the parks man was a glorified gardener, so he didn't like him very much. It was very interesting. We had people like the City Librarian who had enormous power in deciding what books we would buy and where we should put them. If there was anything remotely erotic you had to get a key to get it out a cupboard and sign for it! So, you know, the whole attitude of Government and Local Government was terribly conservative with a small 'c'. Even down to things like dress. On Council days, people here, not of my generation, they would wear a black jacket and striped trousers – that's what they wore. The Councillors all wore robes when they went out on the street. They had robes and chains. So all of these are expressions of a conservative society. And then along came Mrs Thatcher. I notice you call it New Right. I think Mrs Thatcher was actually 'Old Right', but I could be wrong about that.

Q. ***Why do you say that?***

A. Because I think she was actually pursuing the policies that were pursued during the industrial revolution. When the industrial revolution came along the great factory owners and the people who did all that stuff said 'hey, we are not having thousands of people sitting there, we are going to change it. We are going to bring in machinery. It's going to take away some jobs but it's going to make it so much better. We're going to actually market our goods. We are not having any trouble from you guys, trade unions sort of stuff.' That's what happened in Britain in the late nineteenth century. The Victorians were the same. The Victorians actually believed you had to make a lot of money, but they also believed that you had to provide public buildings and public services. If you look at most of the swimming pools in Glasgow, they were all built in Victorian times. If you look at the swimming pools dotted round Scotland they're all Victorian. The ornate lavatories were Victorian. They loved that sort of thing.

Q. ***I'm interested to hear your comment about Mrs Thatcher. Do you think that Mrs Thatcher was not then as radical as she thought she was? Would you agree with that view?***

A. Yes, yes I would. She was radical in some fields. She was absolutely horrified to walk into a television studio to record an interview and see something like fifteen people all walking around with bits of paper. She

used to say 'what do all these people do?' That was anathema to her. You must remember that in the last year, before Mrs Thatcher came in, in 1979, Britain had been hit by 'this winter of discontent' as it was called, where everybody appeared to be on strike at the one time. You had mounds of rubbish that was been left uncollected. There were people lying who couldn't be buried because the gravediggers were on strike. There were massive strikes on the railways. There were pit strikes. Mrs Thatcher I think, when she was in Government, looked at all of this and said 'I'm not having this'. So she set about to create a new industrial climate and she came to Scotland and she listened to all the woes about Scottish engineering, that we've not received enough help in preserving the traditional industries and she said 'that's a load of rubbish, you don't want to preserve an industry just because it's a tradition, you have to have a lean industry'. That, of course, met fierce resistance from some people who had entrenched interests in keeping the industrial structure the way it was and that was a major battleground. She didn't always handle it well. She just had an unfortunate manner that people didn't like very much. She also did not have the Victorian feeling about public services. She thought public services should exist but opposition remarked that 'you'd better watch out because the Tories will privatise the National Health Service'. The Tories were in power for eighteen years, if they were going to privatise the National Health Service why didn't they do it? It won't happen like that. The main difficulty she had in implementing her policies in Scotland was that a) she had very few MPs, b) there was practically no Scottish local authorities that were Conservative. There is a wonderful story about George Younger. George Younger was meeting a delegation from COSLA led by Dick Stewart, who was a famous Labour Councillor.

Q. ***I've met Dick Stewart.***

A. Dick Stewart said, who could not say a sentence without a swear word, said as they gathered, 'I just want to say this to you, Secretary of State. He said 'you are leading the most vile administration that has ever been known in Scotland and you, yourself, have no 'f****ng idea of what's happening here'. And George Younger looked up and he said 'have the biscuits reached you yet? Dick was quite taken aback by all this. He couldn't understand – why was this man being nice to him when he had just been rude to him? So the Tories were in power in the UK with only a handful of Scottish MPs, all of whom had to be given jobs whether or not they were idiots. I mean if you had an MP you couldn't have him floating around, you know what I mean. Whose wonderful idea would it ever have been to make Nicky, Nicholas Fairbairn, a Government Minister? One of the Party Chairman said 'one night I came into the building. I thought that's very good now, they are putting down tartan rugs, and I sat on this tartan rug and it was Nicky, who was lying there fast asleep, drunk as a skunk' and the guy sat on him. So that was partly Mrs Thatcher's problem. She had very few people here, on the ground, who were in positions of power.

Q. ***One of the thing's that I've read suggests that the views of Scottish MPs differed from the views of Westminster or Mrs Thatcher.***

A. You mean the views of Scottish Tory MPs?

Q. ***Yes.***

A. I think there were a number of people, like myself, on the left of the Party, who were very uneasy about some of the things that were done. I thought the re-organisation of Local Government, the second re-organisation of Local Government was actually botched. We went one night to Ingliston, where Mrs Thatcher was, and I tried to argue the case that we should exempt students and student nurses from the Poll Tax, or at best should charge them something like 20%, because it was actually costing thousands of pounds to recover hundreds of pounds, chasing these people all over the place. And Mrs Thatcher gave me a lecture as though I was some kind of communist who had been parachuted from Moscow. How dare I challenge this policy and, of course, four years later they had to run from this because it was just unworkable, and yet if she had remunerated them slightly, if she had recognised that young people were going about the place to different universities, who were they going to pay tax to, where were they going to pay the poll tax, where were they going to be registered, it might have been different. You had all these foreign nationals living here – how were you going to get it from them? It was just a nightmare.

Q. ***That kind of example you've given me, was that a common scenario? To what extent were Scottish Conservatives able to influence policy coming out of Westminster?***

A. She always had a lot of Scots in her Cabinet if we can go back to that. She had the Secretaries of State, John McGregor (?), Malcolm Rifkind, all these people were in the Cabinet but I really think it was a cabinet of one. I thought she ran it – that was it. But you have to say, to be fair to her, the poll tax was actually going to be tried out in the UK as a whole. Scotland wasn't going to get it first, but the Secretary of State, George Younger at that time, was under pressure because he announced a revaluation of property in Scotland and that always means that the valuation goes up, everybody has to pay more and there's howls of anguish. And at the Tory Party Conference that year Gerry Malone, who was a Scottish MP, got up and said we're better having all this over at the one time and the simplest thing would be if we got the Poll Tax first and we got on with it, it would be very popular. The conference said 'well if you Scots want to get on with it first, on you go, good luck you'll need it'. Now the Tories got damned then afterwards saying you introduced something in Scotland that wasn't introduced elsewhere, but it was a Scottish Tory MP who got up and elected for it.

Q ***Now, again, that's another example that vindicates the process of implementing policies, yet it is something we don't hear about. There's very little published in the defence of it.***

A One of the other things that the Tories got themselves into desperate trouble with was an area they were expected to have more expertise than any other

party and that was in the defence spending. The Tories made, in my opinion, an absolutely crass decision to virtually shut down Rosyth Dockyard. It is still something that is remembered bitterly by a lot of people in Scotland and it was a choice between some dockyard in England and Rosyth, one of them had to go. In retrospect, both of these should have been left because we've since had to get more defence spending. Mrs Thatcher, herself, was enormously boosted by the fact that she went to war in the Falklands and, of course, all these things that were to have reduced spending, suddenly came back in. The Uganda, which used to take children on holiday, suddenly came back with canons sticking out of it and was sailing away down to the South Atlantic. So the Tories mismanaged that part. They also did some very good things, Fiona. They trebled the number of young people in Further Education. They doubled the number of graduates in Scotland over a period of time. They created something like seven or eight new universities in Scotland. Now, I think there is great credit to be gained from these things, because what Mrs Thatcher most definitely did enforce was that education was the key to success and she believed that wealth created wealth.

Q ***I worked in schools, special education and further education and to achieve those goals required a fair degree of intervention. What were the key barriers or difficulties you faced as a party in implementing the actions required to achieve those goals?***

A. One of the difficulties we faced as a Party was Michael Forsyth because Michael Forsyth was seen as the enforcer. He was the guy who was told to go and get on with it. I worked for him for a couple of years. He was an amazing chap, but I've never known anyone with so much manic energy. He was a slight man, who must have only slept for about two hours or something, because he had about thirteen different ideas every day. I've never met anyone in politics quite like him. He was driven. Not all the things he did were bad either. The thing for years about the Stone of Destiny – he actually had it brought back! But he was not good, nor was Mrs Thatcher, at actually being able to persuade the Scots that this was the direction they should go in. Now I have to say to you that Mr Blair has got exactly the same problem, that when you say to the Scots who are very conservative, well we're going to change in Scotland and we'll make this new Parliament and you'll vote.(?) So successive governments, will have difficulty deflecting Scots from their traditional past. Mind you young people can change. There is, in all fields including yours, a much greater expectation by people of what their lives should contain.

Q ***That rise in expectation, do you think that has been borne out of the positive aspects of Conservative Government, the enterprise culture or participative citizenship model?***

A Yes. I would go further than that and say that Mrs Thatcher took the country through very hard economic times because when she inherited the UK financial battle we were in desperate difficulties financially. We were failing to repay debts, we were not doing anything to support the third world

because we were having the greatest difficulty in supporting ourselves. She changed that, she turned the economy round. We've now got the situation where, today, we have far more money to spend than we ever had in our lives. People like the Americans looked at the papers and said she has taken them out from being the sick man into being a trusting one. But a lot of people suffered. I believe Mrs Thatcher lost the place eventually where she became obsessed by her own belief. See the Tory Party has always been a very pragmatic party – we've been for Europe, we've been against it, we've been for hanging, we've been against it, we've been for increased taxation, we've been for reduced taxation. There is no middle way. I heard Liam Cox saying on the radio this morning that we are now into talking about which choice of jags children should have. It is only last year that we were saying that MMR was a wonderful thing. Mrs Thatcher never deviated – 'if I say it's right – it's right'. Well, it wasn't right. What she did was she managed to upset almost all of the professionals. It didn't matter whether it was lawyers, teachers, doctors, they all got upset.

Q ***The previous, traditional Conservative Party did seem to have a high degree of flexibility in the way it interpreted policies. It seemed to be able to use that to its political advantage. The lack of flexibility seems to come from the fact that she desired to get her way.***

A Because, as you said right at the start, she wasn't actually as radical as she believed herself to be. I wrote a paper in '75 saying the Tories should actually stop religious schools and I believed the Tories were the only people who can do that because the Labour party would be rent asunder by it. We, as a party, should have said 'I don't believe that Catholic Schools, Muslim schools are the way forward, it is quite wrong and that religion should be taken out of State education'. I tried to get Mrs Thatcher to do that. She was interested but didn't have the nerve, because there were a multitude of Church of England schools and Mrs Thatcher liked, and was liked, by the Asian Community because she thought they were entrepreneurs and they worked all the hours God sends. So she was prepared to give them their own school. She was not prepared to take that radical step forward.

Q ***Radical in her own mind, but only up to a point?***

A Up to a point. She was, she is a very different woman to anybody that I can remember in the Tory Party. Here was a woman who had managed to have both her children at the one time, who had managed to find a husband who is a millionaire, who was delighted to walk around saying nothing. He came up to see me, he's a nice man and he thought she was absolutely wonderful. He used to call her the boss.

Q ***You mentioned that there was a price to pay.***

A Yes there was.

Q ***Do you think people in Scotland paid a higher price than elsewhere in Britain?***

A I think people in Scotland, this is an extremely biased view, a biased political view, had been betrayed by the Labour Party. We have the worst municipal housing throughout the UK, possibly in Western Europe. They build these souless estates with no facilities in them, threw away the keys and walked away and left the people. They created a culture in the '60s and '70s where people thought you could achieve great things by withdrawing your labour, where, in fact, all you achieved was economic ruin for a lot of the companies that they took on. When you think of it, some of the great companies that we had in Scotland would still be here today, Coats, Patons. That was done. They had, particularly in the West of Scotland, they had this culture of the Council as meeting those debts. It wasn't a communist regime in the sense that it wasn't a central Soviet regime. But, in fact, the Council in Glasgow was, in fact, Soviet, in that it decided what all the policies were going to be and you could have, as they used to say, in the day when the revolution comes, you could have any colour you liked as long as it's red. I'm saying that to you quite seriously. I remember having a debate in here about whether a woman was allowed to paint the door of her house a different colour to all of the other ones and the Council said 'no you can't have a blue doors and then one red door'. We were operating public washhouses and there was a chap who had done a study and said give everyone who hasn't got one a washing machine because that is so much cheaper, so much better and so much more hygienic than the current situation. Outrage, how dare you shut public washhouses- people loved public washhouses. Absolute nonsense. Women were standing there pummelling clothes and this was all part of our wonderful Scottish society. People should have been out enjoying themselves.

Q ***So were some of the issues the Government faced caused by the failures of previous governments?***

A What we did was make a conscious effort to help people live better. I'm 62. I can't remember in my school days anyone talking about diet, at least if they had got the diet right that would have been a good start. We were very lucky because we were the wartime generation, so we got a balanced diet because there was nothing else to eat.

Q ***I was the post-war, so I got all the custard and all the new things.***

A You got all the sweet things. I think that I was very lucky. I was brought up in an era when teachers took sport. That was part of their job. They saw that as part of their job. So the history teacher came out, put on his shorts, and refereed a football match. We even had swimming. All of these things we had. There are kids today who still don't have. I've got a huge secondary school in my ward and we've been trying to get a swimming pool for the last ten years, but we are no nearer getting it now than when we started. There is always a better priority.

Q ***You mentioned a number of Scots who were in the Cabinet and Margaret Thatcher who had a very strong conviction. Who really implemented the policies in Scotland?***

A Well, successive Secretaries of State. Another very important person in that, another very important Scottish person was Wullie Whitelaw. Wullie Whitelaw was really the guy who sort of said to people 'well don't get too upset, I know she's shouted at you but she really likes you'. He was the peacemaker in the Cabinet. It was very interesting because Mrs Thatcher believed that once she appointed somebody here like George Younger she used to say he's gone native because George would try and be friendly because he came from the old patrician style. Michael Ancram was another one. He came in. He was the Earl of Ancram, his father died in 1984 so Michael inherited the title. He was another one who was not a hard-faced Tory. So these people were sent up here to their home to implement policies. Not all of them did.

Q ***Anyone in particular?***

A Oh I think Malcolm Rifkind, who had enough of it and eventually said that 'either Mr Forsyth gets out of my administration or I resign' and she took Michael Forsyth and put him in the Ministry in London. Then she sent Michael Forsyth back again but Malcolm, I think, had a difficult time. You could issue edicts till you were black in the face but Scottish Local Government, where much of the service had to be delivered, were not prepared to do that. What were you to do? Were you actually going to send in teams of civil servants to do the job? I remember that being mooted in the late '70s. The Tories believed they could transform Glasgow if they gave it lots of money and I used to say 'well, I know you're giving it all the money but you are not doing any improvements. What's happening?' I used to also say and where are the extra Tory votes that you have been trying to woo? We had one councillor. So the Councils took the money but they didn't implement the policies that the Government wanted.

Q ***Clearly, the policies changed the face of Scottish Local Government.***

A Yes they did and there was nothing wrong with that. It was actually started by the outgoing Labour Government. They put the Wheatley Commission, Lord Wheatley was a Labour peer, and Wheatley was the guy who said this is ridiculous because we had a big authority like Glasgow, we had Burgh Councils in some places, we had County Councils – a total mixture. So what Wheatley did, I knew him well and liked him, he had this estuarial principle where the local authority was defined by estuary. Well the first thing that happened was that Fife said there is no way we're getting small. So there was a need to reform them.

Q ***So what were the real aims of the reforms in the management of local government?***

A The Party were attempting to bring in a system where a delivery of services would be done on a more efficient basis, that everything would be costed for best value where we would stop the practice of having large in-house direct labour departments and that we would try to stamp out some of the inherent petty corruption which goes on in local government all the time. You see when I was in Lothian Region we spent £500m a year, that was our annual budget. That was bigger than some countries in the United Nations. Strathclyde was bigger than about 25 countries. That's a lot of financial clout. So in a lot of traditional areas the work went where the Council said it would go. Builders were always never too far away from the Council because they were all trying to persuade the Council to give them more land to build houses on. When it was a Labour administration they gave them the land to build houses on provided they were council houses. When it was a Conservative Council we gave them the land to build private houses. What Mrs Thatcher sincerely believed was that the issue should be what kind of houses do we need? Not what kind of houses does the local authority think it would get most benefit from, which was a different argument altogether. So that's what they were trying to achieve. They were trying to make sure that local authorities were more accountable to the public. It may surprise you to learn that in 1970 all the sub-committees and some of the main committees in this authority were in private and it was the Tories who moved that they should all be done in public. Because we wanted to make sure that all the decisions could be seen and were accountable.

Q ***Was there a move then to dilute the political bias of local authority and turn it into a management mechanism?***

A I don't think that even Mrs Thatcher thought she would be able to do that. A lot of the Tories would tell you that it was a great idea to take the politics out of local government. But I explained to them, patiently I hope, that if you were spending £500m, that's a political decision. Sorry you can't go back to having well meaning managers. The Tories, at least, recognised that if you wanted effective Councillors you had to pay them something. We didn't get paid at all until 1970 and then we got something like £10 a day so it wasn't a great incentive. When I arrived here at first they were all these vested interests. I mean the big building companies in Edinburgh used to put a man on the Council. They would put him up for whatever Party they thought and he was there, he was their man, in the same way the trade unions have permanent officials here who look after the trade union interests. They were Councillors as well. The profile of the Councillor has changed dramatically in that time and most of the change came under Tory leadership.

Q ***If there is more accountability to identify real need as opposed political need, what kind of person did the Party identify as being the right kind of person to identify those needs – skills, background etc.?***

A I can only say what I think. Women used to say to me that Mrs Thatcher may have been a woman but she was never a sister. But I tell you a fact. There were a lot more women in local government during her time than had ever been there before. 40% of this Council was women that that time. I

was very much in favour of that because I thought, and still think that women, who have had either a career or have brought up a family, bring experiences to the Council that many men cannot bring. Although, funnily enough, when I first came here no woman was allowed on the Highways Committee because it was thought what good would they be because they can't even drive. That was the attitude. It's incredible to think now you would have a Committee that women were banned from. All the parties agreed to this. Women were put on things like the Children's Committee. So when you asked me what kind of person she wanted, I think she wanted people who had some business acumen. She was persuaded, perhaps reluctantly, that they also had to have some kind of genuine desire to produce the services. In one of my only successful arguments with her I think I said to her 'you have to understand, Prime Minister, that the raison d'etre for local authorities is to spend money, there is no other reason for them being there'. Now it's the amount of money, it's the direction of money that we are arguing about. It's not about whether we should spend it, because what else would they do? They are there to decide how much money is spent on the roads as opposed to education, as opposed to social work as against leisure. Now to get the right people to do that you have to give them a meaningful role to play. I'm here to challenge and to set the policies. It doesn't mean I want to go out and lay the bricks. We've got to set the big agenda and the officials are there to carry it out. Their job is to say to me or to anybody else 'that can't be done'.

Q ***Did that permeate down to officer level? Was there a change there too?***

A Absolutely. I'm sure if you spoke to anyone in here they would say when they came into local government the deal was this- 'you won't get the highest wages in Britain but you will never be out of a job. You've got a job for life and unless you run away with the typist or take money out the till you're okay.' So people came here and kind of plotted their career and looked forward to about 40 years work. There's nobody stays that long now. People move around more. The thing that is starting to happen now, which is very exciting – I went to America to St. Louis, Virginia which is a city about the same size as Edinburgh. I was talking to the Mayor who earned about 10 times more than I did. I said, after looking around, you have a lot of young people working for you. He said 'yes what I do is I go to the State colleges and universities and I ask who are the top 5 students in finance or accountancy and I say to them would you like to be the chief accountant for the city of St. Louis? So I give them a five year contract. After they finished that, they go and work for some big company, but I've had their brains, their expertise for five years. Now you look at the staff we have, we have far more graduates. That's true in most businesses, it's also true in my profession. I started out in newspapers serving tea. Now people start off in newspapers with an MA degree having been four years to university, otherwise they don't get the job. So the quality of staff nowadays is higher, they are not so parochial. That was the Tories who brought this in. Attitudes have changed. People do expect a better deal and why shouldn't they get one?

Q ***We've talked about a lot of issues relating to the Conservative Party, what was the response generally of the voting public?***

A Well the facts of the matter speak for itself. The Tories became more and more unpopular in the dying years of the Thatcher administration. They were hit by a number of high profile sleaze affairs. I believe that's almost inevitable. When you're in power for eighteen years people start to assume things. I called it myself, Fiona, the no-raincoat syndrome - they never have raincoats because they never walk anywhere! People open doors for them or, if it rains, people hold umbrellas for them. They never watch television and they literally move out of the real world into a world at Westminster, which is so internecine, and they don't see the big picture any more. I think we'll start to see that with New Labour as well. I think that was where the voters got turned off. I believe all these things are cyclical. People say to me are you frightened if Scotland went independent. Not at all. The Tories would actually be better off because they would have to be on top of the debate so it wouldn't worry at all. I think there is a deal of merit in the American System, which limits you to two terms. If Mrs Thatcher had retired at the end of two terms she would have been hailed an economic miracle worker etc. She went for the next two or three years and it was too long. The dangerous thing comes out when people, not when they get angry with you, but when they laugh at you. When the ridicule starts, they stop listening. And I think it was an amazing thing and, in some ways a very bad thing, when Major won the election after Mrs Thatcher. The Tories were actually very tired. Some of them had been in government for fifteen years. They won an election they didn't really expect to win. I think it would have been much better if Labour had won for the Tories. Taken a breather, recharged their batteries. But what goes round comes round.

Q ***That's been absolutely fascinating. We have discussed a number of things that I will be able to consider further. Thank you very much indeed. I really do appreciate the time you've given me.***

A My pleasure.

Q ***Because Margaret Thatcher was seen as such a conviction politician, a strong personality, from your point of view sitting in a local authority, who did it seem to you was actually driving the policies through in Scotland in the 80's into the early 90's?***

A I was a member of the Labour Party then and not a local government councillor until 1992, by which point the worst was over. But the Council was very much involved in trying to fend off the worst as we saw it. I think the policy was coming through very strongly from the Thatcherite movement because Michael Forsyth was there for a long time as Secretary of State, and he was nothing if not a down and out Thatcherite, and he seemed to me as the key figure at that time. I think our response to it as far as I can tell, because sport was completely different from culture even when I came into the council, was to try to use it as much as possible for the benefit of the city and the workers. On the one hand you had Thatcherite policies creeping in all over the place. I mean if you're talking about broad brush, the year that I came in here was the year that one of my best friends was still suspended by the Party in here for voting in public against what we had to do, which was to provide details of the electoral register to the Poll Tax people, and clearly Glasgow was totally against the Poll Tax right up unto the wire. Under Pat Lally, at that time, and I think he was right, you parried with Government rather than came out and fought battles that you couldn't win. So you would use, I think, a certain amount of deviousness to still get things done. That was in the broad brush. But as I say, Pat took us to the wire, you know, not releasing information until they had to, until the Council would be surcharged for not and then the rebels that were still there, and I suspect they were rebellious against Pat rather than the information going, was actually still under a year's suspension when I came in here. So I came at the time when the residue was still all being dealt with and that was in the broad brush. As far as cultural policy etc. was concerned and the policy of the Council in trying to make the lives of Glasgwegians better and trying to fend off the worst aspects of Thatcherism, we had two people at the top who basically hated each other but were united in the fact that they had to be very, very, very careful, very cautious, but very, very forceful in getting the best out of the city, for the city at that time and that was Jean McFadden and Pat Lally. Now that got a very, very bad press outside and in the city and I think that's appalling because, okay, there was a kind of musical chairs in here; two very strong personalities. A lot of the stuff in the papers was all about these personalities conflicting, but what they failed to see was the worst aspects of Thatcherism could have been a thousand times worse in the impact on the city had there not been a very strong leadership at that time. Maybe not the kind of leadership that we need today, and certainly not the kind of policies that we need today, but policies that worked during the '80s and early '90s to try to keep this city going and I always give examples of the two cities that are so, so similar – Liverpool

and Glasgow. One choosing to go right out on a collision course, a desperate course which failed, and Liverpool is still suffering from and by the way, it will not be a Labour city again for a long, long time and it's prime Labour territory and this city which was more measured and yet got away with things because it seemed to be playing the game and it was actually playing the game for the city. That's where I see it. So that's the broad-brush thing. Thatcher was trying to push through policies. Look at the Poll tax – we were a guinea pig in Scotland, very much seen as a Thatcherite era, the era from 1984 when I really got into active politics, up until she was forcibly told to go and into the early '90s, still worried about local government budgets. Every time there was a settlement local budgets were cut. It was the era of death by a thousand cuts, small ones rather than a huge swingeing thing. Then into the '90s you get 250 local government Acts passed between the '80s and the '90s in order to force councils to conform. And then finally the biggest, biggest blow of all, the real way in which they got to us was, and I always said it would happen, after the Greater London Council was abolished, I said Strathclyde will be next, and Strathclyde was certainly next. 1996 was not about anything other than two things – getting more Tory councillors, which failed miserably, and getting rid of the last, as they saw it, big bastion of socialism, which was Strathclyde. The message is the same all the way through from '79 right to '97 - this particular dislike, verging on paranoia between central government in Westminster and local government. There's always been a resentment and an acknowledgement that local government provides another power base and if you've got the opposite power in control at the centre and you've got the opposition to that in control in localities then it makes for conflict. That's how I saw it working with local government. It was stripped, it was denuded of its powers but it was a gradual thing and the fact that Glasgow, I believe, and Strathclyde seemed to be subverting all these things is one of the reasons why 250 Acts had to be passed to curtail the activities of local government. It's very, very interesting and a thesis could be written on that on its own.

Q ***So do you think if Glasgow and Liverpool, as you mentioned, hadn't been so strong and innovative, ingenious, however you want to describe it, do you think that if that hadn't been the case that local government in Scotland in particular, would have been more severely affected by Thatcher policies?***

A Glasgow would certainly have been more severely affected. I think that Glasgow gave a lot to COSLA as well, but there were still some Tory Councils, there were still some Lib-Dem Councils and a lot of independent Councils and I'm completely unknowledgeable about the way in which they work. I've always been in a council, which was under Labour control. I don't know what it was like to be in another kind of council and I certainly don't know what it must be like to be an independent councillor when you're not flying a particular flag. That being said, I'm a democrat first and I suspect that many of those councils found their own ways forward. I can only really speak for Glasgow and I do believe that if Glasgow hadn't had a very strong leadership, if it hadn't used what it had to innovate, then things

would have been much, much worse. I mean you keep getting these ridiculous articles still; Ian McWhirter is a man who I could stick pins in mentally because every week you get in the Sunday Herald with him it's this sob story about Edinburgh's doing well and Glasgow's going down the tubes. That's not true. Glasgow has got a lot going for it. I maintain that if they hadn't put the administrative and cultural and sports policies together in the '80s and early '90s then we would, definitely, have followed the way of Liverpool, which sunk into depression and gloom for years and is only now coming back up. Let me give you examples of that. If we're going to home into the arts and leisure, community education and lifelong learning at some point in my discussion with you, let me simply say that there was another problem that faced Glasgow. You've got, I believe, a very repressive Tory Government. I'm careful to choose my words about those Tory Governments, the succession of them. I mean I deprecate entirely the term fascism when it's used about Margaret Thatcher's government because fascism is just too awful to contemplate and we can contemplate Thatcherism because, in actual fact, some of the things she did, many could be said required to be done; I'll reserve my judgement until it's history. But it was certainly repressive and authoritarian. There was a time during the mid 1980s when I thought it was all becoming very, very, very dangerous indeed, but they were certainly against local government and particularly they seemed to be against the kind of social way that we in Scotland look upon our politics and democracy. Her phrase there's no thing as society I believe to be absolutely true. I know what she meant and she didn't mean what her apologists said last week. However, we had to cope with all that, a very strongly controlled centre which was inimical to this bastion of what they would call municipal socialism and also inimical to Strathclyde who were very much our allies. We also between 1975 and the mid 1980s, or even before that, maybe the late 1960s, early 70s right through, we, in a period of twenty years, lost everything that made this city great, in terms of our profile. We were always thought of as the second city of the empire. We were thought of as the industrial heartland of Scotland - we were. And we were also the city in the UK paramountly in which you see the history of the industrial revolution beginning. We were there in 1750 and we changed incomparably and so you can see this city as an amalgam of changes from the medieval university city, prettiest little town in Europe according to Daniel Defoe, into the hub of an imperial trading port; tobacco, merchants all the mercantile stuff and then the industrial revolution. And that took a long time to build up. In ten to fifteen years we lost it all. When I was a girl there were 72 shipyards in the Clyde, now there's two and they're supported very well by the Government. So we had post-industrialism, we had centralised control by way of the fact that our budgets were controlled. They still are 80% by central government, and we've had this conflict between Thatcherite policies and what are the best aspects, I believe, of municipal socialism. So I think that what you saw throughout the 80s was a fight for control within the city but a way forward as well. When Glasgow lost everything the municipal leaders had to think, first of all, how do we keep this government off our backs and, second of all, how do we change the city round and it became a hugely important decade for putting Glasgow on the map, and there were no sympathisers out there. I think there probably

are now, although it's taken a long time over these past three years to make them sympathise. I think we've probably got a sea-change, but all those long years we had this double conflict going on. Trying to get economic regeneration on its way, trying to profile the city and having to deal with a government who plainly were poles apart in what we were doing.

Q ***In some of the literature I've been reading one argument put forward on behalf of Thatcher is that she was trying to achieve economic regeneration and you're saying that Glasgow City Council was wanting to do the same. Are you inferring that latterly or in her manner, that she was sidetracked by power or control as opposed to the outcome of economic regeneration.***

A Yes. It was ideology. In the forty odd years I've been on this earth I have never seen such a conversion of a Party which I've always held in mild contempt, but that has been as a child and as a young woman, probably tempered with the fact there were at least some of them who were into this idea of one-nationism and I've always been a Disraelli fan. I'm a fan of one-nation Toryism although my hand would fall off if I ever voted for them. In Glasgow, in the working class background that I came from, that you're entrenched in, I had to try to see it steady and to see it whole, to quote A.A. Hausman, but I've never seen such a conversion from a Party that really believed in a kind of laissez-faire, let it all hang out, fine OK we've not got an ideology. It was us that had the ideology, but she was ideological to the power of infinity. It became an ideological stance and I don't, to be fair, I don't know whether it started out, I don't think it started out as a person on a power trip, but by the end I actually thought she had gone kind of deranged. I think that that, and here we come to the ambivalence, I think some of the things that she, she and many sensible Tories felt had to be done actually then got confused into things that were completely off the wall. The 80s was a very interesting era though, because remember that's when my party fell down the well because the last thing you needed was to conflict with a Tory party that had gone absolutely, I think, the furthest probably to the right that I've seen in my lifetime and a Labour Party that was engaging in lunacy. And I well recall the 1981 Labour conference when I thought, I was thinking for a long time about getting seriously involved, and I'm not going to now, I can't stand this, this is appalling. You know what you had from Thatcher was business, business, business, all that's private's good, what you had from the Labour Party was Tony Benn and Derek Hatton et al talking as far as I could believe in dog-turds, you know really amazing stuff. And you thought where will I go? - oh no there's only the Liberals- excuse me I might as well put my head in a bag. Then I realised that what you had to do was to stay in my Party and fight for a sensible way. Now it's not for me to say and for you to find out exactly how I feel about the sensible way that Tony Blair has got just now, and I may actually divulge a few thoughts later on, I may, but certainly he won elections and that's what we needed. We would have been out of power for a hundred years if we had gone on talking about the 1980s and 1990s version of workers-soviets and God knows what else. We would have all been Tommy Sheridans. If the party had gone that way I shudder to think what would have happened and I always said in the 1980s this is the decade

of ideology and what you're going to get is not a left wing government. What you're going to get is 'you think the Tories are bad' you're going to get worse than that. You're going to get a repressive right-wing ideology. So that's the scenario and I'm sorry this is so long a discussion but I think it's important to know where I'm coming from. That was the decade between 1980 and 1990 as I saw it – two parties going that way (in opposite directions) and an attempt by Neil Kinnock to bring the Labour party back on stream was the most healthy thing that I saw at that particular point in my political life. Thatcher and the left-wing of the Labour party both engaging in ideology, but the very surprising thing is that the Labour party has always engaged in ideology, always been a mixture of ideologies. The person sitting next to you at a Labour party conference could feel they were completely different from you ideologically speaking. What you had in common was the thought that what you thought you were doing was going to aid everybody in the country from the working people upwards. The Tory party was never really ideological and that was her special gift to push ideology. It was different; it got a lot of people on her side who perhaps would not even have joined the Tory Party. It's based on this premise that all that is private is good, and all that is public is bad, but there's an ambivalence here because most of us who hold very strongly Labour views now, unless we're on the extreme left wing of the party, would probably share the idea that certain things needed changing, that there were certain power bases that required to be changed. I mean she did take on the legal profession. She did take on the medical profession and she said, and she may well have been touching a chord there, that she was thinking about delivery of services. Now, that's what we're doing now. We're putting the people at the focal point of the delivery of services, but it became a mission of hers because in giving people, the people who could cope, the people who were not inadequate in her eyes, the people who went along with much of the things that she spoke of, in giving them freedoms, freedoms were curtailed in other sections of society, so it was an amazing shift around for a Tory Party that's always being dedicated to, you know, there's ideology in this party, it's all about somewhat conserving what's best in British society. Interesting stuff.

Q ***Moving onto leisure and recreation now, it seems that, particularly in the early 80's following on from the Toxteth riots, that her role for leisure and recreation became one of almost soft policing, if we keep everybody occupied they'll become wonderfully conforming type people. How did Glasgow take forward leisure and recreation?***

A I think actually there is a lot to say here and I'll get you the Powerpoint presentation of what we did for 1990 and we've also got a speech which Bridget and I did with a presentation. This is stuff that people have built on. It's a model case actually for looking at where you are going, whether it's always the right way to go for a city I can't say, and I certainly make the point that we're not a template, we've just done it our way. Other people may want to take a different path. Well you've got Thatcher, this repressive government, the poll tax, all the stuff that was going on and you've a city that didn't have anything left in terms of industry and which has got dirty

buildings, no tourism to speak of, and a municipal leadership which is determined to change things. And you can't really talk about culture, sport and leisure in this city without facing that fact. You've got a demoralised citizenry, you've got falling population. We lost between 250,000 and 300,000 of the population in the '60s and '70s and industrial wastelands, the kind that Margaret Thatcher liked to see herself photographed in although, as far as I can see, she went away and didn't do an awful lot about them. You've also got a fairly benign relationship with the Chamber of Commerce and other people who work in the City and the city fathers and mothers, the 'city-parents' at the time, took from where I could see standing at the side, very radical and very, very courageous decisions because you've got all the other services that require funding. You've got within the District Council, remember you've got two councils, two tiers, within the District Council you've got all the environmental stuff, you've got housing, you've got very, very importantly, you've got community development. On the Regional side, because you've got to give them their due as well for their regard and their influence, you've got education and social work and you've got a lot of deprivation. You've got people who've lost confidence in themselves and the city that is near characterised by in the '70s dirty buildings. So, in fact, even before all this move to the youth culture and sport for particular purposes, the Council had recognised that you have to do something, you don't put this back, you've got to do something here. And so they embarked on a public relations campaign to restore the profile of the city and the first thing they did was clean up the buildings and then they discovered what they had underneath all this grime. They then looked at what was our social capital and they realised that it has always been there but because we're a great industrial city they'd not done anything about it. You've got this huge interest in sport but we also have a huge, huge and priceless art collection. We've got an art collection that no other municipality has, not Edinburgh and any other city in Scotland, not any city in England whose great collections begin with nineteenth century French paintings. But we've got renaissance and old masters and fifteenth century tableaux and the reason why we've got that is because our private businessmen have always been benevolent. The great collections, which came from our private businessmen, are still in these galleries. We've got them; we've got ten superb municipal galleries. We are the home to the BBC; we are the home to three out of the four national companies and the big ones, opera, ballet, Scottish Opera and then Scottish National Orchestra. We've got the BBC Symphony Orchestra and we've got people who are interested in singing and playing as ordinary individuals. So what do we do? We clean the buildings, let's go for it, let's put Glasgow as a cultural centre on the map. So economic development came right in and the people like Steve Richards worked with Pat Lally and with the cultural departments, which were then three in number, galleries, libraries and performing arts. 1983 was the start of it. Now remember that was four years into the Thatcher era. In 1983 finally, because of the cleanliness of the city now, because of the Clean Air Acts in the '60s and '70s we were able to first conform to the rules of Burrell's injunction that display of his collection had to be in a place that was clean and we were looking for somewhere in East Kilbride or outside the city, which to the municipality was anathema because we kept dragging

our heels. Then we finally thought - well we can build it here and we built it in Pollock Park, another piece of land, which was given to the city by the Stirling-Maxwells. So you've got this beneficence coming in here, which makes me think that not all that is private is bad. So you've got to capitalise on your social capital, what you've got here in terms of culture, build new things by using the money that you can use from either capital that has been left to build something, or insurance money from the old St. Andrew's Halls. 'What do we do?' said Pat Lally, 'we build a new concert hall'. We put infrastructure in right through the eighties; the infrastructure is there to push our engine and the tourists begin to come. The Tramway Theatre was built through the Scottish Arts Council's Partnership funding and ourselves. It's an old tramway building; a relic of the industrial revolution is now being used as one of the important European homes for modern art and modern international productions. At the same time Ben Connolly came to head up the Parks and Recreation Department. So you've got Julian Spalding, Ben Connolly and Robert Palmer and Robert Palmer, the least well known of the three, the most important I think. Now then you've got the previous government thinking about economic regeneration. So are we; we're using culture, so how about it, we are going to put ourselves forward for the biggies and we do get government funding, but we also get partnership funding and we talk to businesses. Ben Connolly's here and he's doing things in sport. We're opening the Kelvin Hall as a sports arena. We're refurbishing things in parks, we're cleaning them up and making them more pleasant, user friendly etc. We're thinking about Glasgow as being a place where people can see sportsmen etc. and women come to play and to do things and we've also got a great football tradition, which is not municipal of course. These things slowly come on board. So we use it for economic regeneration and what do we get out of it? Well, out of the PR campaign we get the Garden Festival in 1988. The Garden Festival really puts the city on the map. It was a superb, superb venue. It's rooted in the history of the city, but also there are cultural things going on, there's sporting going on and there's parks and recreation etc. So people are beginning to come. Eddie Friel's appointed to the Tourist Board and that's one of the best thing's that's ever happened. He works with the Council. Now what I was saying to you, as it comes onto 1990 we see the whole thing taking shape; infrastructure coming on board '89, final push for the Concert Hall, use of culture widening out to include community based cultures as well and getting the money to be a proud achievement – European City of Culture status. That would never have happened in the seventies, never, because we didn't have the Region. There's a great deal of money being spent. I don't have the figures at hand. The city put up some of it, Strathclyde Region put up some of it, but partnership was all-important and whenever I hear Tony going on about 'we must work in partnership with the private sector' - Glasgow did that. It did that all the way through the eighties. So there's an anomaly for you. You've got the bastion of municipal socialism, which is castigated all over the place as a Neanderthal council, which is the foremost council working with Scottish Enterprise, tourism and commerce and private businesses. We've always worked in partnership and of course the son or daughter of that is now the fact that Kelvingrove will be refurbished. It is going to happen - £12.7m from the lottery, £8m from the council, but a trust

for a trust fund led, not by me, not by the Provost, not by the Leader, but by Lord MacFarlane of Bearsden and ten or eleven absolutely tip-top businessmen who have faith in this city. So that's what I mean by doing things the right way. You know, you keep the Government on line when you can get something out of them to economically regenerate your city. You use culture and sport so to do. You up the profile, you do a PR campaign and what happens? – 'Glasgow's miles better'. That's the eighties and early nineties and I think it was a very, very, very good move. You begin to see at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s that this, particularly in the year 1990, there's an attempt made to put together the biggies with community arts. Part of 1990 is the 'People's Arts'. You've got all that happening, but there isn't a sustained look at that until maybe the mid 1990s. So that's the kind of success story of economic regeneration. A bit of social regeneration coming in there and so I would end the 1980s/1990s bit with yes this council was not attempting to use it in an anodyne nature for keep the public quiet. It was attempting to use it as an economic regeneration tool and also mindful of the fact that arts has a great part in itself to restore and transform people's lives. And then another sea change right through the 1990s when we take on board social regeneration meshed in with economic regeneration and totally change the way in which our services are delivered. And I have to say we are the most innovative council I think in the UK. The proof of that is not just all the things that are happening in the city now ten years on, but the fact that we are regarded by English cities... everybody who is going for 2008 is coming to us to ask our advice. Scandinavian cities come to us in their droves to see what we are doing and by now I believe the German cities who are going for 2010 City of Culture are asking for our advice as well. I've been on television and radio more in Bath, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester even, than I've had coverage here in the last year because of all the cities that want me to say 'yes, it's a great thing and you will do splendidly out of it'. The European City of Culture gave this city an impetus to go forward. It made tourism one of our major industries.

Q ***Did the managerialist policies that the government brought in, I'm thinking particularly of CCT and performance indicators and so on, did that make life more difficult?***

A I think CCT always makes life difficult and I distinguish between CCT and Best Value because in CCT there was this compulsion – it's in the title- and I think that it didn't touch the arts and culture at all. Our DSO and DLOs are solely in the delivery of sports and the maintenance of parks. I think it probably did and I don't have first hand experience of that. I've got first hand experience as to how they do it now and how they're using Best Value which I am a fan of but yes councils worldwide agreed that yes it had its bad side. I mean I suppose the good side would be that you need to think about the focal point of delivery of services. The bad side is that you're running, always, always, not just simply to deliver the service but to prove that you are the best, that you can do this, the five year plan etc. etc. I have to say the proof of the pudding, though, is that our CCT services always won the contracts. It brings a lot of problems with labour as well. I mean the

workers. The unions were very, very concerned throughout the '80s and the early '90s and I think, actually now, can't be sold on 100% the benefits of the Best Value regime which are very, very many. They keep saying it's a cost-cutting exercise and I believe that CCT was a cost-cutting exercise. I think it made us deliver more efficient services. It certainly kept us on our toes, but I think it's left a legacy of compulsion. I think it's a left legacy where workers are suspicious of any attempt to talk about efficiencies and better ways of delivery because they always think that some of them are going to go down the road or that their conditions are going to be changed etc., etc. And I have to say that in many instances in order to provide a superb service that has to be done. You know when you see today that they're talking about private sector businesses sending 5,000 people down the road, now. Where we are changing the structure of our services nobody is being sent down the road. Pay and conditions might not be what they were before; 65% of wages have gone up but what we agree is a career structure before. That kind of thing is essential for the delivery of services and I believe that is what Best Value is about- delivery of superb services and putting people first. CCT was not that. Thatcher extolled is at that but it wasn't. It was another curb on local government. It was the rod to beat the back and whilst some good things came out of it, good things always came out of all tribulation, good things came out of it and our DSO and DLO worked very, very well and our commercial enterprises in sports are working very well. I think that it left a legacy of a bad taste in people's mouths when you're trying to actually do something which is positive in the delivery of services.

Q ***People, again, claimed that CCT inhibited development, such was the constrained and prescriptive nature of contracts that it was very difficult to respond to local needs.***

A Again, the proof of the pudding was in the eating. Over the past decade, let's face it, this government's only been in since 1997, we have put together one of the best leisure complexes in Scotland and in the UK. We're only one out of three UK cities of sport. We put on major events whilst we put together an enduring legacy I think of sports development officers in twelve target sports. We've also got the leisure complexes mostly in SIP areas and we've managed to do that even with constraints being put upon us. With Best Value I think we've been using the plans very efficiently in order to expand it. I think that what we've done under..- yes, there were certainly constraints, if you're rushing always to fend off private contracts of course there are. If you've got labour troubles because of it, which I think we managed to weather very well, then of course there's problems, but we cannot then say no. What we've done for sports delivery and for the delivery and development of facilities, it could be done better, which is why we're doing the Best Value review. Of course it could be done better. There's all sorts of things like the structure of our leisure attendants wages and conditions not having parity with people who are working on the cultural side or the libraries or whatever. There's ways in which we still have to very much get the deprived to come to our centres. Our centres are increasing the ownership, the users every year; 450,000 people using

Gorbals and Scotstoun per year, Bellahouston target figure of about 400,000 in the first year – probably well over half a million. We're the only council in the UK to do free swimming for all children to age 18 in the city with no restriction whatsoever. Hopefully in the next couple of years I want to expand that into other areas, free sports initiatives, free swimming initiatives. So, yes, it's a hard, hard road but I do believe that what we've done in sports shows that a council and the department that puts its name to it can get these things done. I think in the past four years the impetus has grown to do these things and to really get to grips with them and to deliver and I think it's been aided, I know it's been aided, by the fact that we constantly restructure what we do. I mean Edinburgh's gone one way, we've gone the way of saying that we'll work in partnership, we won't go into trust, but we'll work in partnership with the private sector with other public organisations and we'll also corporately work together better as well and the way to do that is to corporately work together ourselves as a premise. The creation of Cultural and Leisure Services in 1998/1999 was another sea-change. We're still going through the reverberations of that with restructuring and the industrial action because of it. We now have together 2000 workers out of workforce of 30,000 in the council. It's a big department and we've got sports working together with community education, with youth work, with libraries, with lifelong learning, with museums and with all the performing arts. So we're able to share buildings. We're able to make a synergy between the services and I would advise you to go and see Pollock, it's a small leisure centre, it has a recreational pool, dance studio etc. Now within that building we've got a library, the pool, leisure services and the people's own little museum, which is their own Pollock history museum all in the one building. It's led us to put a library in the museum in the GOMA, which will open in September, a community library and museum. Gorbals is going to have a library and café and private enterprise working just down from the leisure centre. So I think we've been able to weather some of the storms by putting our services together. That makes more efficient use of funding and for the poor cash-strapped council which lost a third of it's budget for culture and sport in 1996 that's important and it's also important as it's putting the people, as I say, at the focal point of delivering the service. I mean there is a Thatcherite legacy which could be said to be something which we've been working on quite seriously is this idea, she never got it off, she never pushed it because I don't believe that's what she's really about, but her mantra was always 'oh, we must deliver services'. Well we're delivering the services for the people and that's what we're seeing in what's going on in the city. We haven't had time to touch on that particular aspect of the 1990's. I said there was a sea change, I said we had to look at social regeneration and I said we had to look at Best Value and some of the reasons for that. These are best ways of working I think but also as the time went on throughout the decade 1980s we had no strategy in place; we were opportunists. We grabbed 1990, we grabbed 1988, we grabbed the opportunity to get the Concert Hall built and the Tramway and the Burrell. We had to and we were right, but when a cold day comes and the rain starts pouring down and you haven't really got a strategy pulled together, then when they cut 30% of your budget then as they did when the Region was abolished, then you've got to think fast. You have to have a

strategy and that's what we're doing now. We're looking at sustainability of services through Best Value and through working with the private sector.

Q ***A few years ago I chaired a seminar which included the launch of Glasgow's Parks strategy, which was very well received across the UK as a process. Something that Glasgow's held in regard for is the emphasis that it places on research towards strategy.***

A Nothing we do now will be done without a strategy and that's why we're attacked in the papers. There's a lot of people in the city who don't know what we're doing. There's a hell of a lot like what we're doing. I gave a presentation to ILAM's conference, two years ago, just on this – it's called the Glasgow Experience and it's a roller-coaster ride through what we did. We're remembered for 1990 and that's well and good but we should be remembered for far more than that. We should be thinking about not resting on our laurels and moving forward and what we do is enhance the sustainability of the strategy. You know about the Parks and Recreation strategy, we're upgrading that. The best document ever to come out of this council is the Best Value for Local Services, which we're still implementing and it was not a cost-cutting exercise. It said that we would expect £6m from local government to plan and develop our services for Scotland as well as this city. There are mistakes in the service. As I've launched every Best Value Review I have said I will see this clearly and I will see it through and I will not fudge mistakes that we've made. I'll see the mistakes, as every service makes. You haven't got God in here running the service so we don't have perfection, but we will say that we will have to change them. What we have are superb strengths but weaknesses when we benchmarked against Liverpool and Manchester. Their collections are nothing like ours but who had 300% more conservators and curators and we had one education officer. One education officer for a city of 690,000 people, which came out of the cuts we had to make without a strategy and I said we will have to divert resources away from somewhere else into this. We will have to convince the Government that we are running the service for the people and it's been three years of trying to convince successive arts ministers that this is the truth. Now they've got a worry of course. Why should Glasgow get this? What are the other local authorities going to say? And of course what we'll say is 'you've got the argument right there in front of you. We are giving metropolitan services, and our collections and museums are superb. Our visitor numbers are probably, in some instances, three times greater than the nationals and the service that we offer as a tourist venue and as a centre for social inclusion and aspirational policies in our museums are your policies. We're doing it. We're doing it better than anybody else. We're doing it on a shoestring, so there you go with the funding. Hypothecated if need be, I've no problems with that and overseen by ourselves and Lord McFarlane and Robert Smith together, but certainly we need more and in June we will sit down with you and we will talk about it'. So you know this document on Best Value has been followed by the Best Value document on play, arts and venues which seeks to get the venues all to work closely together and which seeks to provide an arts policy for venues in the city that are really buying into what we're doing, which is social inclusion and economic regeneration.

I've said there's £3m in arts grants and I've laid it on the line with the Committee and I've told the venues that it isn't a case of what the city can do for you, to paraphrase John Kennedy, but what you can do for the city. And we're innovative there as well. Whilst we're doing everything in sport to make sure that social inclusion areas are coming into what we're doing, whilst we're setting up sports development, whilst we're setting up with £850k of government money community action teams of sports and arts experts, we're also saying right this city was never meant to be an impresario. We weren't meant to run a theatre. We don't do that. We run the tramway because it's a centre of innovation, excellence and community. We run the Mitchell because they are particular theatres with particular expertise required and we've got that, but we're not Sir Cameron McIntosh. We're not here to run a mainstream theatre. We're meant to if it's given to us and we keep owning it and we'll have a say in policy, but the King's Theatre is going to be run by a private theatre company of impresarios and I was amazed with the ease with which that went through the council. We've told them now that this is the way to go, so the Kings Theatre is going to be managed by someone else. The City Hall – I'm bringing a paper forward on the future of that. The BBC Symphony Orchestra will be our number one tenant in the building. It will be theirs. The Scottish Chamber Orchestra and the amateur choirs will still use it. It will be run by the Concert Hall which is a 'hands that comes off' body, which was put together to run the Concert Hall. I sit on the Board, but the Board will be the same kind of board as any board is, it will be the great and the good from the city. It's got to be reconstituted. There is a board just now but it's mostly the council that's on it. We have to expand it. They will run the City Hall for us. And the BBC on the back of that have now been co-operating with educational services to put what one German conductor has described as the most exciting musical ventures into the Candleriggs site, which will be a centre for music education, working closely with the RSAMD and the BBC Radio 3, digital radio to provide a centre for excellence for education for everyone, particularly the schools in music and also digital music. But that will be in about 2003-2005 and that will be the last kick needed for the regeneration of the Merchant City. This council gets the name of being a dinosaur council and I cannot understand why because certainly in our services in education we are working in partnership with the Scottish Arts Council and their equivalent overseas, business, Deutsche Bank, the Distillers Company Ltd., and they're on the Board. They're all working together to try to achieve this. Best Value, strategy, partnership that's how you achieve things and we've been going forward to look at ways in which partnership working can help us too in the sports strategy and all the other Best Value Reviews that are taking place.

Q ***I'm conscious of the time. Perhaps one last question. You mentioned that one of your papers had gone through with remarkable ease in the council. How does the council as a whole view cultural and leisure services in terms of its status with housing, social work etc?***

A I say on every platform that I couldn't praise the members of the council enough and I couldn't praise past leaderships enough because from day one,

as soon as it was recognised in the later '70s and the '80s that this was an open and flat city (?) they actually were for it. Actually in these past days we were for 1990. There were dissenting voices as there are in any institution and there are those who may say what about social work ills, schools shutting down etc?. The members consider culture and leisure services to be one of the major areas of work in the city and that's really down to the fact we've engaged very much in corporate working. The Director and myself had done a conscious PR exercise to win hearts and minds because we recognised in 1996 when the council's budgets came crashing down our libraries and museums in particularly were seen as target areas. Libraries are statutory, museums aren't. So we had to close the museums one day a week and to cut services etc., etc. But it's been a slow climb up. In the days of the 1990 things most councillors were behind us, even the opposition. They were there on the platform saying it was good for the city. Throughout the 1990s, the early 1990s when there were cuts, yes, people were saying we should shut a library but then they saw the detrimental effect on their own area. Now that we've brought together the services which also include community education and the rural community centres and we're showing that we're willing to spend money in tiny amounts as well as on the biggies for social inclusion purposes then yes, I think even the dissenters in my own group would support us. All businesses, all enterprises have to change. If they don't change they die and sadly there have been casualties within that but we've done our best to make sure that there's never going to be in initiating structural change involuntary redundancies. The members of the committee in terms of the labour group are extremely supportive and they consider that serving on cultural and leisure services is a privilege, they're desperate to get on it. I've got 33 members going upwards because in going to council they've heard of the work that we're doing, see how it may benefit their area as well as the city and I try to give everybody something to do , the younger ones in particular. So I've got a lot of support from the committee. The Leadership, I sometimes think the leadership, I sometimes do think, and I say this with tongue in cheek, I sometimes think that they like centre of the stage too much and I try not to do that personally. The Leader himself said to me last night that 'whatever I've asked culture and leisure to do they've tried to do'. Everybody makes mistakes, all departments could do things better but, you know, he seems to think that we're working very closely with the economic regeneration agenda of the council. When you look at the mission statement of the council – to make things better for ordinary Glaswegians, to deliver good services for people at the centre, to contribute to economic regeneration and to social inclusion, when the councillors look at what we're doing they can't say to us you're only concerned with the centre of the city. They're able to look at the Easterhouse Arts Factory, they're able to look at new community centres, they're able to look at CAT teams and sport development teams in their area. They're able to look at a summer play programme for all the children in their area, they're able to look at education projects, they're able to see that the people are being encouraged now to raise the services and they're able to say that we're saying to arts funded organisations get out there and don't go in, parachute in and get out again, go in and do outreach work and then bring the people into the venues. In

sports they're able to say that people have got role models, but they're also able to see that their children and the children of their constituents have free access to swimming throughout the city. So they are points of conflict, industrial action, restructuring but if you're open and accountable then you are in a democracy. But I think they realise that what we're trying to do is a corporate effort for the council and for the city, for health, for social regeneration and for getting in tourists in the city at a time when Scottish tourism is not doing as well as it should. Last point – the city's making its name in tourism, but in a particular aspect of it – in conferencing. We've done it in the teeth of being castigated by New Labour as being a dinosaur council – well stuff you Tony! Its not the city of the family yet but I'll continue as long as I'm in this position to put forward arts for all, sports for all, but I'll also put forward this view that no programme of arts or sports, that's high arts or community arts, sport of international standing, or swimming initiatives, it's not the case that the rich get performances and the poor get bad workshops, - the rich get performances, the poor get performances and good workshops. One of my former directors said that community arts and sport and social inclusions policies are not about banging a tambourine down the community centre. They are leading people into a transformation for their lives. And if that sounds evangelical I don't make any apology for it.

Q ***That's been fascinating. You've covered a lot of things that are of value to me, thank you very much.***

A Not at all. I'm delighted to have been able to help.

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