

7 Results

The results from each of the three phases of the research are presented in turn. By presenting the results in this way it allows the reader to follow the logical progression and accumulation of the research as it passed from phase to phase. Section 7.1 therefore reports the generic institutional pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund that were identified through interviews with Sport England personnel and document analysis (phase one). Section 7.2 reports the data gained from the telephone survey (phase two). The case studies of VSCs (phase three) selected from the telephone survey are detailed in chapter 8. In order to overcome the disparate reporting of these results, chapter 9 draws cross-case conclusions by each of the four research objectives. Based on these cross-case conclusions, chapter 10 then closes the thesis by identifying the contribution to knowledge made by this research and by proposing further research questions.

7.1 Generic institutional pressures of Sport England's

Lottery Fund

This section identifies the normative, mimetic and coercive institutional pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) of the sports policy sector that all VSCs are exposed to through Sport England's Lottery Fund during the application, implementation and monitoring stages of a successful bid. Identifying the institutional pressures in this section enables the reader to establish how the VSCs used as case studies in phase three responded to these pressures. Specific institutional pressures exerted by Sport England and other actors in the sports policy sector such as LAs and NGBs will be dealt with by each of the case study reports in chapter 8.

The institutional pressures that are applied to VSCs when applying and then receiving a grant from the Lottery Fund became obvious very quickly from the interviews with Sport England staff. There is great normative value placed on sports development and this is reflected in Sport England's aim (Sport England 2000c):

To lead the development of sport in England by influencing and serving the public, private and voluntary sectors.

This emphasis is targeted at particular groups in society such as the young, women, ethnic minorities and those with special needs. VSCs applying to the Fund need to demonstrate how their application, if funded, will provide a sporting benefit for these groups. The Senior Lottery Case Officer stated:

I think fundamentally what we're about is increasing participation and particularly within the target groups which we've identified which are women, children, ethnic minorities, the underpaid etc... In terms of what we want to see in an application it really is the targeting of our target groups I suppose. That's the fundamental thing.

Normative pressures therefore exist for a VSC to raise the participation of specific groups in its sport, and often other sports, through its proposed project. Not only is it seen as desirable to increase participation within those target groups but there is an order of preference among them with junior participation being preferred. The same Senior Lottery Officer says:

From my point of view the younger you can get people involved in sport the better, and if an applicant is targeting juniors then that's almost number one in my assessment. That's the first thing I would look for. After that you want to look at how solid the club is, not necessarily how long they've been going but what are they doing – have they got a wide membership base, are they running enough teams, are they catering for as many groups as possible, kids, females. Its ensuring that they are providing participation sport across the widest spectrum. Then how they want to develop that is the case they've got to make.

Generally, VSCs in receipt of an award from the Lottery Fund were aware of these normative institutional pressures, indicating a level of conscious awareness of these pressures. For instance the secretary of Ascot Lads' Club who co-ordinated their

Lottery bid for an all weather football pitch said "when you got the application pack and you read it, those were the type of things they were looking for. If you didn't go on those guidelines it was no good." Such a level of conscious action precludes the unconscious responses of habit and imitation to these pressures identified by Oliver (1991), but more active responses still remain. This will be developed in chapter 8.

VSCs are also subjected to the logic and rationality of business principles through Sport England's Lottery Fund. For example the Monitoring Officer stated:

We need the club to convince us that [the award is] not going to force the club to go under, because sometimes they are quite short-termist and we're obviously wanting to secure a kind of lasting sport legacy. So I think what we want is good planning, good financial management, we certainly don't expect the kind of standards you'd expect from a large government agency or organisation, but we would expect a club to be able to have some kind of provision for maintenance, to have some kind of financial projections.

For some applications business plans and financial projections need to be developed by the VSC to convince Sport England that the project is viable. This requires that the VSC demonstrates a proven need for the facility and that the local community stands to benefit from the proposed project. The VSC are also asked to predict the increase in membership that the project will produce among Sport England's targeted participation groups. Only eligible for capital awards from the Fund in 1996, VSCs were expected to prove that they could meet any revenue costs likely to be incurred with the new facility. A VSC's fund raising skills are also tested as it must raise at least 10% of the project cost, and find a minimum of 25% of the project cost through matching funding from other sources. The intensive consumption of resources (e.g. time, effort and money) in the pursuit of funding is notable.

There are two possible sources of mimetic pressure in this research; other VSCs in receipt of Lottery sports funding, and legitimate controlling organisations in the sports policy sector such as Sport England. As this section is only concerned with those

pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund it is the latter type of mimetic pressures that is of primary concern. Any mimetic pressures existing between VSCs will be dealt with separately in each case study in chapter 8.

The presence and operation of mimetic pressures in Sport England's Lottery Fund were identified by the Senior Lottery Case Officer:

If you were to ring our regional office... they would be able to say in your area there is a club two miles away that has been successful. They should then be able to contact the person who was the co-ordinator for that project and say there is a bowls club down the road, they have got a similar project to you. Would you mind if they came and spoke to you?

Sport England's Lottery Fund uses the VSCs it has given grants to in the past as examples of best practice. A network of models of best practice has developed as more and more VSCs have been awarded over time. Indications of what Sport England expect from applicants can also be gleaned from the Fund's application pack and various other means such as Lottery Fund seminars which help the applicants to understand what is expected of them.

The final institutional pressure applied by Sport England is that of coercion. As noted earlier, this can take the form of formal and informal pressures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this case informal pressures are present in the threat that if the VSC applying for funding does not meet the normative prescriptions of a successful bid or how a VSC should operate then it is unlikely to receive any funding. Obviously the VSC stands to gain a great deal if awarded a grant and is therefore encouraged to comply by the enticement of a Lottery grant. The coercive pressures do not stop once the grant has been issued though. Formal pressures are represented by Sport England's legal right to reclaim a grant if it is found that the recipient is breaking the conditions of the award. The Senior Lottery Monitoring Officer states:

The award letter is actually a legally binding document. Within the period that's specified in the award letter, and that's dependent on the size of the grant, there's a claw back liability period. Within that period we are at liberty to either get the grant repaid or take ownership of the facility.

If the monitoring team discovers that a VSC is not complying with the demands of the Lottery Fund then in extreme cases Sport England are entitled to reclaim the cost of the award or take control of the funded facility. When applying though, it is likely that the possibility of receiving a grant is a much greater incentive or pressure to comply than the normative order that values participation by a wide range of target groups. However, this view is somewhat cynical ignoring the possibility that VSCs may truly want to develop their sport for its own sake. This gives rise to the question of whether coercion through the award of a grant is more effective than commitment by the VSC to the norms and values of the sports policy sector.

Further coercion is present in the legal framework of the National Lottery legislation. The 1997 White Paper on the Lottery encourages a more strategic distribution of Lottery funds which "will produce results that can be measured" (DCMS, 1997: p. 20, emphasis added). Several problems exist with this short point as many projects do not and cannot produce quantifiable results, and in the present reactive application - distribution system, strategic distribution is difficult. Presumably quantifiable results would constitute participation or usage figures. The measurement of results inevitably necessitates monitoring systems, which the VSC must establish and maintain if requested to do so by Sport England.

Sport England would argue that the Lottery Fund application procedure requires enough forethought and planning for these contingencies to be anticipated and overcome (Senior Monitoring Officer). Any project lacking evidence of sustainability would not receive funding. This places more emphasis on the planning and

application stage of any project. Ongoing support is available through the Running Sport programme provided by Sport England, which aims to help VSCs in their operation and is also another vehicle for the normative and mimetic pressures of the sports policy sector. Attendance at a Running Sport seminar is occasionally a condition of a VSC's Lottery grant.

The fact that Lottery Sports Funding is discrete rather than continuous means that its institutional pressure may be more short-term than other sources. Nevertheless, it places on the VSC an expectation to provide, in a rational, accountable and professional manner, for the target groups that it is deemed socially desirable target. That is not to say that VSCs did not behave in such a way in the past, rather the pressures to operate in a managerialist fashion have increased for those VSCs applying to Sport England's Lottery Fund.

In these greater demands on VSCs and volunteers can be seen the isomorphic pressures that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify as existing in an organisation's institutional environment. The application for Lottery funding encourages applicants to operate in what Sport England, as a NDPB, sees as the logical and efficient manner for an organisational population receiving public money. This is the rational and appropriate way for organisations in this situation to behave - it is the norm or the normative expectation. Mimetic isomorphism is evident in that models of best practice heralded by Sport England are likely to be mimicked by other applicants. If other VSCs have adopted these norms and forms of operating, and achieved success in their Lottery bids then it is increasingly likely that similar VSCs will adopt the same practices. Formal coercive isomorphic pressures exist in the procedures and regulations of the application process and also in any specific conditions attached to an award. Gross failure of the VSC to fulfil the award provisos, as discovered through the monitoring process, means that Sport England are legally entitled to revoke the

award, although this would of course be a last resort (Senior Monitoring Officer). Informal pressure exists in the possibility that a VSC may not receive Lottery funding if it does not comply with the expectations of the Fund in the first instance.

Therefore a relatively independent set of organisations are subjected voluntarily to the external constraints and stipulations of Sport England's Lottery Fund, introducing prescriptions and proscriptions of means and ends. Isomorphism with these institutional pressures of the Fund may change the VSC's structure and operation, thus altering the context of sports volunteering at the local level.

7.2 Telephone survey results

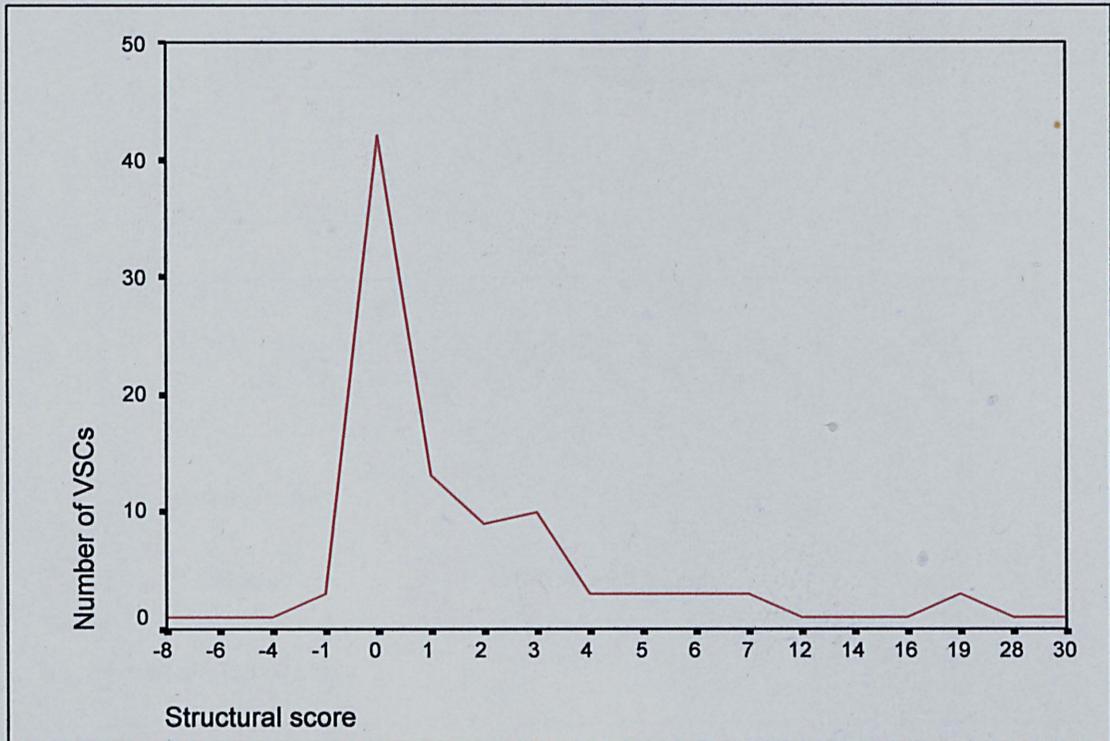
Under phase two, the telephone survey of VSCs that received Lottery funding from Sport England in the summer/autumn of 1996 aimed to provide evidence of whether the structures of VSCs were affected by this funding and to quantify any change taking place in their structures. The quantification of any change or inertia in VSCs' structure also enabled the construction of a typology that facilitated the selection of VSCs from the survey respondents for further investigation through qualitative means. These qualitative case studies are reported in the following chapter.

The degree of change in each VSC's structure was quantified by calculating a structural score. Positive scores indicated an increase in structural complexity, negative scores a reduction and a score of zero meant no change. Fifty-two VSCs demonstrated positive structural scores, six VSCs had negative structural scores, and forty two showed no change. Figure 9 shows the distribution of structural scores.

It is evident then that, of the one hundred responses gained from the sample, the majority of VSCs (n=52) became more structured with structural scores ranging from

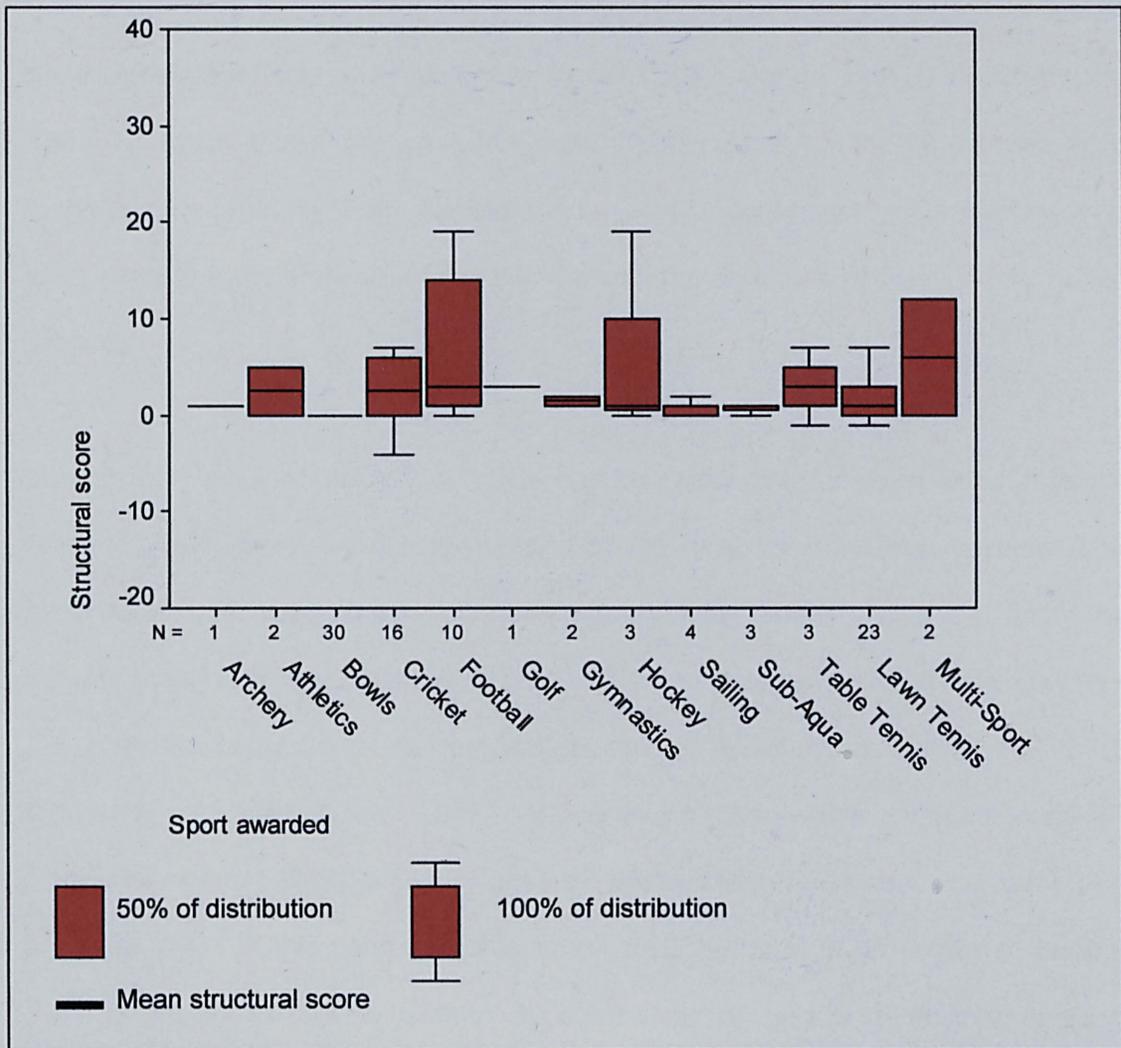
1 to 30. However, the modal structural score was that of no change or zero (n=42). This shows that a large number of VSCs did not experience change in the structures measured. Also, reduced structural complexity was experienced by six VSCs with scores ranging from -1 to -8.

Figure 9: The distribution of structural scores



Considering the distribution of structural scores by sport, as Figure 10, does reveals little. Athletics, cricket, football, hockey, lawn tennis, table tennis and multi-sport VSCs recorded relatively wide ranges of structural scores compared to gymnastics, sailing and sub-aqua VSCs despite relatively few of these VCSs being awarded funding in this sample.

Figure 10: The distribution of structural scores by sport



The particularly narrow distribution of structural scores from bowls VSCs in Figure 10 bears out the point made in the methodology that, despite their number (n=30), VSCs in this sport did not demonstrate sufficient range of structural scores to make themselves available for case study selection. There may be a host of reasons why VSCs in the sport of bowls demonstrated such a narrow range of scores. One reason may be that they tended to submit bids for pavilion developments, which possibly had little impact on the VSCs' structures. Nevertheless, funding a social facility would not have prevented Sport England from attaching conditions concerning the performance functions of a VSC. Only playing facilities are now funded by Sport England through its Lottery Fund, which may have greater implications for VSCs' organisational

structures. However, this stipulation does not seem to have dissuaded bowls VSCs from applying to the Fund as Table 3 indicates that, to date, Bowls VSCs are the fourth most commonly awarded VSCs by the Lottery Fund. This is consistent with Table 19, which shows that bowls VSCs are the third most commonly awarded VSCs in the summer/autumn 1996. Another reason may be that bowls VSCs in this sample were already sufficiently structured to deal with the demands of their Lottery funded projects.

Overall, only a slight majority of VSCs had changed their structure since receiving Lottery funding from Sport England and of this majority most had become more bureaucratic. However, the majority of VSCs changing their structure is so slight that it is not possible to say conclusively that VSCs in this sample altered their structure. There seems to be a lack of literature concerning whether the structures of VSCs tend to be particularly fluid or static so it is difficult to state whether these findings are significant or not. Questions now arise of whether increasing structural complexity amongst VSCs in this sample is due to the institutional pressures exerted through Sport England's Lottery Fund and also whether unchanged or decreasing levels of structural complexity are indicative of resistance to these pressures. These questions are addressed through qualitative case studies in the following chapter.

8 Case Studies

This chapter reports the findings from phase three of the research. Case studies of VSCs selected in phase two of the research are reported individually and are structured by the four research objectives of this thesis. Cross-case conclusions will be made in chapter 9.

8.1 Sandown White Star Football Club

Sandown is a small bleak village in a rural and mountainous area of north west England. The area is not affluent by any means and has been included in the PAI which allows up to 90% grant towards the cost of a project in recognition of the area's economic situation. Sandown White Star Football Club's (FC) application was submitted prior to the area being included in the PAI though. As could be expected of an area such as this Sandown White Star did not have significant funding with which to develop itself. There is little by way of entertainment in the village for the young or old. The club was established in 1971 and since then has just been happy to exist on a day-to-day basis with few aspirations or goals. Recently, however, Sandown won the 1995/6 Cumbria Cup.

This achievement is all the more remarkable given the state of the club and its facilities. The club had no youth teams, no changing rooms, shared their pitch with a herd of cattle and the pitch had chronic drainage problems which meant that it was unplayable for a significant part of the football season because of the high winter rainfall in that part of the country. The Chairman states:

Well if you imagine, the season starts at the end of August or middle of August, we were still playing in June from the season previous because of the field. Once it got water on it, it was just a waste of time. There was more matches called off... There was one season we never played from middle of December and we didn't get another game on it until the end of February.

Winning the Cumbria Cup alerted the club to its own potential. At the same time however, it realised that future success would remain elusive without improved facilities. This realisation was the motivation for Sandown White Star's Lottery bid said the Treasurer:

We didn't have anywhere suitable to play... With the facilities we had at the time we wouldn't be able to move forward. So we had to find somewhere suitable to redevelop and create a decent sports surface, football pitch surface, that was the drive.

The club's bid to the Lottery Fund is summarised in Table 25. The Lottery award was vital to the club for two reasons. Any future success of the club clearly hinged around being able to lay a new pitch as progression into higher football leagues would bring higher expectations regarding the standard of facilities. Funding a project of this cost would have been near impossible in an area such as Sandown if it was not for Sport England's Lottery Fund. It seems the club was used to seeking funding from external sources. The Treasurer highlighted this:

You've got to appreciate that in areas like this there is not a lot of funding and the club itself ran on a week to week basis. Get through the weeks, it goes to the months, get through the months it goes to the years. So if its run like that, it puts a strain on resources, it puts a strain on people running the club finding the resources. So on occasions we had to pick the phone up and ask where we could get some funding.

Unlike most VSCs, Sandown's previous funding inquiries were motivated by the need to survive rather than the need to improve and develop. Having only addressed the poor playing facilities through the Lottery award, the club still has much in mind to do but the award has acted as a catalyst for the club's development. This is evident from the club's development plan and its changed aim, which are dealt with in the following sections. Before the Lottery award the club was a pub side that really seemed happy just to continue playing every Sunday. As long as there were enough players available the club survived.

Table 25: Summary of Sandown White Star's Lottery application

Name	Sandown White Star Football Club
Application date	Late 1995 / early 1996
Project cost	Re-levelling and draining of football pitch £101,231
Award date	£74,286 (73%)* Summer / autumn 1996
Matching funding	Self-funded £1,500 (2%)* Foundation for Sport and the Arts £18,595 (18%)* Football Trust £5,000 (5%)* Sandown Parish Council £750 (0.8%)* Sandown Neighbourhood Forum £750 (0.8%)* Copeland Borough Council £350 (0.4%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	Cumberland Football Association (CFA) Sports Turf Research Institute (STRI) Cumbria County Council Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA) Sandown Secondary School
Structural change	Yes (increased complexity)
Structural score	16

* % of total project cost

8.1.1 Critical organisations

It is evident from Table 25 that a number of organisations were important to Sandown's Lottery bid both in terms of finance and legitimacy. Except for Sport England's Lottery Fund, the Foundation for Sport and the Arts was Sandown's most significant backer giving £18,595. The Football Trust also donated £5,000. However, a number of smaller grants of less than one thousand pounds were cited as crucial to the bid. These came from the local borough council (Copeland Borough Council, £350), Sandown Parish Council (£750), and Sandown Neighbourhood Forum (£750).

The range of organisations providing money to back the club's bid and also the range in the size of the grants received from these organisations supports the Treasurer's earlier comments that in an area like Sandown it is hard to raise external funding. It is notable that all the smaller grants were donated from local sources and that the larger sums were distributed from funds available nationally. More obvious perhaps is the fact that the club's own resources were scarce, only raising £1,500

The size of a grant from a supporting organisation is clearly important in meeting the required level of matching funding for the Lottery bid. There is, though, another important dimension to any money given to support a VSC's Lottery bid. When asked whether VSCs making applications to the Lottery Fund were dependent on supporting funding from the County Council an Officer of the Council pointed out that the value of a supporting grant, no matter how small, in monetary terms may be far outweighed by its value in terms of legitimacy. A grant from a local source signals that the project is valued locally, is likely to have the desired impact, and also that it fits with the local actors' strategies and policies which is a crucial consideration for Sport England when assessing a Lottery Fund application. Having such a range of supporting organisations meant that Sandown's bid was legitimated locally and nationally, although it did not receive funding from the County Council. According to the County Council Officer VSCs were dependent less on the support funding and more on the legitimacy conferred by that funding.

However, Sandown does not share this view. This is possibly explained by the fact that they are unlikely to have the same policy view as that of the Council Officer because they are on the periphery of the policy process. The Treasurer clearly views all the matching funding received as critical to the success of their bid because of the challenge of raising matching funding by a VSC such as Sandown, and also because of the community in which they had to raise the money. The Treasurer gives the following example:

The Lottery had been insistent that we had to get some sort of specifications from other people or companies so we took the Sports Turf Institute... [They] took it on and basically we got some money from the Parish Council to pay for the Sports Turf Institute to draw up the plans, draw up the development of the area, give us some costs and that formed the basis of the bid.

So how important was that money from the Parish Council?

That £750 was very very important because without that we wouldn't have been able to afford £750 at that particular time to pay for the

preparation of the bid. And as the project develops what we have to do is give [Sport England] proof that we're spending the money in the right way. So you get interim evaluations from the contractors sent through the Sports Turf Institute who would then send out the relevant paper work to the Lottery and then the Lottery would release the money.

Therefore even the smallest of amounts of matching funding were essential to the club because they were not just signals of support but sums of money that were critical in developing their bid to meet Sport England's expectations.

Just as crucial is the non-financial backing of other organisational actors without which the project would not have been able to proceed. There is of course the Sports Turf Research Institute (STRI) mentioned above but others included the County Playing Fields Association (CPFA), Cumbria County Council and Sandown Community School. Having the local school involved in its bid was a condition of Sandown securing the lease for the land from Cumbria County Council. The pitch must be available for use by the school and indeed is well used by the school.

Additional legitimacy was conferred on the project through the Lottery consultation forms sent to the CPFA and the Cumbria Football Association. The Secretary of the former summarises his legitimising role for VSCs applying to the Lottery Fund.

What we do... is try and be very supportive when schemes are going to the Lottery for funding. We try and operate quite religiously, if you like, our consultancy role and submit reports saying we are sorry that we can't grant aid this project because it is too big for us, but nevertheless that doesn't mean that we don't support it because we do.

The Secretary of the Cumberland Football Association (CFA) identifies a similar role for his organisation:

We will prepare letters to say that we back them because they are moving towards certain criteria that we are looking for which is community use etc... I think it has a positive effect on the club if the CFA gives the club its backing. Being the governing body we do know what we are talking about and we give them help wherever

possible and point them in the right direction even though we can't give them any money at the end of the day. But I think they appreciate what we do when we advise them how to go about it.

Sandown White Star received financial and non-financial support from a large variety of sources for its Lottery bid which reflects the consensus on the project's value and the club's own lack of resources. The size of the awards from local sources also reflects the difficulty the club had in obtaining substantial project funding. Ultimately, the biggest sums of matching funding came from large centralised national sources. However an important point raised by an Officer of the County Council is that of the legitimacy value of any financial support given to the project, no matter how small. Additionally, the same importance can be attached to non-financial support from key actors in the policy sector such as National Governing Bodies (NGBs). The last quote by the Secretary of the Cumberland Football Association highlights the presence of institutional pressures concerning community use when assigning legitimacy to Sandown's bid.

8.1.2 Institutional pressures

Sport England applied institutional pressures in the first instance when Sandown White Star omitted vital information from the Lottery Fund application. The Lottery Case Officer's initial inquiry can be seen in appendix 10. Great emphasis is clearly placed on sustainable project finance and the sports development aspect of the bid is re-emphasised by the Case Officer. Sandown's reply to this letter is in appendix 11 and is considered further under section 8.1.4.

In July 1996 Sport England made the club an 'in principle offer' of support based on two conditions. The award letter stated:

It is anticipated that in due course a formal award of grant will be made and the amount confirmed, but only when Sandown White Star FC has fulfilled the following conditions to the satisfaction of the Sports Council:

3.1 A leasehold agreement between Cumbria County Council and Sandown White Star FC is formulated for a minimum term of 21 years.

3.2 The club produce a football development plan which particularly focuses on young people and women in terms of providing opportunities and structure.

Sport England obviously recognised the opportunity to further its priorities and policy aims through Sandown's project. If it had not been for Sport England explicitly making the development plan a condition of the award then the club would probably not have drawn up a development plan for sometime. Sandown's Secretary recalls that the development plan "may have been in the pipeline, but at the time [of applying] we didn't actually have one". The Treasurer attributes the decision to produce the development plan directly to Sport England. When asked where the idea for a development plan came from he replies:

Through the Lottery. As part of our Lottery bid we had to prove or show to the Lottery that we had some sort of development requirement for the club. They're investing a lot of money in the club so you appreciate that they don't want to give, make that investment to a club for that to basically fold and go out of existence in a couple of years time because that devalues the bid then. So we had to put in place a development structure, which we did as part of the bid. Before that, though, we didn't have any real development, we had an idea of where we wanted to be but nobody had sat down and thought about it. How do we get there? So as part of the Lottery bid that started to focus us.

Sport England demanded that Sandown take a more structured approach to its operation and provision. Not only this but the development plan had to be designed to target the youth and females players specifically. The value of targeting the young is something that was echoed by the CFA's Secretary:

Youth is very very important. We spend something like 20-25% of our budget each year on generating youth football.

Why is that?

Because it is the footballers of tomorrow for Cumberland from 10-18. So we organise youth clubs for them right through, we play in various competitions up and down the country like the FA (Football

Association) Youth Cup, the Northern Counties, a round robin league involving other counties from the Mersey to the Wash. It's good for the development of young lads.

This clearly reinforces the institutional expectations of Sport England. Besides football clubs, the CFA's Secretary is often asked to support a variety VSCs when they apply for Lottery funding from Sport England. Although he can only offer legitimization of a club's project he says that the project:

has to be targeting youth, girls' football... everything. It has to be sport orientated. I want to see it done not just for football but for everything. And that is where a lot of the Lottery bids have fallen down because they will not go for girls' football. I want to develop girls' football, so if girls' football is in the plan I'll support it. If disability is in I'll support it. If everything is in I'll support it. But a lot of them that go in don't show any of this and that is why they are being turned down.

Not only does he realise that supporting projects that are not community orientated is unlikely to bring success, he clearly believes projects should address as many groups as possible. It is likely then that as the Secretary of the CFA supported Sandown White Star in their bid through a consultation form, the Secretary would have reinforced the institutional pressures exerted through Sport England's Lottery Fund.

The importance of youth players was recognised by Sandown's committee despite having done little in the past to develop the youth of the local area. The Chairman highlights this in his response:

What do you see as the aim of the club and its goals? What does the club exist for?

Well as far I'm concerned, as far as we can go with promoting youth in the village. That's always been my priority like and playing in a higher division of football if possible like.

So are you looking at progressing and providing for the community?

Exactly, exactly." With the teams we've got now you know, with the wee ones, different ages playing up to open age football that's what we like. We love it. You know keep em' coming, you know like a conveyor belt of youngsters coming through if possible.

This indicates that Sandown had already bought into the centrality of youth players to VSC development and would offer little resistance to such an idea when suggested by external organisations. Indeed, the first article of Sandown's new constitution submitted with its bid states that: "The purpose of the club will be to promote football in the Sandown district".

The other supporter of Sandown's project through the Lottery bid consultation forms was the Secretary of the Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA) and an Officer of Cumbria County Council. He seemed to adopt a more pragmatic approach to the Lottery's institutional pressures. He realises that to receive an award a VSC must play by Sport England's rules and target the groups identified by the NDPB. To this effect the Secretary of the CPFA consciously reinforces the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund to insure that VSCs meet the Lottery's requirements.

We were adopting the role of devils advocate for the right reasons. So we were saying why do you want it? What difference will it make to your club? Will more people play because of it? What about women, do you have an equity policy within the club? In other words have you got some kind of rule that says women are not allowed in here apart from half past five on Monday morning. What about kids, do you have a junior policy? It was all that kind of thing to try and tease out whether really, if they went to the Lottery, they were going to lose at the first hurdle. We adopted that kind of, not an aggressive role at all, but asking those kind of punchy questions to get the answers. Because if they said to me equity, what's that? Well you say have you got a different set of rules for your men and your women. And they say 'of course we do because we don't have women coming in'. Well forget it then because unless you get your rules put right you needn't go to the Lottery. So it was that kind of philosophy we adopted.

By playing devils advocate he is avoiding a whole-hearted adoption of the Lottery Fund's values but nevertheless reinforcing those values. The CPFA's Secretary acknowledges that Sport England has created its own policy reality determining which members are valued in a Lottery bid. He states (emphasis added):

One of the main yard sticks for [Sport England] is the increase in participation. I think it is increasing participation, but increasing participation particularly among what they would regard as the disadvantaged groups; the juniors, the ladies, the ethnic minorities, disabled groups whatever. A strong application would be one going in from a club which was trying to increase its size, provide basic facilities like showers, toilets, changing rooms etc, particularly geared to attracting more members of the *right sort*.

Sport England has structured the sports policy sector by valuing the participation of specified groups and is fostering the development of this approach through what the Secretary calls the 'consortium approach'. In the following excerpt he expands on this approach. What is revealed is how Sport England is able to affect what happens at the grassroots of provision. Sport England's influence is pervasive and as Secretary of the CPFA and an Officer of Cumbria County Council the respondent serves to reinforce Sport England's values when VSCs such as Sandown approach him for support when applying to the Lottery. The respondent replies to a question regarding who was responsible for developing the common strategy that all partners in the consortium would work to.

It was the Chief Leisure Officers with a degree of input from what was then the Sports Council Northern Region. They come along and they were very very good, they were excellent, always have been and we've got a great rapport with the officers from Sport England. They came to our meetings and they said have you ever thought about this, what about that etc. And yeah we just gradually took on board their ideas because certain initiatives were being piloted in our area and we took it a bit further along the road than just the pilot scheme. Particularly when the TOPs³ schemes came into being; the TOP Play and TOP Sport and so on. We got the first post to deliver that around the county and that post was funded by the county and district councils and also by the Sports Council. So that was our first real partnership and it worked very well indeed. We are now building on that consortium that we put into place in the last three or four years to move it forward even more.

³ Delivered in partnership with a range of agencies including Local Education Authorities, schools, LA SDOs, community groups, NGBs and VSCs, the TOP programmes are a series of linked schemes designed to offer all young people the opportunity to participate and progress in sport. TOP Play supports 4 to 9 year olds as they acquire and develop core skills and TOP Sport provides 7 to 11 year olds with opportunities to develop skills in a range of sports.

Clearly, Sport England has influenced the sports policy of this region, which means that the same institutional pressures are conveyed directly through its Lottery Fund and indirectly through intermediary actors such as the CPFA and the County Council.

An influence that was apparently lacking in the shape and content of Sandown's bid was that of the experience of other VSCs that had applied to the Lottery. With Sport England's Lottery Fund in its nascent stages Sandown is likely to have been one of the first VSCs to consider applying. Sandown's Secretary confirms this:

I think in this area we were one of the first. They didn't actually send the application packs out until January 1995 and we started to think about applying in 1994. We've just had a chap who is looking to apply to the Lottery now who has come to us to see if we can help him out kind of thing.

Hence there would have been no VSCs able to offer advice based on the experience of making an application to the Fund that Sandown could have contacted to minimise their uncertainty. Mimetic pressures were not an influence in Sandown's application then. However, the Secretary's comments above allude to the existence of such pressures for VSCs that are applying to the fund at present.

When resource pressures are tied to institutional pressures it can cause a blurring of the distinction between normative and coercive pressures. This is because coercive pressures exist in the possibility that funding can be denied or reclaimed if normative pressures are not observed by the applicant.

Commenting on the letter from their Lottery Case Officer in appendix 10, the Treasurer perceived the letter as a list of demands from Sport England:

[The application] goes through and your bid officer advises you whether or not he thinks it will be successful in its present format at the time... So then you have to take it back and do it again and put it in which is what we did on one or two occasions.

Did they send it back to you and say in principle we'll support this?

Yes, 'but we think you need to do this, this and this'.

The 'in principle' award letter from Sport England asked that Sandown implement a development plan to target juniors' and ladies' football. In the following comment the Treasurer perceives that the normative pressure to target youth and female participation was reinforced by coercive pressure that threatened to deny Sandown any funding.

I believe if we hadn't put a development plan in place it would have shown a lack of commitment to the Lottery, and it might have affected the overall bid... But lets be honest, its all about the roots, getting back down to the roots and bringing our own kids through now and youth development, that's been the success of this. If we had said no we don't have any youth development and we don't run any youth teams we would not have got any Lottery funding, and I'm quite convinced of that.

Despite the very apparent coercive pressures in the application stage of Sandown's bid the Secretary perceives that there is little coercive pressure exerted to ensure that the club adheres to the conditions of its award. Asked whether Sandown had had much contact with Sport England since the opening ceremony the Secretary replies: "We've had none at all really, other than speaking to them about our next bid". So, although Sport England has not exerted a great deal of coercive pressure on Sandown to adhere to their development plan, the club remains under pressure to do so because they are submitting a subsequent bid for future developments. So in effect Sandown has decided to subject itself to self-imposed pressures because of its decision to apply to Sport England's Lottery Fund a second time.

The Secretary of the CFA is convinced that Sport England is more rigorous in monitoring the progress of VSCs' Lottery funded projects than the VSCs are aware.

He believes:

They go unannounced and take photographs. I know that when I've spoken to [Sport England's Regional Officer] in the past he says that he has been to see certain facilities such as Cockermouth. But when Cockermouth ring me they say that nobody has been to see it.

So in the event of a VSC ignoring or rejecting these normative pressures Sport England can mobilise its coercive pressures to bring the VSC back into line with the more general conditions of the Lottery Fund and also the more specific conditions of each particular grant. However many of the specific conditions of a Lottery grant would be difficult to monitor without having direct contact with the recipient.

Coercive pressures were not just exerted from Sport England either. With the high number of funding partners in Sandown's project the club could have been subjected to a large number of pressures that varied greatly in content. However, this was not the case. The pressures of the Football Association applied through the funding from the Football Trust merely served to reinforce those of Sport England's Lottery Fund. This is evident from the CFA's Secretary outlining the conditions a football club must meet if they are to receive funding from the Football Trust:

They have got to be affiliated to their local Football Association. They have got to have money available. They must have at least a 21 year lease on any land or buildings if they are doing something in relation to those. They must have the job finished within a six month period on the small claims. They will only get the money as they put the invoices forward. They will not get the final award until the FA have signed those facilities or field off as being complete.

A significant funder of Sandown's project was the FSA. No specific conditions were attached to the £18,595 from the FSA but the monitoring of their awards is much the same as that of Sport England's Lottery Fund. A key member of the FSA was asked how the FSA's funding conditions were enforced:

We have a small team in the field which maintains liaison with the grantees and which checks on things like that and makes sure that the money is appropriately applied. Normally they only need to visit a place once just after the money has been spent and check the receipt etc.

So is a visit made to every receiving organisation?

Every grant is on the list but grants of a few hundred pounds, the chairman has specific authority to approve small grants of a few hundred pounds, are pre-monitored. We decide in advance that the recipient is OK and we are not going to chase back for a grant of £400. We will be satisfied that the money is going into the right thing.

So what about the monitoring of the larger grants?

Every club at sometime or other is contacted. Sometimes it is done over the telephone and they are asked to send documents to the agency doing the work for us.

Like that of Sport England the post-award monitoring of the FSA seems to be rather 'hands off'.

The County Council did not provide any funding for Sandown's project because its financial ability to issue grants is restricted. The County Council Officer stated:

At the end of the day the bottom line is that it is unlikely that any scheme would get a whacking great sum of money from the County Council. It just hasn't got that kind of money at its centre anymore. Most of it has been devolved down to various committee and forums and so on.

The various forums and committees that the Officer talks of are organisations such as Sandown's Parish Council and Neighbourhood Forum from which the club received funding. So the County Council funded the project indirectly. This indirect funding meant the County Council was not able to impose any coercive conditions on the money. Neither did the parish council or the neighbourhood forum apply any coercive pressures to their funding of Sandown's project. Consequently, the County Council has no leverage over the club's development or activities and therefore cannot apply any coercive pressures.

Perhaps, in the case of Sandown White Star the only pressure that exists to keep the club to its development plan is the possibility of receiving a further grant from Sport England for the next stage of its development plan.

8.1.3 Organisational structure

In tune with the general re-orientation of the club during and after its application to Sport England's Lottery Fund, the structure of Sandown White Star changed substantially. In the introduction it was noted that before applying to the Fund the club more or less existed on a day-to-day basis with little structure or regulation. Perhaps the starkest change then was the implementation of a constitution and a formally stated aim. The Treasurer explains:

Before the Lottery award it was basically a football club that wasn't going anywhere or very far, playing standard non-league, Sunday league football. It was devoid of youth teams, had no development plan, had no real backbone to it. It had been running since 1971 and that gave you the impression that it had been well run and well managed. But in actual fact it was a sort of make do and mend existence until [the Secretary] and myself and the present committee decided that we would start to change things... [Now] the goals of the club, if you follow our development plan, are to promote football in the village of Sandown and the local area basically... it's actually in the constitution.

It is not surprising then that such an informal organisation did not have a constitution before receiving its Lottery award. However, one of the preconditions for a VSC applying to the Lottery Fund is that it is properly constituted. The Treasurer attributes the development of Sandown's constitution directly to this precondition:

I don't think we had a constitution before [the award]. I think the constitution was introduced alongside the bid. We realised that we had to have one.

No changes have been made to the constitution since the award was received but there are other examples of formalisation in the organisation. The club's development plan is one such example. The plan identifies the need to have qualified

Football Association (FA) coaches delivering the club's training. To this end the plan established a target of having two qualified coaches by the end of 1998. It states:

The club recognises that although we provide structured coaching and training sessions for the respective age groups, no qualified coaches exist within the organisation. To improve the coaching structure, a strategy to train at least two of the present coaching staff to FA approved standard will be investigated during the next 12 months, and measures implemented to achieve those ends during 1998. The improvement in coaching techniques will enable us to offer more structured coaching sessions benefiting the youth policy and club generally.

This target was not achieved, but not for want of trying. Reflecting on this missed target the Treasurer comments:

The coaching, we've failed on the coaching. Two coaches trained to the FA approved standards by the end of 1998, we haven't done that but it doesn't mean that we've forgotten about it.

After probing, the Treasurer explains why the coaching target was not achieved. He continues:

It was just lack of courses, lack of time, and again you're talking about a couple of players, a couple of people, ye know. We set these targets and we were very keen to do it and I think its getting easier now to do it and I think there's more and more courses coming on. So I think that's something we'll be certainly concentrating on in time.

The target still stands and although not yet achieved represents a move towards formalising and specialising the club's coaching structure and process. Sandown's success in achieving the targets of its development plan will be discussed under section 8.1.4.

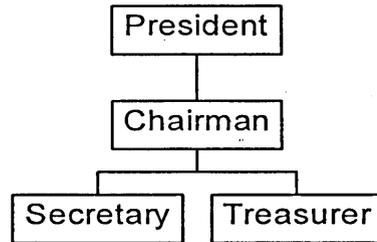
Another example of the formalisation of Sandown White Star is evident in its administration. The telephone survey in phase two elicited the fact that job descriptions were drawn up after receiving the Lottery grant. The reason for this action was to cope with the significantly expanded committee since the award. Before applying to the Lottery four positions existed on the committee; President,

Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. Some positions may not have been occupied all of the time meaning that the duties of the vacant post had to be shared amongst the remaining committee members. Committee positions now number fifteen, all of which are occupied. Compared to the pre-bid structure shown in Figure 11 the present committee structure in Figure 12 shows that it has become more complex and specialised making co-ordination more challenging. Job descriptions were therefore an attempt to structure the increasingly complex intra-committee relations and the operation of the club. This resulted in formalisation. Of the increased committee size the Treasurer said:

We need a structure, a management structure in place that will enable us to progress, but that also enables us to communicate effectively between people. Whereas before we were communicating between three, four people, now we're broadening that out. See its only recently that we brought a lot of the women on to the committee who are very active in the running the youth policy.

The additional teams developed as a result of applying to the Lottery meant that positions were added to the committee which necessitated clear lines of communication and responsibility. Specific coaches and managers were incorporated onto the committee for the four youth teams (under 10s, 12s, 14s and 16s) as well as an overall Youth Development Secretary. On the senior team side of the organisation the team manager and the coach had also been incorporated onto the committee. Although these latter two positions existed prior to the Lottery award they were clearly not as formalised as they are now and the two roles were often performed by the same person. Two sub-committees have also been formed: a Management Sub-committee and a Finance Sub-committee. These were not identified through the telephone survey or the qualitative interviews but came to light through the analysis of club documentation.

Figure 11: Sandown White Star's pre-bid organisation structure



According to data gathered from the telephone survey Sandown had approximately 50 members before applying to the Lottery Fund. At the time of inquiry the respondent to the telephone questionnaire estimated that there were 80-100 members. This indicates a significant increase in the size of the organisation over three years. Membership levels are highlighted in the development plan which sets a target of maintaining membership levels at 120 for two years. The plan states:

The club currently runs teams for under 10s, 12s, 14s, 16s together with one senior team. Every effort will be made to maintain the current level of membership. Increases will be dependent on the continuing support of the community and the availability of sufficient assistance to support and operate a successful development structure.

The club aims to raise awareness of its facility and the surrounding areas by offering structured coaching sessions and liaison with the local schools and young people's club.

Target Groups

Members of all ages are targeted for new membership, particularly children between the ages of 5-16 years of age. We believe the continued development of the club will encourage youngsters to become involved in voluntary activities which in turn, shall help build character, motivate and heighten both confidence and self esteem.

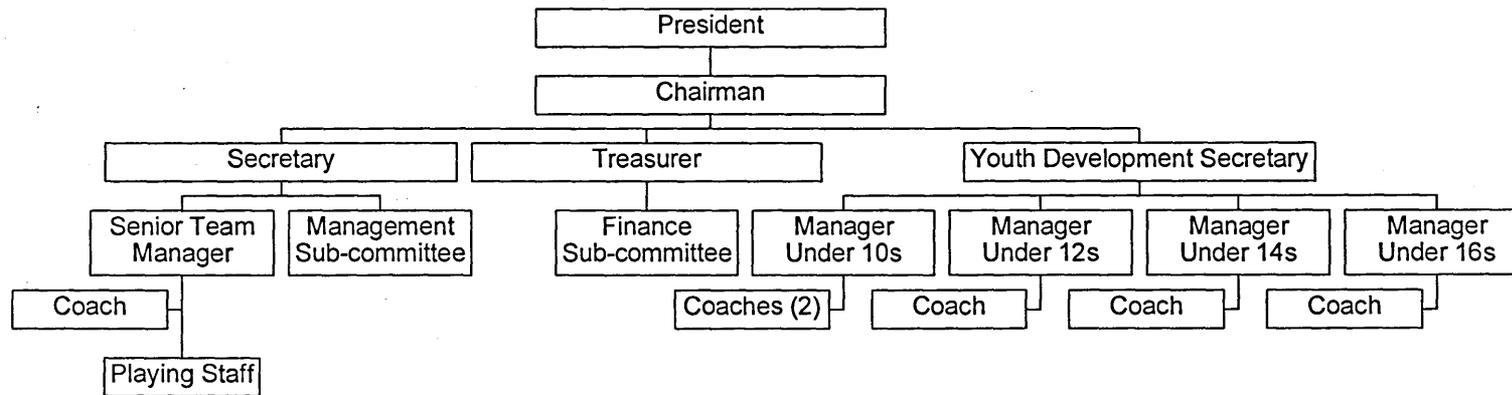
Target: Membership maintained at a minimum of 120 for 2 years.

Data gathered from the telephone survey indicates the target of maintaining 120 members was not met and the Treasurer confirmed this.

The above excerpt from the Development Plan seems to demonstrate a notable re-orientation for a VSC that, prior to applying for Lottery funding, existed on a day-to-day basis with no consideration for youth development. This case study now turns to

consider whether Sandown White Star has adhered to its development plan submitted as a condition of it receiving funding.

Figure 12: Sandown White Star FC's post-award organisation structure



8.1.4 Strategic responses

Sandown White Star's 1996 development plan addressed short and long-term targets up to the next ten years (see appendix 12). Short-term targets included the improvement of their playing facilities, which has been achieved through the development of their new pitch. It has already been noted that Sandown failed to maintain its membership at 120 for two years despite experiencing a large increase from 50 to almost 100 members. Despite good intentions Sandown was simply a victim of over-ambition. The training of two coaches to Football Association standard was another missed target, which has already been noted. Although the club remains committed to achieving this target. Progress towards having five youth players join the club each year has been made but not achieved as the number of those joining is slightly less than five. Also within youth development, participation in a European Tournament within 5 years has so far not been met but time has not run out for this yet. The club also made the establishment of local partnerships a target to be realised by 1997. This has been achieved through links with the Sandown Community School and the local young persons' club. As part of the land lease agreement Sandown Community School has daily use of the pitch between 1pm–4pm in the week and is also used for the School's sports days. The Treasurer offers an explanation of Sandown's performance regarding its short-term targets:

Two coaches trained to the FA approved standards by the end of 1998. We haven't done that but it doesn't mean that we've forgot about it. And the youth development target was five young people joining per year, and participation in an organised overseas/European tournament within five years. So five young people joining per year, it might be slightly less than that but people are continuing to join every year. The participation in an organised overseas/European tournament hasn't happened yet but we hope to do that in a couple of year's time. We do participate in a tournament every year in Scotland so this is like the next step... And partnerships, identify potential partnering opportunities in the next twelve months. It's more difficult that is, but basically what that is looking at is the youth club and the schools and encouraging the kids of the youth club to use our facilities and become a member of our club, the same with the schools.

The Secretary echoed this summary of the club's position.

Ambitious targets were established by the development plan for a club that started from such simple beginnings and it is no surprise that some of the targets have been missed. Despite this it is hard to doubt the club's commitment to its development plan because of the progress that has been made towards achieving the short-term targets. Long-term targets include the construction of changing facilities and space for car parking at the pitch within 5 years. To this end the club is intending to submit another bid to Sport England's Lottery Fund. Additionally, spectator accommodation is planned for the next ten years along with the ultimate long-term target for the club to play in a higher Saturday football league.

Sandown's general approach to its development echoes the views of the Sport England Officers interviewed in phase one and shows an awareness of the expectations of Sport England regarding the activities of a club that is applying for or has received Lottery funding.

This case study illustrates normative alignment and compliance with the prescriptions of Sport England. Sandown offered no resistance whatsoever to the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund but instead consciously adopted and embraced them. Thus the club's response is one of acquiescence through the tactic of compliance.

This may be the result of both voluntary and coerced diffusion. When questioned whether he felt that remaining true to the conditions under which the club received Lottery funding was a moral or legal obligation the Treasurer replied:

I think it's both. We've set out our stall as a club and as honest people to develop the village's sports facilities so morally we're obliged to fulfil why we asked for the money in the first place. Legally, the Lottery has given us all this money and if we didn't use their money, the public's money, in the right way I'm sure they would have

recourse on us to try and get some of that money back. How difficult that would be I don't know, and I don't think it's ever been tried. But they did say to us that they would be monitoring our progress which is why they wanted our development plan so they could monitor us.

The Secretary, on the other hand, perceives much less of a legal obligation or indeed coercive pressure in general. He states:

I wouldn't see it as a legal pressure speaking honestly. It's the obligation of our club, I think to progress the way we want to progress but we haven't really had any pressure from the Lottery to enforce that, to enforce the development plan.

The club truly feels that it has not deceived Sport England in any way because it is applying for another Lottery grant to build changing facilities at the pitch. Indirectly, this is perhaps the biggest coercive pressure Sport England can apply to VSCs like Sandown White Star. Subsequent grants from Sport England's Lottery Fund would not be made to VSCs that had not delivered, or made no attempt to deliver, on their funding conditions.

A compliant response is further justified by reference to Oliver's (1991) predictors of response summarised for Sandown's case in Table 26. It is clear that Sandown complied with economic pressures in that the amount of funding required for their project was not available from anywhere else other than Sport England's Lottery Fund. Additionally, Sport England demanded future income and expenditure projections for the project and that a 21 year leasehold agreement was established between Sandown and the County Council. Social pressures existed in the form a funding condition stating that a development plan targeting young people and women.

Table 26: Predictors of Sandown's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	High
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	High
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Low
Control	Legal control/coercion	High
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High
Strategic response	Acquiescence	
Tactic	Compliance	

The pressures exerted on the club were not in conflict with the organisation's goals because initially it simply did not have any formal goals apart from the implicit purpose of playing football. Thus the club adopted the goals of its societal sector therefore complying with the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund. This supports Levitt and Nass' (1989) conclusion that organisations in weak technical environments use their institutional environment to structure their operation. Because Sandown adopted the goals of its institutional environment there was little restriction on its discretionary decision making.

It has already been noted that Sandown perceived both legal/coercive and moral pressure to conform. Legal/coercive pressure was felt in the form of Sport England's right to reclaim Sandown's award if the club failed to meet its funding conditions. More informal coercion existed in Sandown's belief that it would harm its chances of receiving further funding from Sport England for subsequent items in its development plan if it did not attempt to meet the funding conditions. Morally the club felt an obligation to honour its agreement with Sport England because not to do so would be to deceive and disadvantage the community of Sandown.

Sandown's Lottery bid contained multiple constituents making a resistant strategy more likely. However, this was counter balanced by a high level of resource dependence on those constituents. Resistance was made even less likely by the inter-connectedness of these constituents. Therefore, acquiescence through compliance was Sandown's response to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund.

8.1.5 Case conclusions

Sandown White Star is perhaps the ideal example of what Sport England aims to achieve through its Lottery Fund. The Lottery grant enabled the club to make the progress that it desired and would otherwise not have been able to make, whilst contributing significantly to the provision of sporting opportunities in the village.

Amassing the matching funding was a challenging task in a rural area such as Sandown. Two funders of national significance (the Football Trust and the FSA) were complemented by several local pledges (Copeland Borough Council, Sandown Parish Council, and Sandown Neighbourhood Forum) that although small were no less crucial in completing the funding jigsaw. Additionally, the local funding provided a degree of legitimacy that sent a strong message to the Lottery that the project was much supported and needed. However, the club tended to focus more on the value of the funding itself because of the difficulty in raising money within the area and also because of a lack of club funds. Similarly vital support was received from the CPFA and the CFA as they responded to the project consultation forms further legitimising Sandown's bid.

Through its Lottery Fund, Sport England was the primary source of institutional pressures. There were several key correspondences between Sandown and Sport England which gave the latter the opportunity to further expose the club to institutional

pressures at an applied and specific level. These pressures were reinforced by other sources of the same institutional pressures. In fact, these other sources were simply intermediaries within the same policy sector so in effect they were conveying the same institutional pressures as Sport England's Lottery Fund. In the case of Sandown these intermediaries were the County Council, CPFA and the CFA. Such a coherent set of pressures exerted through multiple actors made it difficult for the club to evade or reject these organisations' expectations especially when the club was so dependent on the organisations for financial support and legitimacy.

The volition of the club in complying with these institutional pressures is evident from its attitude and behaviour. Not only did Sandown agree with and recognise the value of the pressures but the club was also proactive in attempting to comply with them. Sandown was extremely keen to apply to Sport England's Lottery Fund, making inquiries in 1994 well before the first application forms were distributed. Such an early start meant that mimetic pressures were non-existent despite the massive uncertainty that the club encountered. This finding would not have been anticipated by institutional theorists and will be expanded upon in chapter 9.

The implications for Sandown of adopting a sports development approach to its operation are evident in its organisational structure. Overall the structure and operation has become much more professional although no paid staff have been introduced. The increased size of the club in membership numbers was reflected in the required growth of the committee to manage the club. Formalisation and specialisation were apparent in the development of role descriptions for committee members and also in the creation of coaches for specific age groups. The operation of the club was formalised through the constitution and the development plan.

Sandown White Star embraced the principles and conditions of Sport England's Lottery Fund and therefore their response to its institutional pressures was nothing short of enthusiastic compliance within Oliver's (1991) category of acquiescence. Habit or imitation are not appropriate descriptions of Sandown's response because of the level of conscious agency in complying with the conditions. An active rejection of Sport England's prescriptions seems to have not even been considered by the club. Perhaps Sandown was simply not aware of this as an option. Alternatively, it may have been that the club was so dependent on the Lottery and matching funding that a rejection or negotiation of the pressures was made a non-possibility.

The latter scenario seems unlikely given that adherence to the conditions of the Lottery funding was viewed primarily as a moral obligation by the club, although they were aware of Sport England's ability to claw back the value of the grant. The only other coercive pressure that was perceived by Sandown was that they would be denied a further grant from Sport England for their pitch-side changing rooms if they failed to implement their sports development plan. Although the timetable for the development plan may be running late, there was no evidence to suggest that the club was not committed to pursuing the plan's targets.

Apart from the absence of mimetic isomorphism, Sandown White Star's case supports institutional theory. Having conformed to the expectations of how a VSC in receipt of Lottery funding should operate and be structured the club has become isomorphic with the pressures of the sport policy sector. Sandown's case also confirms the utility of Oliver's (1991) predictors of strategic response to institutional pressures as the club responded in a way that Oliver would have predicted.

8.2 Ascot Lads' Club

Deplorable was the lot of the poor working-class lad... Bred in squalor and poverty with its resultant crime and violence, it was inevitable that he should become one with his environment. He had no incentive or direction offered to him of any other mode of life and his abundant energies found an outlet in the formation of gangs... In the narrow ill-lit streets and dark entries... it can be imagined the very powers of evil would seem to lurk and it was positively unsafe for the visitor to proceed through the district unescorted. The police even had to patrol warily and in pairs (Hill, 1949: p. 1).

The above passage is perhaps just as apt today as it was in describing opportunities for the young of Salford, Manchester in 1868. Founded in this year, the Ascot Lads Club has a long history of providing recreation for the young working class of the area. Ascot's aim then is just as valid today as social conditions in Salford are still as challenging in their own way. Today the problems are perhaps made more complex by the high levels drug abuse that combine with the constant background of poverty and crime. There are few banks left in Salford town centre, most have left because of the persistent robbery. The club moved to its present location in Salford in 1921 and is now surrounded by tower blocks and a mixture of newly built and derelict terraced housing. Unemployment is high and the area is economically deprived, but in some areas of Salford gentrification is evident. The canal has been redeveloped providing expensive canal side apartments and the new £60 million Lowry art gallery, Lottery funded by the Arts Council of England, is within sight of Manchester United's Old Trafford ground. Just a few minutes drive away is the newly redeveloped and wealthy city centre. So it seems that around Ascot there is great wealth and dynamism, but within stability is the theme.

Hill writes that even in 1921 the club had to be constantly alert to the outside influences at variance with the club's spirit and ideals. And so its emphasis physical recreation, discipline and constructive leisure pursuits continued. The club now provides for football, squash, table tennis and snooker. The club has two halls of

average size, one with a stage, but only one room for changing facilities. The subject of the Lottery bid was the new outdoor playing area that replaced the previous mud and gravel surface that had not been used for sometime. The outdoor area now allows football and netball to be played again outside. Ascot's application to the Lottery Fund is summarised in Table 27.

Table 27: Summary of Ascot Lads' Club Lottery application

Name	Ascot Lads' Club
Application date	Late 1995 / early 1996
Project	Resurfacing outdoor playing area to be used for football, netball and tennis
cost	£14,903
Award	£9,683 (65%)*
date	Summer / autumn 1996
Matching funding	£3,496 (100% self-funded) (35%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	Greater Manchester Federation of Clubs for Young People (GMFCYP) Salford City Council
Structural change	None
Structural score	0

*% of project cost

Although titled as a lads club the facilities have provided local girls with recreation opportunities for most of the twentieth century. Provision is strictly segregated though with girls using the facilities on different evenings to the lads and having their own committee. The club has a strong male bias in its provision, operation, governance and membership. The Lad's membership is divided in to categories of junior, youth and senior whereas the girls only have one category.

The club is clearly focused on its aim and there is a reluctance to alter the way in which that aim is pursued. In the 1998 annual report the Chairman described the aim: "As simple as it may sound, it is to ensure the club is open and safely supervised four days of the week throughout the whole year". This aim clearly discriminates against the girls as it is the lads that use the club four days a week with the girls using the facilities on a further two days of the week. Consequently, the formally stated aim in

the club's annual report concerns only the provision made for the male users of the club. During the interview the Chairman elaborated, stating that the aim:

has never changed. The most important thing to us is safety, make it comfortable for them to come in, not to make champions of them or to be the best, that has never been our aim really.

This does not sit comfortably with Sport England's mission of 'more people, more places more medals'. That is not to say that the club does not aim to develop the youth of Salford because it clearly does in a much more simple and implicit way. There is no explicit agenda of skill development or performance standards for the youth. Anything like that would be too sophisticated for the area and the club. Instead, there are more fundamental ways in which the club aims to develop the youth. These include discipline and the value of active recreation but they are implicit in the general aim of keeping them off the streets and out of trouble.

The integrity of the aim has endured 132 years of history and perhaps not surprisingly there seems to be a reluctance to change the means through which the aim is achieved. This inertia originates from the deeply set institutions among the committee, especially the older members, and is similar to that identified by Nichols and King (1999) in the Guide Association in the UK. Ascot's case is illustrated by the Chairman:

There's still a tradition among people on the committee that if things were to change dramatically within the club they would probably pack it in and leave the club, simple as that. Or in other words the club would cease to exist. We have problems from time to time when applying for [funding etc] they say 'are you a mixed club?' Well we aren't. We aren't a mixed club but we have a girls' section. The day that we are forced into becoming a mixed club, for whatever reason, will mean that the people involved in the club at the moment will cease to be involved with it.

Ascot's constitution has remained unchanged for as long as the Secretary and Chairman can remember. Both men are life members, in their 50s and brothers. The constitution refers only to the Ascot Lads Club and not to the Ascot Lads Club

incorporating Girls Section which is the official title of the entire club and the title entered on the Lottery application form. The Chairman states:

The constitution of the club is something that would be difficult to change because of the committee. Everything in the constitution is round the name of Ascot Lads Club. So we didn't get involved in that. We haven't changed a thing.

However, the Chairman foresees a change in the constitution if the club is to survive beyond the next ten years. Any public provision made through the club to increase revenue would require such a change. But he is adamant that the need to raise the income of the club would not be at the detriment to the club's original purpose, rather it would be to service that aim. Any such revenue earning opportunities would have to take place in the club's closed period during the day. He continues:

We're looking at having a keep fit centre at the back of the club with weights and all that kind of stuff. Possibly hire out some of the rooms for line dancing etc. It all boils down to manpower at the end of the day though. If we had somebody, or an active committee that had time, then they could build most of the facilities that we need. [The club is] locked up during the day. You think of the facilities, a gym, an outdoor pitch and everything that people want we could probably bring a lot of money in. But we don't want to do it to the point that that is what the club is actually used for. That would purely be to bring some money in, but the club would always come first.

Ascot Lads' Club is therefore an organisation that is proud and highly protective of its traditions. However, these traditions are in conflict with many of the expectations of society.

8.2.1 Critical organisations

Ascot Lads Club is, to say the least, independent. It has contact with very few outside organisations and despite being a VSC it has very little contact with other VSCs or lads clubs in the Manchester area. The Chairman explains:

It's the oldest (existing) boys club in Great Britain and there are not many of these left on this scale. But I'm not even convinced that even Salford Council understands that. We are just this place in Salford that gives them no trouble, give the police no trouble, so nobody ever bothers to wonder what goes on in here. We've had police come past

before and ask what do we do in here. And that's the most you'll ever see of them.

This gives rise to a fierce sense of independence which is stubbornly upheld even if it means forgoing opportunities to develop and benefit the club. The club has always been self-reliant. It managed to find the entire thirty five percent of the matching funding for the Lottery bid from the club's own funds so has had little need to co-operate with external organisations (see Table 27). Any interest from outside is treated with suspicion because it feels that any co-operation with external organisations will compromise its aims and values. The Secretary was particularly critical of the LA who in the past had taken over other independently organised local lads clubs and clubs for young people, and turned them into youth clubs with a greater emphasis on passive recreation. Ascot was particularly critical and fearful of the LA's wish to provide recreation through mixed gender clubs. With so few inter-relations Ascot seems to exist almost in isolation in a simple societal sector.

However, the only significant organisation other than Sport England in Ascot's Lottery bid was that of the Greater Manchester Federation of Clubs for Young People (GMFCYP⁴) formerly the Greater Manchester Federation of Boys' Clubs and Manchester and Salford Playing Fields Society. The GMFCYP is "the largest non-uniformed, non-political organisation in the North, offering a year round calendar of events and activities to broaden the adolescent experience and raise the esteem of young people" (publicity leaflet). The Chief Executive of the GMFCYP commented:

Our forefathers in the nineteenth century believed whole-heartedly that only lads played games and that was why the lads' clubs were formed. That is to help lads burn off excess energy. We in fact had girls' sections from 1860 onwards and they did different things like needlework, embroidery, art and crafts. The clubs were never named after them, although there were some girls clubs few and far between. Mostly, it was based on physical activity and sport.

⁴ The GMFCYP is not a NGB per se but performs many of the same support functions for Ascot that a county level NGB would for one of its VSCs. For simplicity then the GMFCYP is referred to as a NGB in this research.

Clearly physical activity and sport played a central role in the life of lads' clubs. However, neither the Federation or the clubs seem to have an obvious sports development aim. Although, the GMFCYP does have occasional contact with Sport England its main purpose is not sport policy or provision.

The GMFCYP was cited by the Ascot respondents as being a significant organisation in the operation of the club. Although Lottery Fund consultation forms were sent to the GMFCYP and Salford Council for Ascot's bid, the club did not request any matching funding from these two organisations. However, the GMFCYP was cited as the most influential or significant organisation in the club's environment because of Ascot's frequent contact with the Federation regarding club business and also because the Federation gave Ascot advice on applying to the Lottery Fund. The GMFCYP also gives grants of few hundred pounds to the club on an occasional basis. The Secretary of the Ascot Lads' Club described the help received from the GMFCYP's Chief Executive in preparing the Lottery bid. He states:

[The Chief Executive] was quite annoyed really because he has got a number of clubs in his area that applied for Lottery grants and not one of them was successful. They applied before us. So he was very helpful. He answered some of the questions on the application for us that we thought, you know, 'oh no, how are we going to answer this?' He was very good in advising us about what to say and how to put it.

The club-Federation relationship in particular has been characterised by intimacy more than most club-Federation relationships because Ascot was one of the first lads clubs to be founded in the Manchester area and has always been one of the largest clubs affiliated to the Federation. The relationship is founded on strong normative alignment and mutual respect developed over a period of time. Recently this has intensified due to a perception that 'outside' organisations do not have an appreciation of their unique situation and purpose as they try to impose their will..

Ascot's dependence on Sport England's funding was clearly high at the time of their application but it was short lived. There is only really one significant organisation for the club; the GMFCYP which has little to do with Sport England. This creates an environment for Ascot, which is not inter-connected, has few constituents and was only uncertain during its interaction with Sport England.

8.2.2 Institutional pressures

A large influence on the development of Ascot's Lottery application was the Lottery Fund information pack from Sport England. From this the club acquired an idea of the criteria the project had to fulfil to receive an award. Additionally, the advice received from the Chief Executive of the GMFCYP was grounded in previous Lottery bids that had failed. The quote from Ascot's Secretary in section 8.2.1 demonstrates that there is an element of mimetic isomorphism in operation all be it indirect and minimal. It also demonstrates the influence of the GMFCYP in the way that Ascot operates.

For Ascot, coercive pressure was present in Sport England's Lottery Fund application pack because it made it clear to the Secretary that their bid would be unsuccessful if they did not address the criteria identified by Sport England. These criteria constitute the institutional pressures identified earlier in section 6.1. The Secretary commented that "if you didn't go on those guidelines it was no good", indicating the perception that neglecting the criteria would result in Ascot's application for Lottery funding being rejected.

Sport England applies more specific coercion when it inquires about the segregated provision made by the club. The Secretary refers here to the 'In Principle Award' letter received from Sport England. The letter contains three conditions that can be seen to constitute coercive reinforcement of normative institutional pressures. The letter states that:

It is anticipated that in due course an offer of a formal award of grant will be made and the amount confirmed, but only when Ascot Lads Club has fulfilled the following conditions to the satisfaction of the Sports Council:

- 3.1 Confirmation that girls and boys are to have the opportunity of equal usage time.
- 3.2 The present name of the club to be amended to omit the word 'Lads'.
- 3.3 A programme of use to be devised which will demonstrate maximum use of the facilities / opportunities available.

Greater attention is paid to these conditions, or rather Ascot's response to them, in section 8.2.4.

8.2.3 Organisational structure

There have been few if any changes to Ascot's organisation structure because of the inertia of the committee and subsequently because of the unchanged constitution. The lack of change in the club's structure was demonstrated by the telephone questionnaire, which recorded a structural score of zero (no change). All three indicators used to measure organisational structure through the telephone survey (formalisation, specialisation, professionalisation) produced a score of zero. There were no specialist roles created for volunteers or professionals, no professionals were recruited by the club, no training provided for volunteers in their existing roles, no role descriptions for committee or non-committee members. There was also no change in the position of decision making within the organisational structure of the club as it remains with the main committee.

The survey did report an increase in organisational size measured by membership numbers but this increase was not large enough to register as a rise in structural complexity because of the methodological issue discussed in section 6.2. However, there was no agreement between the qualitative interviews regarding whether there had been an increase in members. The Chairman indicated that the facility had had a

positive effect on membership numbers but the Secretary believed that membership numbers were too erratic to judge. Consequently, a definitive membership figure was difficult to ascertain.

The organisational structure of the Ascot Lads' Club, shown in Figure 13, was identified from the club's 1998 annual report. Comments by the Secretary regarding the structure and operation of the club are revealing:

There aren't any sub-committees there's just the committee and the membership. We have Vice-Presidents which are just honorary positions on the committee but they only ever turn up to an AGM. They don't interfere in the general running of the club at all.

Do you have a separate committee for the ladies?

Well, they like to be called Ascot Ladies because all they'll do is organise a jumble sale and they'll decide when its going to be. They never have a meeting. They just ring each other up and say 'we've got to have a jumble sale sometime in July, when shall we have it?' It's quite informal.

Do the trustees meet with the main committee?

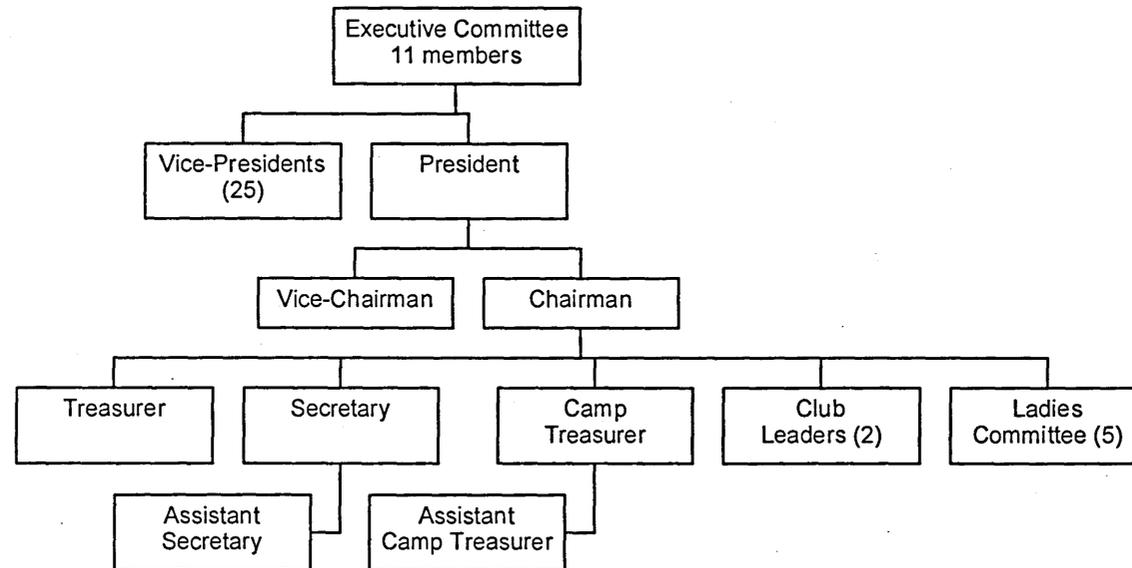
They don't ever meet. The reason why they were put in [the Annual Report] is because nobody ever knew who they were. I just thought to myself one day that this is bad news, you know, that no one knows who the trustee are. So I started to make a few inquiries and I found out that one of the trustees had actually died but nobody had replaced him. So I decide to write them all a letter asking them whether they would like to resign or still stand. And I got all these replies back saying that they wanted to carry on. Then I approached the Chairman to ask him if he wanted to be a trustee; wrote back to the trustees and asked if they would accept him. I then went to the solicitors and got a draught drawn up and put them in a report so that everyone knows who the trustees are.

Several points are evident from this. Firstly, there is a stark contrast between the operation of the main committee and the ladies committee. The provision for the lads is taken much more seriously than for the girls, possibly because of the estimated 85%/15% split in the membership favours the lads. The main committee is also entirely male having no representative of the ladies committee which is supposedly incorporated into the club. The fact that the Vice-Presidents only ever attend the

Annual General Meeting (AGM) indicates the inactivity of the majority of the main committee. Most of the work is left up to the Secretary, Chairman and the regular volunteers who turn up on club nights. According to the telephone survey the number of regular volunteers is only about three but the Chairman believes there to be ten. Whatever their number, the lack of regular volunteers to help out on club nights puts pressure on the existing volunteer structure.

The newly resurfaced outdoor facility has created few pressures on the club. There is no charge to the club's members for the use of the facility so there is no extra accounting for the Treasurer. Also, it does not represent an addition to the club's stock of facilities because it has merely revived an existing play area. The overall numbers of volunteers needed to supervise the activities on a club night has not increased, but the volunteers have been redistributed because of the popularity of the new facility. Consequently, more volunteers or senior members are needed to supervise the outdoor activities because of the extra demand, but the extra demand has meant that the indoor facilities are now used less.

Figure 13: Ascot Lads' Club organisation structure



8.2.4 Strategic responses

Initially, it seems that Ascot complied with the expectations of Sport England's Lottery Fund. Compliance seems the most likely response, not because Ascot had adopted the aims and values of the sports policy sector expressed through Sport England's Lottery Fund or because there existed some degree of normative alignment between the two, but simply because the club was made aware of what was expected of it through the Lottery Fund application pack.

On the application form to the Lottery Fund the Secretary had stated:

We hope to be able to encourage more young people to participate in various types of sports and to also achieve a higher standard of performance in their chosen sport. We would also make the facilities available to local schools during the day, which would increase the use of facilities by a further 60%.

When asked why he had made the above statement on the application form he replied:

Because those were the conditions. When you got this application pack and you read it those were the types of things they were looking for. If you didn't go on those guidelines it was no good.

Far from being intrinsically valued, this talk of sports development seems to be rhetoric adopted by the club to further its chances of securing Lottery funding from Sport England. The Secretary admits in the last quote that he was simply telling Sport England what it wanted to hear. There was no attempt to demonstrate any congruence between the aims of Ascot and those of Sport England's Lottery Fund when qualifying the statement. In the course of the interviews there was very little to support Ascot's claim in the application form, in fact there was more evidence to refute it.

The local school does not use Ascot's outdoor playing surface. The school was approached by the Chairman to see if they were interested in using the surface only

after the facility had been built but no response was ever received from the school. Data gained through the telephone survey suggests that the membership numbers increased from 40 to 60, whereas the Post-completion Monitoring Questionnaire completed by Ascot for Sport England indicates that membership increased from 66 to 182. There was little qualitative information to support either of these figures. This variation is partly explained by the number of lads and girls using the facility fluctuating from week to week and from season to season.

Where the standard of performance is concerned the Chief Executive of the GMFCYP sums up the ethos of his clubs in contrast to Sport England's Lottery Fund:

I think that [Sport England's Lottery Fund] wants to meet a certain standard that isn't excellence but is better than just ordinary. I think our clubs are looking for help that is just that peg beneath ordinary, just backbone stuff rather than genuine advancement. I also think the Lottery looks at bringing in all factors of the community, but that is sometimes impossible.

Here the Chief Executive highlights what Oliver (1991) calls the social fitness pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund on Ascot to make provision for particular groups of the community, to provide sports development opportunities and to encourage excellence. Above all, such talk of raising performance standards and excellence isn't just against the ethos of Ascot but also against the objective of the club outlined earlier by the Chairman in the interview and in the club's annual report. There were no specific economic fitness pressures attached to Ascot's award from Sport England beyond those in the small print of the agreement. Thus the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund are inconsistent with the purpose and aim of Ascot Lads' Club. According to Oliver's (1991) predictors of response this makes a resistant response all the more likely.

Ascot responded in writing to the three conditions levied on the award by Sport England identified in section 8.2.2. The club produced a timetable of usage that does

not add up. The response sent to Sport England claims that equal usage time will be available to lads and girls but the accompanying programme of use (see Table 28) shows greater time available for the lads. It was noted in the introduction to this case study that Ascot's unequal provision was formalised in its 1998 annual report. The aim was stated in the report as being to ensure that provision is made on four days of the week (for the lads), thus ignoring the two days a week that the girls use the club. It is therefore implied by the officially stated aim of the club that Ascot does not provide recreational opportunities for girls and for all intent and purposes is a single sex club.

The letter also contained a summary by the Secretary of the club's heritage and culture and also its standing within the local community in which it is known as a lads club. The letter states:

It has a standing in the community as the Ascot Lads Club. However, we do understand your reasoning and we are certainly not a sexist club. We would consider changing our name to be known as The Ascot Lads Club and Ragged School Incorporating the Ascot Girls Club.

The Secretary admits that if the truth were known that has always been the real name of the club. But locally and in the constitution the club is known as the 'Ascot Lads' Club'. Nevertheless, the Secretary maintains later in the interview that the lads' and girls' sections of the club are distinct and separate entities.

So we said that it would be Ascot Lads Club incorporating Girls Section. But as far as we're concerned its still Ascot Lads Club. The girls' section is run separately, but still part of the club. It's just that we never have them mixed together in the facilities. They have their own night and their own identity.

Apprehension towards mixed gender provision is evident in the Secretary's reaction to the Sport England's concern that it was a single sex club. He continues:

What they wanted was for us to have lads and girls in here together on the same night. But what we told them was that it wasn't feasible because we don't have dual facilities i.e. separate changing rooms.

Did they offer you the opportunity to introduce segregated changing facilities by increasing the grant?

No. I don't think it would have been accepted by the club in the first place anyway.

Why would it not have been accepted by the club?

Because it's a traditional boys club. I think the reason for that is because we have seen examples of this, a boys club becoming a mixed club, and it doesn't really work. You always get lads coming for the girls and it gets like a night-club, they come down to meet the girls. It detracts from the ideals of the club, you know the playing of snooker, the playing of football.

But I suppose from what you were saying earlier about keeping the local authority and the club separate are you quite happy to have it that way?

Yeah, we're quite happy to have it that way because if Salford council came in here and somehow took the club over, I'm afraid that most of the people here would die off or go away and never come back. It just wouldn't be the same. Because the if the Council came in here and influenced us they might say 'right, on a Monday night you're not going to play snooker and table tennis, you're going to do what we tell you'. So they would be running it their way. So I could see a number of the committee saying 'if we can't run it the way we've run it for over a hundred and eleven years we'll call it a day'.

This shows that it was not just the practicalities on which Ascot rejected suggestions that they should consider mixed gender provision but also a point of principle and concern for the integrity of their values.

Table 28: Usage programme for Ascot Lads' Club submitted to Sport England

Number of Hours	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
10.00	LOCAL SCHOOL'S USE					
11.00						
12.00						
13.00						
14.00						ASCOT GIRLS CLUB
15.00						
16.00						
17.00						
18.00						
19.00						
20.00	ASCOT	ASCOT	ASCOT	ASCOT	ASCOT	
21.00	LADS	GIRLS	LADS	LADS	LADS	
22.00	CLUB	CLUB	CLUB	CLUB	CLUB	

There is, however, a notable absence of any perception on behalf of the Chairman and Secretary that there is any legal or even moral obligation to honour the conditions of the Lottery grant. From the Secretary's comments regarding Sport England's monitoring it is apparent that Sport England only applied a minimal amount of coercive pressure through the Post-completion Monitoring Questionnaire. He states:

To be honest with you I think that because our amount was so trivial no one even came from the Lottery to check or vet it... nobody from the Lottery came down for the opening and nobody came down even to check that work had been done.

With a low level of legal coercion it seems that Sport England relied on voluntary normative diffusion to take its course. However, because the nature of the pressures was inconsistent with Ascot's aim this was unlikely to work especially given Ascot's strong relationship with the GMFCYP. Thus the short term, high resource dependence relationship with Sport England was insignificant and not that influential compared to the long-standing normative based relationship with the GMFCYP. This supports the earlier contention in section 4.1.2 that inter-connections within the sports policy sector are temporal and dynamic in nature. This represents a possible contribution to theory and will be expanded upon in Chapter 9.

The predictors of Ascot's response are detailed in Table 29. The predictors of cause and control have already been covered by the discussion in this section. It has also been noted that the content of the social pressures applied to Ascot were inconsistent with the aims of the club. Had these pressures been accepted by Ascot it would have represented a restriction on the club's autonomy as they would have required a re-orientation of the club's defining values and principles. Therefore a compliant response was less likely. Instead, it is argued that Ascot concealed its avoidance of institutional pressures.

Table 29: Predictors of Ascot's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	Low
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	Low
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	Low
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	High
Control	Legal control/coercion	Low
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	Low
Strategic response	Avoidance	
Tactic	Concealment	

Ascot's Lottery bid contained only two legitimating constituents (the GMFCYP and Salford City Council) and only one funding constituent (Sport England). This should have made a resistant response less likely because Ascot was unlikely to face a range of competing and contradictory pressures. However, the disparate nature of these constituents meant that the environment in which the club submitted its Lottery bid was not coherent and inter-connected but contradictory with opposing pressures emanating from Sport England's Lottery Fund and Ascot's own institutions and values supported by the GMFCYP. Ascot's long term, high dependence relationship with the GMFCYP based on advice, minor financial support and normative alignment compared to its relationship with Sport England of short term, high resource

dependence meant that Ascot rejected the pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund in favour of its core principles and values. The environment in which the bid was submitted was also uncertain as previous Lottery bids submitted by other clubs for young people with the help and advice of the GMFCYP had all failed. Such uncertainty according to Oliver (1991) makes a compliant response all the more likely but Ascot's response of avoidance through concealment is far from this. Moreover the presence of uncertainty is suggested to encourage mimetic isomorphism according to institutional theorists but again this form of institutional pressure was notably lacking from the Ascot's case.

8.2.5 Case conclusions

Ascot Lads' Club has clearly resisted any influence from Sport England to adopt a sports development orientation to achieving its aim. It seems there are conflicting institutional pressures acting on the club in the form of tradition versus sports development. Given the strong clash of norms between Sport England and the Ascot Lads' Club some form of resistance to the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery fund seemed inevitable. However, the lack of coercive pressures, both perceived and real allowed the club to make the strategic response that it did. This may have been an oversight resulting from the inexperience inherent in the early operation of the Lottery Fund by Sport England. Oliver would categorise Ascot's response as concealment because the club has managed to disguise its avoidance of the institutional pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund. Equal access has not been provided for the girls, the title of the club has not been changed and maximum use of the funded facility is so far not being made as it remains closed during the day. Overall the club steadfastly refuses to bow to external pressures that expect mixed gender provision.

8.3 Goodwood Cricket Club

Goodwood Cricket Club has been in existence since 1892. Cumbria is not a particularly strong cricketing county but the club prides itself on being one of the most established and successful clubs in the county. The club is progressive and sees the value in developing young players, having had a junior section for 22 years. It has a good ground that is sometimes used for county level matches but has limited facilities beyond the clubhouse.

Summarised in Table 30, Goodwood's bid was submitted to Sport England's Lottery Fund prior to the deadline for the first applications in January 1995. The project consisted of a four lane practice pitch, artificial match pitch, and scarifying machine. Through the bid the club hoped to maintain its existing facilities and provision and also develop its coaching capacity through the additional practice pitches and artificial match pitch. The latter facility would also allow the club to provide greater community access relieving the pressure on the grass wicket, allowing it to be maintained to County standard.

Table 30: Summary of Goodwood Cricket Club's Lottery application

Name	Goodwood Cricket Club
Application date	January 1995
Project	4 lane practice pitch, artificial match pitch, and scarifying machine
cost	£14,969
Award	£7,909 (53%)*
date	Summer / autumn 1996
Matching funding	Carlisle City Council £2,000 (13%)* Cumbria County Council £1000 (7%)* Carlsberg-Tetley £4060 (27%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	ECB Carlisle City Council
Structural change	Yes (reduced coimplexity)
Structural score	-4

* % of project cost

The Chairman of the club who submitted the Lottery Fund application, and also performs the roles of Honorary Secretary and Fixture Secretary, states the general

aim of the club as being “to provide Carlisle City with the best [cricket] club we can”. He continues that “the rules state the aims and they haven’t changed for sometime”. The aim of providing the best is not explicit in the constitution but held as a broad goal for the club. The aims identified in the club’s constitution are:

- 1) To provide members with the facilities for playing cricket and ancillary thereto.
- 2) To provide members with the facilities to participate in other games and sports.
- 3) To provide members with the facilities to promote social and other activities.

The club sees community use of its facilities as important for two reasons. Firstly, community use provides a source of revenue. Cricket clubs that are based outside of Cumbria are charged for the use of the club. For example the Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food’s cricket team based in North Yorkshire use the club for a fee. However, the Pirelli Social Club that is based within Cumbria is just one of the many local sides that use the ground for free. Secondly, the fact that Goodwood Cricket Club is making provision for other clubs that do not have a ground, and also the fact that local schools are able to use the ground and occasionally receive coaching from the club, means that the club is fulfilling a sports development function in the local community. Thus, it seems that the club recognises the value of and its role in sports development and also that community use can contribute to club funds.

As a long-standing club, Goodwood recognises the value of sports development to the sport of cricket and also to the club itself. Consummate with its aim to provide the best, the club wanted to improve its facilities to allow continued community access and youth development. Sport England’s Lottery Fund was considered the only source likely to be able to provide a large enough grant for the planned project. Sport England was therefore one of the critical organisations for Goodwood Cricket Club.

8.3.1 Critical organisations

It is evident from Table 30 that the range of critical organisations for Goodwood Cricket Club's Lottery bid was relatively small. The City Council was important in terms of its contribution of resources and legitimacy to the project, the County Council gave some financial backing to the club but was not a consultee for their project, and the ECB could not provide any financial resources but was able to legitimise the bid. A major contributor that helped the club finance its own matching funding was the brewery with which the club had a sales agreement. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Previous facility developments undertaken by the club were funded by a larger number of local supporters through the City Council and local businesses. However, for the Lottery bid the Chairman perceived there to be a lack of funding in the local area.

The City Council awarded the club £2000 and the County Council made a smaller grant of £1000. Financially, the resources offered by the County Council were small relative to the other sources but this would be to ignore the legitimacy value that the funding provides. Commenting on the County Councils restricted ability to grant aid a VSC's Lottery project, an Officer of the County Council stated that:

What [VSCs] do find useful though, is the very fact that they have actually had grant aid from the parish council, from the district council, from the county council and from whoever else because it sends the signal to the National Lottery that this particular scheme has a lot of local support,... even if the money itself is only a negligible amount... Because if you turn it around the other way and say what would happen if a scheme goes in to the National Lottery and none of the local authorities are touching it? The first reaction will be what's wrong with it...? Money is important and yes we need to get as much of it as possible. But nevertheless at the end of the day if we're getting that kind of support saying what you're doing we like, that in itself is worth money.

However the view expressed in the above quote seems to ignore the reality that with all the backing and legitimation available a project cannot proceed without the necessary capital funding. Sport England's Lottery Fund was therefore seen as the only possible funding source for the club to realise its project. The Chairman, responsible for constructing Goodwood's bid stated "I knew... that if we were going to improve our facilities to any extent then we were going to have to apply to the Sports Council for funding". Sport England was therefore critical in deciding whether the project went ahead or not.

Adding to the Chairman's perception of a lack of local funding was the position of the ECB. The ECB's CDO for Cumbria made it clear that although the NGB was in a position to draw on authoritative resources to influence the development of cricket in the county, it lacked the allocative resources or financial power to do so. He stated that "although we are the governing body of cricket in Cumbria we are not the governing body to give out money to clubs unfortunately".

The ECB uses its position of authority in the Lottery Fund application process to give its backing to clubs and indeed did so with Goodwood's bid. The club, in either their documents or the qualitative interviews did not acknowledge the importance of receiving this backing or legitimisation. However, the CDO suggests the significance of his backing for a cricket club's funding application to the Lottery and in doing so echoes the view of the County Council Officer. The CDO stated:

So far we haven't denied anybody our backing. We haven't said that we do not agree with this [project], yet, but it could come up if it doesn't better Cumbrian Cricket and we would say as much... I would think that our evaluation is of major importance. If a governing body did not back a scheme and it went ahead I would be very disappointed because in my mind that is a waste of money for cricket.

With Sport England offering a grant of £7,909 and the City and County Councils providing a combined amount of £3000, the club was left with a shortfall of £4060.

This represented 27% of the total project cost, much greater than the 10% that VSCs are expected to contribute from their own funds. However, the club was able to make up this shortfall by reluctantly taking out what it called a 'write off loan' for £10,000 from the brewery that supplied the club's bar. Officially though, the shortfall was made up by drawing on club funds allowing it to contribute 27% of the project cost. In reality though it was the brewery that provided the missing funding. The remainder of the loan was used in other ways through the club.

Although the club was not short of legitimacy for its project, having received backing from the ECB and the County and City Councils, the essential finances were somewhat lacking. The lack of funding made the available funds from the County and City Councils and the brewery all the more crucial.

8.3.2 Institutional pressures

A specific condition levied on the club by Sport England in the award letter was "that the Organisation produce a formal junior development plan. This plan (had) to be received and approved by the Sports Council Lottery Unit". There were no other specific conditions on Goodwood's award. However, the club did perceive an element of coercion to deliver on these conditions. Minimal coercion was applied through communications from Sport England after the award and the presence of a representative from the organisation at the opening ceremony. When asked whether the distributing organisations carried out any monitoring on the grants given to the club the Treasurer commented:

Certainly the Sports Council do. They come and look to see that you've done what you've said your going to do. They then come along and put up 'funded by the Sports Council'.

In 1996 Carlisle City Council had just reviewed its sports strategy and it was under this new strategy that the club received its funding. An instrumental approach to the

strategy was adopted by the City Council as it provided “a firm base from which to justify the strategic benefits of individual bids to the National Lottery Sports Fund”

(Carlisle City Council, 1996: p. 3). The City Council's SDO expands:

We used [the strategy] as a tool to demonstrate to the Lottery why we were supporting a particular project, but it was done on a broad statement basis... We looked at the project and fitted a particularly nice statement from the strategy around it. We have always felt that in Carlisle, because we are in the backwater, because we are miles away from anywhere, we don't attract the kind of funding that large urban areas can through European funding, SRB funding that kind of thing. We have to bend the rules, you know we have to play the game... So we felt fairly comfortable in saying lets look at these projects in relation to our objectives and making our strategy fit their bids.

Adopting an instrumental approach to the funding of voluntary organisations, as LAs often do (Leach and Wilson, 1998), the City Council deliberately left its strategy ambiguous so that it could be made to fit Sport England's expectations. So much so that the SDO describes Sport England as “extremely important in the process” of developing the strategy. Thus, the City Council adopted a top down view with policy at the national level being imposed on the local, rather than the local influencing the elements of national policy to be adopted by the City Council. This is made evident through the SDO's following comments:

[The strategy] was done in house with our own resources and we literally followed the guide produced by the English Sports Council, 'A Guide to Producing Recreation Strategies'. Then we looked at what kind of context we wanted to fit that strategy into. We obviously looked at what the trends in Lottery Funding were going to be, what current English Sports Council programmes were focusing on at the time, what National Governing Bodies were focusing on at the time... [The strategy is] not just about trying to prioritise and help voluntary organisations make bids to the Lottery, its also about making better use of existing facilities, its about co-ordinating work between voluntary clubs, school and governing bodies to create pathways, trying to follow Sport England's 'big picture' and trying to deliver that locally.

The City Council has made a conscious and instrumental decision to emphasise and adopt Sport England's policy so as to maximise its funding gain from the Lottery fund.

In doing so the City Council is merely conveying and reinforcing the institutional

pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund when helping VSCs to apply to the Fund.

Thus, Carlisle City Council has become an agent of Sport England. The SDO states:

When you think of the priorities of Sport England in allocating the Lottery funding they have not changed. Young people, women, ethnic minorities, disadvantaged groups; they are the same target groups that have always been there from the Sports Council back in the 70's when it launched Sport for All... Really local authorities tend, unless there is anything specific in an area that might become a target group, to have the same priorities as Sport England. Our target groups are the same as Sport England's. Young people have come to the top, whereas before I think women and disabled people might have been the priorities twenty years ago. So the target groups have remained the same but the priorities have moved round and now everybody has got young people at the top and we are no different. So, obviously that is reflected in what we would like to see clubs and organisations achieve.

He continues by identifying an element of financial coercion influencing the City Council's promotion of Sport England's policy:

It seems to me that we've got to a position now where we've got Sport England who've created this model of sport development that they want to embed in this country. They are developing products, initiatives, guidance on good and bad practice, they're offering money from the Lottery. Now if a local authority is going to step back from that and say 'we are going to go off and do our own thing' it seems a bit nonsensical to me. We might as well get on the gravy train while it's there, because at the end of the day I think we all want the same thing for the community in any case.

Coercive pressures were applied to the cricket club by Carlisle City Council to protect their £2000 investment which again shows the Council's instrumental approach to the funding of VSCs through the Lottery. The SDO outlines the conditions under which the funding was given. He says the conditions are:

linked to the criteria in the facilities strategy. So if we say what will your development do for young people and they come back with these nice statements that say we will develop a junior coaching course, we will develop x taster days within the summer holidays, then we will build that into a local legal agreement. They'll be very similar to the local community use agreements we have with schools at the moment. We will develop a local one between the local authority and the Lottery funded sports clubs, obviously with a condition that if they don't achieve these then we are quite entitled to ask for our money back.

Overall the role of the City Council in Goodwood Cricket Club's response to Sport England's Lottery Fund was one of explicitly conveying and reinforcing the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund for instrumental reasons. This resource maximisation strategy is reflected in the County Council Officer's earlier comment that "money is important and yes we need to get as much of it as possible".

The second key actor identified by the club was the County Council who granted the club £1000 of matching funding. An Officer of the County Council identifies the Council's role in the Lottery application process for VSCs.

We're adopting the role of devils advocate for the right reasons. So we're saying why do you want it? What difference will it make to your club? Will more people play because of it? What about women, do you have an equity policy within the club? In other words have you got some kind of rule that says women are not allowed in here apart from half past five on Monday morning. What about kids, do you have a junior policy? It was all that kind of thing to try and tease out whether really, if they went to the Lottery, they were going to lose at the first hurdle. We adopted that kind of, not an aggressive role at all, but asking those kind of punchy questions to get the answers. Because if they said to me equity, what's that? Well you say have you got a different set of rules for your men and your women? And they say, of course we do because we don't have women coming in. Well forget it then because unless you get your rules put right you needn't go to the Lottery. So it was that kind of philosophy we adopted.

A realist approach similar to that of the instrumentality demonstrated by the City Council is adopted by this County Council Officer to test the robustness of a VSCs bid. He acknowledges that VSCs can sometimes be parochial in their outlook but stresses the necessity of adopting a sports development approach to a Lottery bid. Notable though is the way the Officer stops short of whole heartedly endorsing the conditions of Sport England's Lottery Fund.

It could be the case then that the County Council Officer and the City Council's SDO are less central actors in the sports policy sector than the ECB's CDO. However, the following quote refutes this as it indicates the close policy relationship that exists

between the County Council and Sport England. The County Council Officer talks of a consortium approach to sports policy in the county and its districts involving Sport England and all other interested parties. Asked who initiated the consortium approach the Officer replied:

It was the Chief Leisure Officers with a degree of input from what was then the Sports Council Northern Region. They come along and they were very very good, they were excellent, always have been and we've got a great rapport with the officers from Sport England. They came to our meetings and they said have you ever thought about this, what about that etc. And yeah we just gradually took on board their ideas because certain initiatives were being piloted in our area and we took that a bit further along the road than just the pilot scheme. Particularly when the TOPs schemes came into being. The TOP play and the BT TOP sport and so on. We got the first post to deliver that around the county and that post was funded by the county and district councils and also by the Sports Council.

Asked what implications this had for VSCs applying for funding he stated:

Now under the new consortium approach, its much more geared towards almost laying down, not rules and regulations, but some kind of template as to how you would like to see sport handled and developed in various areas.

There is little doubt that Sport England influences the shape and style of this template. This is inevitable because of its involvement in the consortium approach and the position it occupies in the sports policy sector. VSCs are exposed to the expectations inherent in this template when involved with LAs for funding or other reasons. However, the County Council seems to have only a minimal ability to enforce the template amongst VSCs in receipt of grant aid. The Officer recognises that in reality there is very little to stop a VSC rescinding on its agreement with Sport England. He emphasises a level of trust and minimal coercion:

In an application it is dead easy to say we've got two teams this season but if you give us a grant we'll have five next season. But who is going to check that they've got five teams. So one of the things you might do at the time is to say this grant is given on the basis that instead of having three teams next season you'll have five. So you can lay down rules.

The CDO for Cumbria takes a less instrumental role to the ECB's position on how cricket clubs should be developing. Although Sport England's policy influence remains visible in the Officer's approach he does not attribute the ECB's stance on sports development directly to Sport England. Instead, it seems that the norms of the wider sports policy sector have exercised an influence. Like the City Council's SDO and Sport England, the CDO shares the priority of youth in sports development. He says that to receive money from the Lottery Fund or a small grant from the ECB a local cricket club:

has got to have a junior section that's the first thing. If it hasn't then the first thing they must be doing is to be establishing a junior section with the money we are giving them. We look at the women's side of things, whether they are looking at that. It's not essential because we do have our district clubs for women's cricket throughout the county. The main thing is that they have a junior section and are encouraging juniors to come forward, they would like to get a link going with the schools around them, they have got qualified cricket coaches or that they are looking to get coaches qualified. So basically what are they doing for cricket development?

The CDO adopts an active stance to promoting sports development within Cumbrian cricket and the VSCs applying for funding are made aware of the expectations they will face. Asked what he does to enlighten the clubs he replied:

I go down to the club to talk about what development is if you like. We have people out in the districts who are on the Cumbria Cricket Board who are close by and can go out and say this is what we can do, [the CDO] can come out and have a chat with you about this and that. So that is the initial help if you like.

Do you give the clubs an idea of what a development plan should contain and how it should look?

Yeah, if that is what they want to do then we sit down with them and encourage them to do that.

In doing this, the CDO and the ECB are telling cricket clubs that this is *the* way to develop. Club development is essentially being prescribed but the CDO recognises the fact that the ECB actually has little power to direct the clubs in what he calls the best interests of cricket. He says:

We can't go to the clubs and say you have got to do this and that. They affiliate so they have to have ownership of anything they do. So the ECB having control over the clubs, I don't know. We have guidelines, recommendations that we use to help out the clubs.

It may be voluntary but the cricket clubs have little choice of whether to affiliate or not because it is difficult for the clubs to compete in league and cup competitions if they are not affiliated to the ECB. Additionally, it is unlikely that the ECB would back a VSC for Lottery funding if it was not affiliated. How then are clubs 'encouraged' to deliver their sports development promises to the ECB and Sport England? The CDO replies simply that it's a moral obligation on the club and the occasional check in the course of his communication with the club. He states:

If they say to us that they are going to put three people on a level one coaching course then we will go back to them and ask whether they have done that or not. So that's a condition if you like. If they are looking to run an under thirteen side with one of those coaches, then have they done it? So it is that kind of monitoring process that we use.

Asked whether the ECB had any legal powers to enforce a condition of Lottery funding the CDO replied that it had not as "it is more of a moral obligation agreed on paper".

So again it seems that another key actor in Goodwood Cricket Club's environment is exerting the same institutional pressures as Sport England. This is probably because the ECB is a central part of the same policy sector as Sport England and is subject to the similar institutional pressures from Sport England as Goodwood Cricket Club.

VSCs in Cumbria that apply for a grant from Sport England's Lottery Fund will find that the institutional pressures to which they are exposed will become increasingly homogeneous. This is true in the case of Goodwood Cricket Club. All three key actors have reinforced the institutional pressures of Sport England in applying to its Lottery Fund, but the ECB was the only organisation not to reinforce the pressures

primarily for instrumental reasons. Therefore a unified and unvarying institutional environment confronted the club. The majority of the institutional pressures acting on the club were of a normative nature reinforced with a lesser degree of coercion from each of the key actors. The club did not report any mimetic isomorphism. This was because the club submitted its bid by the first deadline for applications to the Sports Fund in January 1995, thus denying itself the opportunity to mimic other successful bids to the Fund.

8.3.3 Organisational structure

In the funding application to Cumbria County Council submitted in November 1996 membership was stated at 100 (80 male and 20 female). Information gathered from the telephone survey in February 1997 indicated that the size of the club had increased from 80 to 100 members. The most recent figure of 100 to 130 members was obtained from the interview with the Chairman in October 1999. He stated that of the 130 members around 75 were playing members. The junior coach suggested an overall decline in membership had taken place although this was not as a result of the Lottery award. He states:

I think since the award [membership numbers] may have decreased a little bit, but not as a result of the award. I think we may have lost three or four, half a dozen. I can think of several that aren't coming anymore, not because of the award but because they have lost interest for one reason or another.

When probed about the level of junior members in particular the Treasurer was convinced that they had increased because "If you come down early season on a Monday night sometimes [the coaches] are overwhelmed". The junior coach added that for the 22-year history of the junior section there had always been a waiting list and at present it is one of the longest the club has had. Despite the inconsistency then, there is a general upward trend in the number of members, particularly the junior members, showing a growth in the size of the organisation.

The size of the committee, the Chairman admits, is quite large given the size of the club. The committee currently has 12 named positions and this has not changed. There are a further number of unnamed Officer positions to which members are elected. The number of these unnamed positions was recently reduced from 10 before the Lottery award to 6 at present. This produced the structural score of -4 for the club in the telephone survey. The reason given for this reduction was to streamline the operation of the committee. See Figure 14 for the organisational structure of Goodwood Cricket Club pre-bid and post-award.

In addition to the main committee there exists another three sub-committees. However it seems that, like the membership numbers, there is no consensus on the title and function of these committees. According to the Treasurer the club is "supposed to elect a Cricketing Grounds Committee, a Selection Sub-committee, and a House and Finance committee".

In contrast the Chairman lists the sub-committees as:

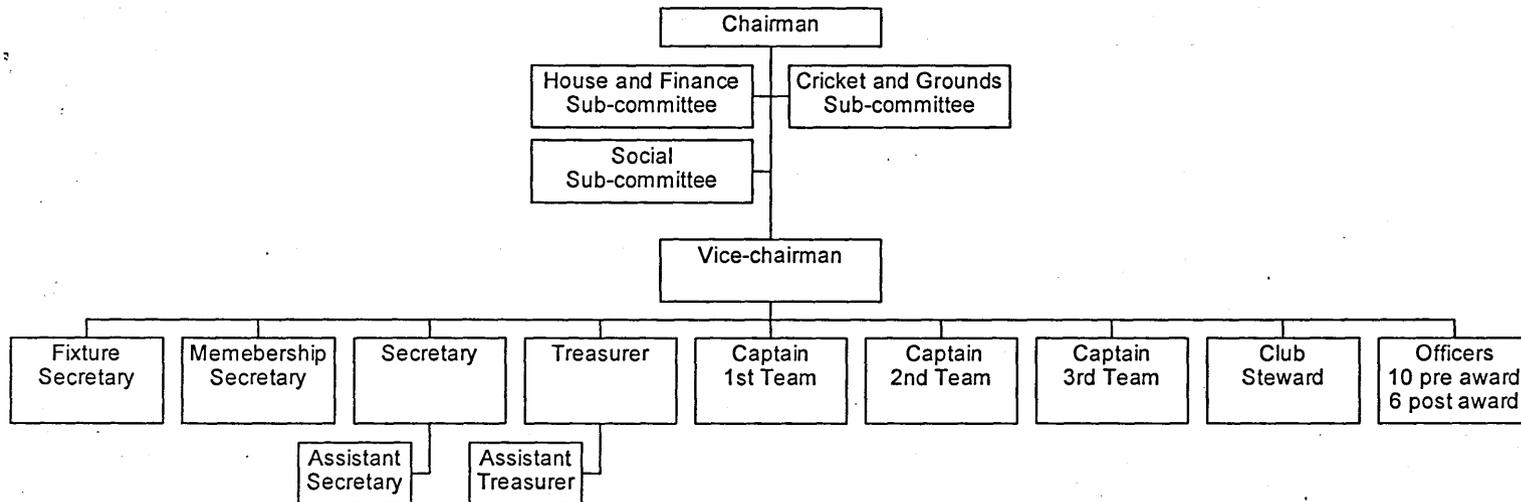
House and Finance, Cricket and Ground, and Social. But they are purely to satisfy the constitution of the club. Very rarely do the House and Finance committee meet. Neither do the Social group now. The folk who run these committees are the ones who are regular attendees at the club, players, so they meet each other regularly because they're always seeing each other down here informally. The Cricket and Ground committee meet to select teams even though there is a separate selection group because all those on the Selection Committee are on the Cricket and Ground committee so they meet anyway. Although they're there on paper, very rarely do they meet.

The lack of need for these sub-committees is indicated by the informality that surrounds their existence and operation. There was little evidence of any change in the club and committee structure to suggest a move towards formalising or specialising the club's operation or for that matter of any change in the level at which decisions were made in the club. Producing a Sports Development Plan targeting

juniors represents a formalisation of some of the club's processes but has had no tangible effect because the processes have not changed from before the Lottery award. This will be explained further when identifying the club's strategic response in the following section.

Only a minimal level of professionalisation was reported through the qualitative interviews but this was not caused by the club's Lottery project. Instead it was the result the ECB's decision to pay coaches who practice at the district level. At least one of the coaches at Goodwood Cricket Club had been paid for his district coaching but it is too early to state whether this has had any effect on the club if at all. The ECB's payment of coaches is discussed further in the following section.

Figure 14: Goodwood Cricket Club's organisation structure



8.3.4 Strategic responses

The specific condition of creating of a junior development plan was not mentioned by any of the respondents during the qualitative interviews. Notable by its absence, it is perhaps reasonable to infer that creating a junior development plan was of no great significance to the club. By this it is meant that the club had expected this condition and it was well within the club's capabilities. Alternatively, it could indicate that the plan had not been developed or implemented and the respondents wished to avoid the issue. However the broader issue of junior coaching was given greater weight by the interviewees and there is strong evidence to suggest that the implementation of a sports development plan was not a significant issue for the club. All that the plan required was for the club to write down what their junior development structure was and how it operated, thereby formalising what the club had been doing for the last twenty years or more. This is evident in the following excerpt of the interview with the Chairman:

When you normally put a bid into the lottery, you have to say what you're going to do for your sport in terms of encouraging juniors, women's teams, teams for the disabled etc. What did you suggest that you could do for cricket?

It was mainly done on the kids' coaching side, we majored on that really.

How is your coaching for juniors structured?

We call it under 13, in that we take 9 to 13 year olds. Once they're out of that, they then join under 15s and after that we would then hope that the ones who are keen would then play league cricket, which they do. We have a number of players now who, if you look down the three teams we select, out of the 33 players selected at least three quarters of them are lads who have come through the coaching.

Was the coaching structure in place before bid?

Yes, it's been in place now for twenty years. We've been looking after kids coaching for twenty years...

Do you feel that the lottery expected you to emphasise that?

I don't know whether I did, but that's exactly what I should have done. It's a matter of life or death for cricket in the area.

Therefore the practice of coaching junior cricket at the club did not change with receipt of Lottery funding because what Sport England expected in exchange for a Lottery grant was exactly what the club had been doing for the last twenty two years. The award was more in recognition of what the club was doing rather than what it was going to do and although the social fitness pressures to provide for youth cricket were high from Sport England they had already been met by Goodwood. No specific economic fitness pressures were present but the club still had to meet the economic expectations of Sport England regarding how VSCs should operate financially.

Well practised in the art of developing young cricket players, Goodwood Cricket Club's response to the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund seems to be one of acquiescing through habit. Habit is defined by Oliver (1991: p. 152) as the:

Unconscious or blind adherence to preconscious or taken for granted rules and values... Under these conditions, organizations reproduce actions and practices of the institutional environment that have become historically repeated, customary, conventional or taken-for-granted.

This definition describes Goodwood's behaviour well. However, when discussing the Lottery Fund in particular the Treasurer admits that junior development is "our priority just as much as it is [Sport England's]". It certainly seems to be the case that the club is practised in emphasising its provision for junior players. The junior coach notes the importance of the youth in previous funding bids and in the rules of the club:

Well mainly we go for youth because all the advice that I got when we did the far pitch... was that we were to tell everybody that it was for the youth. In fact there's a list of rules that are no longer there (points to wall), but one of the rules was that the youth were to take precedent over everything else.

So it seems that a response of acquiescence through compliance rather than habit is more appropriate because of the conscious emphasis of junior provision by the club. It is beyond the scope of this research to suggest whether the long tradition of youth

development has been the result of the club's institutional environment or whether it is more the consequence of a self-determined and proactive approach of the club to cricket provision. It is possible to say though that there was no resistance offered by the club to the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund.

Further justification of why the club can be considered to have acquiesced will now be given using Oliver's (1991) predictors of response and is summarised in Table 31. The club's institutional environment contains a number of constituents that potentially have an influence on the club. The CDO for Cumbria makes this point when he details the funding opportunities available to clubs such as Goodwood. He says:

We've got an ECB grant aid booklet which looks at Lottery funding, Awards for All, local authority funding, neighbourhood forums, Playing Fields Associations, and we would encourage them to build partnerships and links with those organisations within their areas. So, they can link with the schools and the other bodies and come up with a pot of money to go towards the bid.

Although not all of these organisations were constituents in Goodwood's Lottery bid these organisations constitute the club's resource environment and also its institutional environment. Furthermore, these constituents present a unified and homogenous institutional environment for the club. The CDO agrees noting the similarity between the conditions of Sport England's Lottery Fund; the ECB's own funding conditions and the other funding sources mentioned in his quote above. He compares:

I would say that there is quite a lot of congruence between [the funding opportunities] looking at the women's side of things, disabled access, ethnic minorities...

Do a lot of other funding sources take the same approach?

It looks like it from all the other funding avenues that we send clubs or schools down, everyone has very similar criteria.

The club also acknowledges the existence of this homogeneous and unified environment. Discussing the conditions of the funding from the City and County Councils the Chairman comments:

It was conditional on getting the Lottery award, and the letters which came back from both organisations said what conditions were put on it. We had to lay it open to community use, they were virtually the same as the conditions which the Sports Council put on it.

Do you think they felt that they had to reinforce the lottery conditions, or do they do it anyway?

They do it anyway. We've had money from them both before and they always put that sort of condition on. It's laid open for community use it's not just for a private members club etc.

Oliver (1991) suggests that, despite multiple constituents, the perception by the club of a unified and homogeneous environment makes it much more difficult for the club to mount a more reactive strategic response to any institutional pressures. This makes acquiescence more likely.

Although these organisations present a coherent institutional environment only a few were critical for the club's Lottery bid. The dependence of the club on these few has already been established in section 8.3.1 but what has not been recognised is how vital these organisations were. The Chairman who submitted the Lottery bid acknowledged earlier that Sport England's Lottery Fund was the only source of funding large enough for the project in mind. Commenting on the importance of the Lottery and matching funding the Treasurer stated:

We couldn't have done this latest project without it, no way... Well we wouldn't have that facility there. We wouldn't have another non-turf and we wouldn't have the much improved netting and coaching facilities that we have. That means we can bring on junior players and indeed much older players if we make full and proper use of it.

The fact that the club was highly dependent on its sources of funding, particularly Sport England, again made the club less likely to affect a more active response according to Oliver (1991).

Oliver also predicts that the more an organisation's autonomy is threatened the more likely it is to make an active response. In this case all three of the club's respondents felt the club's autonomy had not been restricted. If anything the club had been enabled by the project. The improved coaching facilities have meant that the club has greater autonomy. This is evident regarding its disenchantment with the ECB's district coaching. The County Development Officer explains the situation:

We have split the county into six districts and use a centre in each of those districts during the winter months. The coaches we use are from the clubs in each district and come together as a kind of focus group for each district.

To ensure that the coaching provided at the district level is of a sufficient standard and the provision is reliable, the ECB has started to pay coaches that offer their services at this level. This initiative is located within the ECB's drive to raise the standard of cricket (ECB, 1997). Goodwood Cricket Club is one of the clubs that provides coaches for the district level coaching and has found that despite good intentions the ECB's move has meant that the provision of coaching has actually been restricted. Of this issue the Junior Coach and Club Steward says:

We've been restricted not by the Lottery, but by the cricket board because they have decided that they want to pay coaches now. Once payment comes budgeting comes in. So where we would have 8, 9, 10 coaches sometimes we are only supposed to allow four now... I think sitting around the tables they were expecting more coaches. And in some places where there wasn't any, there may be more coaches now... I don't think it has done anything for the standards though because some of them are just there for the money. [What] gets up my nose, is that when they're paying people to coach the taxman is taking money which is intended for cricket.

Dissatisfaction with the way that the ECB organises its district coaching and enabled by its Lottery funded facilities, the club has withdrawn from this level of provision. The Chairman illustrates this demonstrating significant agency:

We've consciously made the decision that this will be our last year under the control of the cricket board. As a coaching thing we're going to go 'club' and do it ourselves, off our own back like we used to

do, and run it locally without central, without them running it centrally. Break away, if you like, back to our original. We felt we were doing it better.

Retaining its autonomy meant the club was less likely to resist the institutional pressures of its environment, but exercising its autonomy in this way raises questions about just how dependent the club is on the ECB. In accordance with keeping its autonomy and perceiving a lack of legal coercion to observe the funding conditions, the club viewed adhering to the conditions as a moral obligation; a perception shared by the CDO. The Chairman clearly believed that the conditions were “not legally enforced, it’s a moral obligation”. The Treasurer added:

It’s a moral obligation to the people who have granted us the money. Apart from making sure that the facility is there I don’t know if they will do follow up visits on a regular basis. I’m not aware of anybody coming and seeing whether you’re actually doing what you said you would be doing. They can obviously come and see the facilities that we’ve got, but as far as I know nobody has ever come and checked up on us. I guess word would get back if we didn’t.

The lack of coercion may have been apparent because the institutional pressures were not in conflict with the club’s goals, again making resistance unlikely. Therefore the voluntary diffusion of norms was the means through which the club was pressured to conform, thus encouraging the passive response of acquiescing through compliance.

Table 31: Predictors of Goodwood's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	Medium
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	High
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Low
Control	Legal control/coercion	Low
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High
Strategic response	Acquiescence	
Tactic	Compliance	

8.3.5 Case conclusions

Receiving a grant from Sport England's Lottery Fund has had little impact on Goodwood Cricket Club, although membership numbers are higher now than they were before the award. Also, the club's long-standing approach to youth cricket has been formalised through the production of a sports development plan targeting that group. However, the actual coaching structure has remained unchanged. The structure, as formalised through the plan, obviously met with the expectations of the club's institutional environment. Whether this long-standing structure of youth development was the result of institutional pressures in the past or simply the club's own efficacy can not be determined. However, because the club naturally emphasised the importance of the project for its youth provision, therefore demonstrating a continuing commitment to youth cricket, the club acquiesced by complying with the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund.

8.4 Newbury Cricket Club

Newbury Cricket Club, founded in 1881, is 119 years old and is located at the Old County Ground. This was the headquarters of Essex County Cricket Club until the 20th Century when the county club moved to Chelmsford. However, the ground still hosts Essex County second eleven games and inter-county league games.

Conscious of the need to prepare high quality playing wickets Newbury embarked on a three year, £15,000 project to relay the ground's wicket in 1993. In order to maintain the newly laid wicket the club decided to ask Sport England's Lottery Fund for the cost of new roller. The application, summarised in Table 32, was submitted in August 1995 and £4,500 was awarded in March 1996. However, the cricket club had underestimated the cost of the appropriate roller for the wicket and subsequently had to submit a revised bid to the Lottery. This was accepted and a further award of £1,992 was made in June 1996. This made a total grant of £6492.

Table 32: Summary of Newbury Cricket Club's Lottery application

Name	Newbury Cricket Club
Application date	August 1995
Project	Purchase of new roller to ensure correct maintenance of recently relayed cricket square
cost	£9988
Award	£6492 (65%)*
date	March and June 1996
Matching funding	£3496 self funded (35%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	ECB Brentwood Borough Council Eastern Sports Council
Structural change	Yes (increased complexity)
Structural score	19

* % of project cost

Newbury Cricket Club caters for those wanting to play cricket from the age of five to fifty according to the Fixture Secretary who submitted the club's Lottery bid. The cricket club has four men's teams, sometimes five if the numbers are available, and as many Colts teams as the club can muster. A women's cricket section was established in 1999 in response to interest from the wives and girlfriends of existing members. It currently has 25 ladies but no competitive team as yet.

Despite contributing to the grass roots of cricket provision in Newbury the club prides itself on being almost of a professional playing standard. The Chairman elaborates:

I think from a club like Newbury's point of view, which has had international players playing for us and which is at the top end of club cricket, we are a club that sees itself as premiership standard one step below professional standard cricket.

Having international standard cricketers playing for local cricket clubs is a tradition amongst such clubs. The Fixture Secretary adds:

Every Essex club has probably got an overseas player, most clubs have. A lot of the northern leagues often go for test status stars. Wazi Ackrum played in the Birmingham league last year for example.

The club's standard of cricket and its desire for success is embodied in its business plan objectives. The plan was developed in 1996, not as a condition of receiving Lottery funding from Sport England, but in recognition of the investment the club had made in relaying its cricket square over the previous three years and to capitalise on this investment. Objectives were identified over four areas of the clubs operation: finance, facilities, youth and playing (see Table 33). These will be discussed further under section 8.4.4. Objectives 1, 5 and 17 indicate the competitive environment within which Newbury operates.

Table 33: Newbury Cricket Club's Business Plan

Facilities	Finance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The best ground in the Essex league 2. Good practice facilities 3. Effective covers 4. Four sightscreens in good condition 5. A pavilion to compare with the best in the league 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10. To increase revenue by at least £1,000 p.a. 11. Revenue targets of: 1997: £15.8k 1998: £17.9k 12. Provide for the replacement of equipment by transferring to reserves at least £1,000 p.a.
Playing	Youth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Promotion to the premier division for all teams 7. Employment of a professional player coach 8. A selection policy based on merit and regular availability 9. Fast tracking of promising colts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Increase numbers subject to support 1997: 45 1998: 60 1999: 80 14. Improve child/helper ratio to 6:1. Presently 12:1 15. Introduce fast track system 16. Work more in partnership with local schools 17. Offer more than other local clubs can

8.4.1 Critical organisations

Newbury Cricket Club exhibits a high degree of independence and self-sufficiency. It raised most of the £15,000 cost of relaying the cricket square itself and from local sponsorship or other local sources. It did though receive minimal financial help from the local sports council, Brentwood Borough Council and from the ECB through the Cricket Foundation. Table 34 shows the breakdown of financial sources for the cost of relaying the cricket square submitted with the club's application to Sport England's Lottery Fund.

Table 34: Funding sources for relaying the cricket square

External donations	£7,000
Donations/sponsorship from club members	£1,000
50/50 Club	£1,600
Associated club funds	£3,600
Social functions	£500
Sale of football tickets/Christmas raffle	£1,100
Bank interest	£300
Total	£15,000

The club clearly benefits from an affluent membership and local area given the amount of self-funding it created for the project. Organisations that were critical to the club's bid in terms of finance are therefore few because the club was an active self-funder. However, the club felt that it had exhausted its own resources when relaying its cricket square and so needed to turn to the Lottery Fund for support with purchasing a roller. This makes Sport England the first and only critical organisation for Newbury Cricket Club in terms of resources for the club's Lottery bid. Newbury used the £15,000 it had raised as matching funding for the grant from Sport England. The nature of the relationship with Sport England was therefore one of resource dependence, all be it for a limited time. This is evident from the letter contained in appendix 13.

The second critical organisation was the ECB, which the club clearly respected and approached for non-financial support to add legitimacy to their bid. The normative relationship that the club has with the ECB is evident from Newbury buying into the Raising the Standard directive produced in 1997. (ECB, 1997). Evidence for this argument is strong and is best reviewed in the following section discussing normative institutional pressures. The club also approached Brentwood Borough Council for legitimisation but the Council was not identified as a key actor in the bid by the club.

8.4.2 Institutional pressures

There were no specific conditions stated in the award letter from Sport England's Lottery Fund. Of the organisations identified as key actors in Newbury's Lottery Funding application, this only leaves the ECB as a potential source of additional institutional pressures to those identified in section 6.1.

Newbury has a long-standing tradition of youth development under the National Cricket Association that pre-existed the ECB. It is difficult to determine whether the club's aim of youth development was the result of past institutional pressures or the result of the club's self-determination. However, Newbury's history of youth development leads the Fixture Secretary to conclude that the ECB has had limited influence in this area of the club's operation. That is not to say that the ECB does not try and encourage clubs to develop by offering guidance and support. He acknowledges:

There's a lot come out of the ECB in terms of guidance as to how a good club should be run and there's help there.

Do you find that you are already meeting most of the ECB's prescriptions, that your aims are much the same as the ECB's?

I think by and large most of our aims are what they prescribe, yeah very much so. I think a lot of these things are written in terms of what would be nice in an ideal world. As I said, clubs exist on volunteer labour and the quality of that labour can vary.

Newbury's attempt to standardise their variable voluntary labour will be dealt with under 6.4.3 concerning the club's organisational structure. Instead of the ECB influencing the aims and objectives of the club it seems, according to the Fixture Secretary, that the aims of the club and the ECB are congruent and mutually agreeable but developed independently. This, he suggests is why Sport England chose not to levy any specific conditions on their award. Rather, Sport England couldn't attach any conditions because the club was already adhering to the sports development model of how a VSC should operate. He continues:

I think the management of our club has always been fairly enlightened because the sort of things that [Sport England] want clubs to do we have generally done anyway because it is part and parcel of running a successful club.

Despite the club's apparent immunity from the influence of the ECB the club is inescapably bound up with the NGB's mission to improve cricket in England and Wales through the Raising the Standard directive (ECB, 1997). Asked to explain what the directive meant for the club the Fixture Secretary replies:

Well, nothing I guess other than better communication lines, help and assistance in terms of if you are ever seeking grant aid you know where to go and the county boards will carry the seal of approval. There certainly hasn't been any money filtering down to the club [but] we have been caught up in Lord MacLaurin's aim to raise the standard.

The restructuring of cricket's administration in England and Wales has had little direct impact on Newbury Cricket Club, but the Fixture Secretary unwittingly acknowledges the significance of the ECB as an actor in Newbury's institutional environment. Better lines of communication have been opened between the club and the ECB, which allows greater exposure to ECB policy, values and ultimately influence. Relationships have also been strengthened in that the ECB is seen as the organisation to legitimise and support funding applications, although the relationship is largely non-financial. Above all the respondent admits that the club has inevitably been part of the attempt

to restructure cricket from the grass roots to the elite level. No dissatisfaction was expressed at this by the respondent.

Although not one of the seven areas of focus of the Raising the Standard directive, women's cricket was targeted by the ECB's CDOs in Cumbria and Essex. The Fixture Secretary again seemed to attribute agency to the club in its decision to provide women's cricket, but he also alludes to other influences. Asked whether anybody had helped with or encouraged the establishment of the women's cricket section he replied:

Helped I suppose. The Essex County Cricket Board has these Cricket Development Officers so they are there to give guidance. But no, mainly I think it was self-help. The encouragement was I suppose that if you are ever applying for grants then if you are providing ladies cricket as well as youth cricket then it is going to be looked upon favourably.

Again unwittingly, the respondent acknowledges the possibility of coercive resource pressures should the club ever decide to request funding from the ECB. The Chairman also notes, paradoxically, that although the ECB did not explicitly pressure the club to develop in a particular way "they seem to have been quite keen on ladies cricket". Institutional pressures can be seen to originate from the ECB and are exerted on the club in a subtle and subconscious manner through increased communication and contact with the NGB's CDOs. Thus, the club-ECB relationship has become more structured in DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) terms. The subtlety of the pressures means that they are not perceived by the club, but they are unwittingly acknowledged by the interviewees.

Perhaps the most direct and least subtle influence exerted by the ECB on the club was something that the club initiated. Newbury sought the advice of the CDO on a regular basis when he attended the club's strategy meetings. Discussed further

under section 8.4.3, the strategy meetings are crucial for setting and monitoring the club's goals. The Chairman states:

During the summer... [the CDO] has been good enough to attend our strategy sub-committee meetings when we've been discussing our development plan or raising funds.

So are the ECB telling you the kind of thing that needs to be in the development plan?

Yeah it's a written template. What is a development plan, what should you do, how much will it cost? The sort of questions we should be asking ourselves as a club. And that's from the ECB.

The presence of the CDO at these strategy meetings represents a specific and direct link with the ECB that influences Newbury in its decisions. The CDO may not be actively demanding that the club follow his advice but is able to make suggestions within the ECB's policy framework. Conversely, the club has encouraged and welcomed the CDO's input and are therefore more likely to respect and take note of his advice.

Mimetic pressures are evident in Newbury's institutional environment but only on a club to club level. Newbury likes to see itself as a leading club in the development of club cricket. Consequently, Newbury is probably the source rather the subject of these mimetic pressures. The Chairman highlights the issue that a few clubs are discussing whether to appoint a first team manager, because he says "at first team level the game is taken so seriously these days, a team manager would be of benefit. One or two clubs are kicking it off". This reflects the level of competition existing between clubs. The Fixture Secretary believes that the increased competition is partly responsible for "all other clubs... placing an increasing emphasis on youth cricket" which means that "you've got to try and stay ahead of the game". However the Fixture Secretary suggests that it is Newbury that is setting the standard and establishing the model to be mimicked. He says:

I don't see that its a case of everyone else is doing it so we should too, because in this area we've always been leaders in defining youth cricket. But other clubs, even small village clubs, now realise that to keep replenishing themselves it makes sense to have youth sections.

As could possibly be expected of a leading club in amateur local cricket, Newbury applied early to Sport England's Lottery Fund in August 1995 but did not mimic other clubs that had been successful in their applications. This may be because the first awards had not been announced at the time of Newbury's application. So the club was not subject to mimetic pressures when applying to the Lottery Fund.

Despite being aware of the ECB's ideas of how a local cricket club should be developing the club does not seem to feel pressured to comply even though it is clear how important the ECB is to the club. This may be the result of the club believing it is already one step ahead of the ECB's prescriptions and of the club perceiving a minimal level of overt coercion by the ECB. The minimal resource dependence between the club and the ECB may give rise to this perception by the club. Even the club's resource dependence relationship with Sport England is characterised by a minimal amount of coercion according to the club. A letter from the Regional Lottery Co-ordinator in Sport England's Eastern Region admits that by the very nature of the roller, it would have been difficult to hold an opening ceremony at which a representative from Sport England would attend. The CDO responsible for Newbury also noted the lack of monitoring by Sport England. Even so, Newbury's Chairman was aware of the legal obligation of the club to meet the conditions of its award, viewing the club's obligation as a moral and a contractual one.

8.4.3 Organisational structure

Since the award, membership numbers have increased significantly across all constituent membership groups. This has allowed the club to put out an additional men's Saturday team, a women's section has been established with 25 players, and

an extra 40 junior players have been attracted. Overall membership numbers stand at 135 seniors and 85 juniors. All this has been attained without an absolute increase in the number of facilities, but it cannot be causally attributed to the Lottery award.

Despite the rise in membership and the additional teams, the number of volunteers in the club has remained unchanged. "All volunteers including the committee would probably be 25-30 people. That would include somebody who is quite prepared to drive colts to a ground, help out, collect the stumps, white wash the scoreboard, those sort of things" said the Chairman.

The main committee consists of 15 named positions. The actual number of positions has not changed since the award but there has been one change in that a Ladies representative has been introduced in place of a third players' representative. This change did not contribute to Newbury's structural score from the telephone survey but it does indicate a slight change in orientation for the club, as it is the first time that the committee has had a specific women's representative making the committee more specialised. This serves as acknowledgement of the growth of women's cricket within the club and also of the importance that the ECB have attached to women's cricket at the local level, although women's development is only given one sentence in the Raising the Standard directive (ECB, 1997). The full committee structure pre-bid and post-award can be seen in Figures 15 and 16 respectively.

At present none of the committee positions have role descriptions but the very issue of whether these should be drawn up is contested. The Fixture Secretary has tried to persuade the committee that role descriptions would be of benefit. Emphasising the positive aspects he explains why he wants to implement role descriptions:

Well firstly, I think that there are grey areas as to whose responsibility certain things are, but most importantly I think that when someone vacates a position people will often say what does the job involve. Now if you have a job description it would be a whole lot easier to say this is what the job involves rather than trying to memorise it all. It is a relatively easy thing to do.

The Chairman appears more reluctant though. He says:

It has been noted that perhaps we should draw up job descriptions, but the very title or the nature of the job is fair indication of what they are, House and Ground Secretary, Fixtures Secretary, and Social Secretary.

A tension exists between the need to run an efficient club where role descriptions exist to aid the introduction of new committee members into their positions, and the need to keep an air of informality where committee members use their intuition to establish the extent of their roles. Role descriptions have not been implemented but there clearly exists pressure to formalise this aspect of the committee's operation to make the club more efficient and effective.

Figure 15: Newbury Cricket Club's pre-bid organisation structure

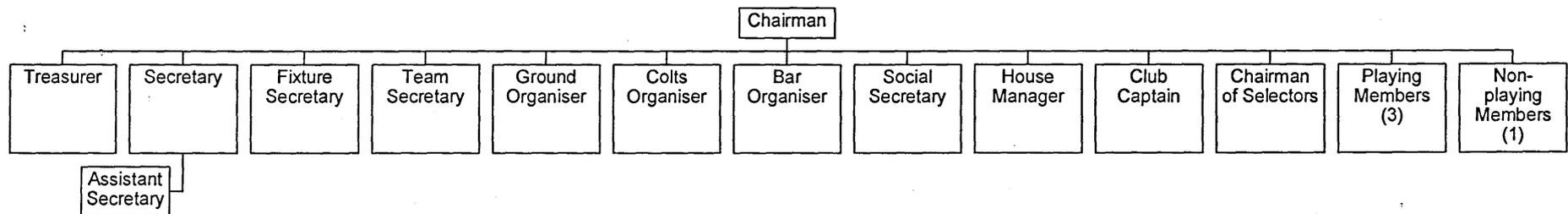
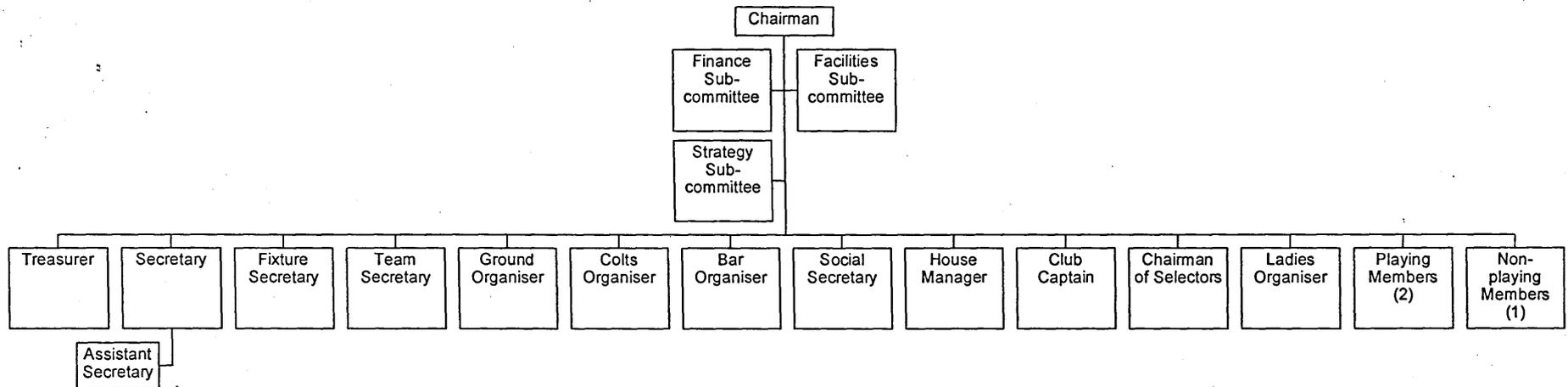


Figure 16: Newbury Cricket Club's post-award organisation structure



What contributed significantly to Newbury's structural score of 19 was the creation of three sub-committees after the award. This demonstrates specialisation of the club's structure. The sub-committees of Finance, Strategy and Facilities each have 6 members producing a structural score of 18. Most of the sub-committee members are already current main committee members and the remainder are drawn from the membership. The Chairman explains the rationale for introducing the sub-committees:

They are a bit of a recent innovation and we decided to split the responsibility because 15 is a bit of an unwieldy number. So we split it down into Finance, Facilities and Strategy and gave them all specific roles. Obviously Finance and Facilities speak for themselves. Strategy is the one where at the meetings we would vote on what we thought about the Essex league, our strategy for recruiting players, perhaps that is our most important committee.

This is an excellent example of a club decentralising control for what it sees as key aspects of its operation to lower hierarchical levels. The Fixture Secretary adds that the role of the Strategy sub-committee, on which the CDO sits, is "to put meat on the bones of the business plan" in which the club's objectives are set out (see Table 33). The Strategy committee is therefore a highly important part of the club's structure and operation. The Chairman's comments regarding the three sub-committees has overtones of professionalisation, which is surprising given his position on role descriptions for committee members. Again, the cause of these changes lies not with Sport England's Lottery Fund but with the drive to be more efficient and effective in the increasingly competitive level and organisation of club cricket. The Fixture Secretary highlights this issue:

We are non-profit making so the more professionally it is run the more money we can generate, and when I say professional its like making sure that everyone has paid there subscriptions and match fees. I've been involved with cricket and hockey clubs for thirty years and there is no doubt that sometimes the management has been that poor that revenue has dropped because no one bothers to collect the fees. It's as simple as that. If you are doing the job properly, you are generating more money and you are improving the facilities and so on and so forth. But I wouldn't ever want it to become that professional

and that business like that it loses that special atmosphere of a club... And that is going to be a challenge for the club because I have already said that the way the ECB are wanting to drive up the standard and expecting the clubs to do it, the clubs are going to feel under pressure to pay players and get mercenaries in. There's no doubt that there's going to be semi-professional players that are selling their services to the highest bidder. You'll get the local businessman who wants to buy his way into success in the local club and will put a pot of money into the club for them to pay good cricketers that are essentially strangers to the area and the club which could destroy the feel. The club is no longer local. The players come in, play their game and then bugger off. So that will be a challenge and a dilemma for the club, which is why we want to place so much emphasis on the youth, getting them at an early age, and then coaching them as well as possible from that early age.

The final change in structure after the award that contributed to the structural score was the recruitment of a professional coach. Previously, the only paid positions in the club were two bar stewards according to the Chairman. This contradicts the data given by the President during the telephone survey, which suggested that there were four paid positions. The Fixture Secretary explains the reasoning behind employing a professional coach:

Firstly, he's got more senior coaching qualifications than anybody else within the club. Secondly, to try and provide that consistency that I was referring to earlier. At least we've always got one person... we are not so dependent on volunteer labour. Thirdly, I think it is quite important that all kids develop good technique in any sport. So the earlier we could involve him with the youngest the better. And really just to professionalise our whole approach to the game and the club. Because I think it would be difficult to achieve the success we aspire to without doing that.

The respondent seems to view volunteer coaches as less dependable than professional coaches. In order to achieve the success that the club aspires to the club cannot afford to depend on erratic and unreliable provision. This situation is also fuelled by the perception of external pressures from the ECB to improve the standard of cricket noted above. Moreover the Chairman suggests that he would be willing to pay players if external pressures forced the club to do so and if it allowed the club to recruit the best in their pursuit of success. He comments:

There could also be the question of payment as some players may move around for payment. But generally speaking in cricket, players don't move from club to club for the sake of it... But it certainly wouldn't put me off enticing players from other clubs if they were of good quality.

Newbury seems to attribute its structural change to wider institutional pressures driving the professionalisation of local club cricket. The ECB's drive to raise the standard, which seems to be creating greater competition between the clubs in their quest for success, is central to these pressures. For Newbury it seems that Sport England's Lottery Fund was really of minor significance in this process.

8.4.4 Strategic responses

The absence of specific institutional pressures attached to Newbury's Lottery award means that the club's response must be judged on its attitude to the more generic pressures of the Fund identified earlier in section 6.1. Given the above description, it is clear that Newbury embraces most of these generic pressures, understands the justification for these demands and has already complied with them before applying to the Lottery.

Newbury's operation and structure is clearly interwoven with its institutional environment particularly with the ECB and at the wider level Sport England as these latter two organisations are part of the same sports policy sector. Support for this position is evident when referring to the club's business plan in Table 33. Without any prompting from Sport England, Newbury appears to be doing exactly what Sport England wants VSCs to do in terms of developing a strategy that links with local schools to target young players in a structured and professional way. However, the influence for this does not come from Sport England directly but the ECB, although this is not to underestimate the club's own efficacy. When asked how much influence the club perceives the ECB to have the Chairman's reply highlights the authority,

policy and power structure within which the club exists, or in other words its immediate institutional environment. He states:

Just recently, significantly more than it ever did. Club cricket was really allowed to get on with itself under the auspices of the Club Cricket Conference, which seems to have lost all of its power since the ECB has taken over... The ECB is giving the directives to the County Boards, which in turn through the Development Officers and the good people at our club are making us aware of what is expected of us, and we are making sure that we are trying to follow the game plan. The only thing that irks me a bit is that we are changing our structures and the way we play our cricket, we're switching to team club divisions, we're making all sorts of changes as part of the Raising the Standard directive and the then first class clubs really have had to drag themselves to make any changes whatsoever.

A more harmonious relationship may exist between the ECB and the local cricket clubs than between the ECB and the county clubs. The Fixture Secretary links, more explicitly, the shape of its institutional environment to the operation and structure of the club. He responds to a question of whether the aims of the business plan were affected by the Lottery award from Sport England.

I think, not by the award, but probably by the ECB more clearly defining their objectives for the sport and getting their pyramid structure in place. We have probably become aware that it won't do us any harm to offer the game to ladies for example and so on and so forth. That wasn't a deliberate motive for starting the ladies section it was more because the interest was there and we could facilitate it. With the youngsters, as I say, we have a long history of running youth cricket. I think we believe that if you are going to sustain your development and success you've always got to be replenishing yourself, and the best way to do that is to grow your own players.

The ECB's policy objectives to which Newbury is subject are located within and influenced by the wider collective reality of the sports policy sector centred around Sport England. Thus, the ECB is subject to similar institutional pressures as those of the local cricket clubs. In conveying these pressures to the local clubs at the periphery of the sector the ECB becomes an agent of these pressures. This is why the ECB and Newbury adhere to the same institutional logic as Sport England.

Thus the club is acquiescing by complying with the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector as Oliver (1991: p. 152) defines compliance as the “conscious obedience to or incorporation of values, norms, or institutional requirements”. Newbury is aware of how the ECB would like local cricket clubs to develop and has taken influence from this but sees itself as conforming voluntarily and in some instances setting the standard, to which the ECB would like local cricket clubs aspire. By complying with the institutional pressures conveyed by the ECB, Newbury is also complying with the institutional pressures conveyed by Sport England through its Lottery Fund. This is because the content of the pressures is essentially the same and the pressures emanate from the same source - the sports policy sector - but they are conveyed through different channels.

Referring to Table 35, Oliver's (1991) predictors of response further justify Newbury's response of complying through acquiescence. There were no specific economic or social conditions placed on the award by Sport England, but the club still had to meet the implicit economic and social expectations of how a VSC should be operating in terms of its administration and the social groups that it provides for. Consequently, a degree of legitimacy is conferred on a VSC by the award of Lottery funding making a resistant response less likely.

Although the number of constituents involved in Newbury's bid was low, its dependence on these constituents was high. This is particularly true of Sport England as the source of funding and the ECB as the organisation on which Newbury relied most for information and advice about its operation and Lottery bid. Both elements of this predictor encouraged a compliant response.

The content of the generic institutional pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund were consistent with Newbury's goals because it seems that the club had adopted the aims of its institutional environment before applying to the Lottery Fund. Thus the likelihood of a resistant response was reduced. It was reduced further by the fact that the award did not affect Newbury's autonomy.

Table 35: Predictors of Newbury's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	Low
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	High
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Low
Control	Legal control/coercion	Medium
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High
Strategic response	Acquiescence	
Tactic	Compliance	

Newbury's isomorphism with the norms and values of the sports policy sector before applying for Lottery funding meant that Sport England was able to rely on the voluntary diffusion of norms rather than legal or coercive pressure to ensure that Newbury complied with the expectations of Lottery funding. However, Newbury was aware of its legal obligation to remain true to the principles of the award. Thus voluntary diffusion was considered to be high and legal/coercive pressure considered to be medium in strength. According to Oliver (1991), the greater the legal and coercive pressure and the more widespread and accepted norms and values are, the less resistance to institutional pressures promoting those norms and values there will be. In Newbury's case this again made resistance unlikely.

Oliver's (1991) context predictor suggests that when environmental uncertainty is high acquiescent responses are more likely, encouraged through the presence of mimetic

pressures. Despite the uncertainty surrounding its Lottery application, Newbury did not report any mimetic pressures. The other dimension of the context predictor is that of the inter-connectedness of the focal organisation's critical organisations. It has already been established that Newbury's two most critical organisations, the ECB and Sport England, conveyed the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector presenting a highly inter-connected environment. Thus a highly inter-connected environment and the uncertainty surrounding the award of Lottery funding again made a resistant response unlikely.

8.4.5 Case conclusions

Newbury Cricket Club received its grant from Sport England's Lottery Fund in August 1996 for the purchase of a roller to maintain its recently re-laid cricket square. At £6,492 the grant was not particularly large and the nature of the facility that it funded did not impact greatly on the club. Sport England attached no specific conditions to the award.

Changes in the club's structure were made through the introduction of three sub-committees and the recruitment of a professional cricket coach. These changes were not the result of receiving the award from Sport England's Lottery Fund. Instead, they were the result of external pressures from the ECB and the increasingly competitive nature of local club cricket arising from the re-structuring of cricket in England and Wales through the Raising the Standard directive (ECB, 1997). However, the pressures applied by the ECB are those of the sports policy sector applied by Sport England through its Lottery Fund. Therefore, the same pressures of the sports policy sector were simply applied to Newbury by a different route because the ECB exists within the same policy sector as Sport England and is socially governed by the sector's norms and values.

Two organisations were cited by the club as being critical to its Lottery application: Sport England and the ECB. Having only two critical organisations represents a low degree of constituent multiplicity in the club's institutional environment. Oliver (1991) suggests that this makes a resistant response to institutional pressures less likely. The level of Newbury's dependence on these two organisations, Oliver suggests, also has a bearing on whether the club will acquiesce to or more actively resist the expectations of the ECB and Sport England. Despite being a reasonably wealthy club and financially independent, Newbury had exhausted its funds when relaying the cricket square. This made the club highly dependent on the external funding from Sport England and also increased the importance of obtaining the ECB's legitimation to insure that the club received the money from the Lottery fund. Other external sources were available to the club but were not able to provide adequate funding to purchase the desired roller with which the club could protect its investment in its new cricket square.

The small number and similar nature of the critical organisations created a highly consistent institutional environment for Newbury's Lottery bid. Residing in the same policy sector meant that the two organisations would be unlikely to emit conflicting advice or pressures. This effectively means that Newbury was presented with few alternatives to those suggested by its institutional environment, which consequently takes on a greater facticity. It also creates a highly interconnected institutional environment for the club, which Oliver believes, is less likely to permit the focal organisation to make a resistant response.

The club also seems to be complying with the institutional pressures of its environment primarily for reasons of social legitimacy i.e. for the development and

increased success of the club, but also for economic legitimacy i.e. without the grant the club cannot achieve the former. Therefore the nature of the pressures can be considered to be socio-economic; a possibility that Oliver seems not to consider. In instances of economic and social pressures, Oliver again suggests that organisations are more likely to acquiesce to the pressures of their institutional environments.

Given Oliver's predictors of response it should be no surprise that Newbury did not resist the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund and has so far complied with the expectations of its environment. Newbury's response was one of acquiescing through compliance. However, it seems that the ECB and not Sport England is the agent responsible for influencing the structure and operation of Newbury Cricket Club as Sport England did not levy any specific conditions on the club's award. However, both organisations are agents of the same institutional pressures. The club enjoyed a particularly close relationship with the ECB as it is one of the area's more active and productive cricket clubs especially where youth, senior and increasingly women's cricket is concerned.

8.5 Doncaster Tennis Club

The winter weather in Doncaster's area meant that the playing of tennis was mostly confined to the summer. However, the initiative to build an indoor tennis centre was not that of the club. Instead, the LTA approached the club in 1992 after discussions encouraging the LA to provide an indoor facility failed and another interested LA could not be found in the county. The Club Manager/Coach recalls:

The LTA actually came to us. The Club Development Manager for the LTA, who we had had dealings with before because the LTA had recognised our Junior Development Programme,... came to us and asked if we had had any thoughts about trying to build indoor courts. He said the LTA would support us. So that's when it really started, back in 1992.

The project was therefore undertaken and managed by the club at the suggestion of the LTA who stood to gain regular access to the only indoor tennis centre for sixty miles. The club would also benefit from the addition of a prestigious facility, allowing it to pursue its aim to greater effect. The Club Manager/Coach said that the club's aim was:

To get more people playing tennis whatever standard, and to enhance the enjoyment of the game. That is the bottom line for people playing tennis, the enjoyment of the game. That hasn't changed but what's happened is that we're able to reach more people. It just means we can do more because we have always been junior orientated and taken the view that anybody can always join the club whatever ability, and the club will do what it can to help that person whether they be young, old, good or not so good.

So in effect the Lottery award has enabled the club to meet its aim rather than causing any change in its aim. The objectives of the facility, described in the following excerpt from the club's project summary to Sport England, were established within this general aim of increasing participation and show no lack of ambition. The document states:

We will endeavour to increase participation by setting up regular adult "beginner" courses, ladies mornings, lunchtime sessions, 50+ sessions and mother and toddler groups which will be open to all. Emphasis will be given to Short-tennis coaching for 4-8 year olds which will take place after school most weekdays, promoted by visits to local primary schools. Other local clubs will be invited to book court time on a regular basis during the winter months. We would also like to encourage disabled players to use the facility... We would hope to strengthen our links with [secondary schools] by offering the use of our facilities at off-peak times and the services of our coaches. We would also like to develop our links with the further education sector, which is growing rapidly in [the local area].

The club only applied to Sport England's Lottery Fund when it realised that the cost of the project would be greater than the anticipated budget due to unforeseen planning issues. The original application for Sports Council aid was withdrawn and replaced with an application to Sport England's Lottery Fund, see Table 36.

Table 36: Summary of Doncaster Tennis Club's Lottery bid

Name	Doncaster Tennis Club
Application date	January 1996
Project cost	Development of a 2 court indoor hall £771,011
Award date	£382,168 (50%)* June 1996 (in principle), January 1997 (confirmed)
Matching funding	£120,000 Lawn Tennis Association loan (15%)* £100,000 Lawn Tennis Association grant (13%)* £90,000 County Lawn Tennis Association grant (11%)* £50,000 Foundation for Sport and the Arts (7%)* £30,000 self funded (4%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	Lawn Tennis Association County Playing Fields Association LA
Structural change	Yes (reduced complexity)
Structural score	-1

* % of project cost

8.5.1 Critical organisations

The dependency of Doncaster on the county or national level LTA for financial resources is immediately apparent from Table 36. A total of £310,000 was given to the project by the LTA. This comprised of a £120,000 loan from the national LTA to the club to be repaid over ten years, a grant of £90,000 from the county LTA, and a final grant to the club of £100,000 made from the national LTA via the county LTA.

The £100,000 routed through the county LTA is effectively a loan from the national LTA to the county LTA allowing the county to have a stake in the project. Like the club's loan this has to be repaid to the national LTA. The total finance made available to Doncaster from the LTA almost equalled the £382,168 Lottery grant from Sport England. Before the club realised that the financial resources of Sport England's Lottery Fund were needed, the FSA committed itself to contributing £50,000. This is a move that the FSA may have later regretted because it tends to avoid projects where its funding is swamped by more sizeable Lottery awards, thus diminishing the potential for political recognition. The club raised £30,000 towards the project cost, but even though a significant amount it does not meet the 10% self-funding requirement for the Lottery Fund.

It was mostly the national organisations that provided the financial backing and the local and county organisations that provided the non-financial legitimisation of the project. The county LTA, CPFA, and the City Council all acted as consultees. A need for the facility was also identified in Sport England's regional strategy and the LTA's county strategy.

8.5.2 Institutional pressures

The award of Lottery funding to Doncaster was not made on the grounds of any specific conditions. However, it is evident that those who backed the project, financially and non-financially, would not have done so if it did not meet their normative expectations.

The FSA's expectations are less rigorous than those of Sport England's Lottery Fund but are nevertheless guided by central government. The FSA, like Sport England, expect a community-focused project encouraging participation from the same target groups. Discussing its distribution policy a representative of the FSA comments:

We have policy guidelines for the trustees and they are largely concerned with the kind of things we want to help. We are very keen to do things that touch upon the ordinary members of the community. So that means small clubs and also individuals at times. We are keen to help certain categories. The government has asked us to be particularly thoughtful about the young and we also have regard for the other end of the scale, the elderly and also the disabled. They give things extra priority. Obviously, with only so much money to dispose of we are concerned to set priorities... [The Government] have what you might call a strong influence and since we are responding to a tax deal it is not unnatural that we must have regard to it.

It is no surprise then that the expectations of Sport England and the FSA are similar because they draw influence from the same source.

The City Council's SDO also identifies how similar the LA's expectations are to Sport England's regarding a Lottery project's aims and means. For example the SDO points out that:

One of the criteria in the list in that facilities strategy is how will the project you are developing help young people and the other target groups. It'll be the same things as Sport England are saying.

He continues though, that this similarity with and reinforcement of Sport England's policy is no accident:

It seems to me that we've got to a position now where we we've got Sport England who've created this model of sport development that they want to embed in this country; they are developing products, initiatives, guidance on good and bad practice, they're offering money from the Lottery. Now if a local authority is going to step back from that and say 'we are going to go off and do our own thing' it seems a bit nonsensical to me. We might as well get on the gravy train while it's there because at the end of the day I think we all want the same thing for the community in any case.

Thus the SDO sees Sport England as the source of normative pressures, which are coercively reinforced through the distribution of financial resources.

An Officer of the County Council and the CPFA's Secretary perceives a variation of this position. He seems to view the County Councils/CPFA's role as one of testing the applicants resolve and commitment to the principles of Lottery funding, whilst not necessarily promoting them itself. Playing the role of devil's advocate in this way reproduces the institutional expectations of Sport England. The Officer and Secretary identifies the County Council's and CPFA's role:

So we were saying why do you want it? What difference will it make to your club? Will more people play because of it? What about women, do you have an equity policy within the club? In other words have you got some kind of rule that says women are not allowed in here apart from half past five on Monday morning. What about kids, do you have a junior policy? It was all that kind of thing to try and tease out whether really, if they went to the Lottery, they were going to lose at the first hurdle. We adopted that kind of, not an aggressive role at all, but asking those kind of punchy questions to get the answers. Because if they said to me equity, what's that? Well you

say have you got a different set of rules for your men and your women. And they say of course we do because we don't have women coming in. Well forget it then because unless you get your rules put right you needn't go to the Lottery. So it was that kind of philosophy we adopted.

A significant and ongoing influence that ensured Doncaster's project developed in line with LTA policy was the establishment of a Project Sub-committee within the club, on which two LTA representatives sat and had an active input. The committee was operational from 1992, when the idea of an indoor tennis facility was first conceived, until to the facility was opened. This is understandable in the light of the sizeable financial support that the national and county LTA gave to the project. The fact that the facility was awarded to the club and not the county LTA made the club central to the county LTA's performance coaching for which the facility was used by the county LTA. The county LTA obviously felt that it should be able to influence the running and organisation of the facility. This influence remains constant though as the new building houses the county LTA's offices, and the Project Sub-committee continues under the guise of the Management Sub-committee on which two LTA representatives remain. Relations between the club and the county LTA are therefore close both in proximity and intensity.

The content of the club's development plan for the indoor tennis hall was not original. Nor it seems was the LTA an influence in the plan except for its interest in performance coaching. Doncaster Tennis Club is the first case study to identify the role of mimetic pressures in its operation. The club had mimicked the programmes developed and implemented by other indoor tennis facilities, although none were Lottery funded. The Chairman identifies the sources of influence:

We went around a lot of mainly [Indoor Tennis Initiative] centres and one or two clubs which I mentioned earlier. Whenever we were on holiday we would go to the nearest tennis centre, have a look around, and pick up every scrap of literature we could find. And so we quickly got an idea of the sort of things that went on. We've got a great big

file at home with all the programmes that these centres have and we picked up our ideas from there and they're very very similar. People thought that the Nifty Fifty title was our idea, I think it comes from West Hartlepool... You go and see what happens elsewhere. We run a lot of tournaments and you get a lot of people come from elsewhere and they chat to you about what they do there and what sort of things are successful, and you soon get an idea of things to try.

Even though Doncaster applied in January 1996, the last of all the case study clubs, the Chairman still found that there were no models of successful Lottery bids to mimic. He continues that "there was no one around who knew very much. I was very much working on my own". The direct copying of established indoor tennis provision may have been a reaction to the uncertainty created by what Doncaster saw as a lack of authoritative information based on experience of applying to Sport England's Lottery Fund. A great deal more advice is now available with the LTA's CDO coordinating an informal network of clubs that have secured Lottery funding and that are willing to give advice.

The club exposed itself to more particular mimetic pressures from Sport England through informal contact and a regional Lottery Fund seminar. However, the club perceived this pressure to be weak because Sport England was prevented from soliciting bids at the time. The Chairman describes the contact he had with Sport England:

The Northern Sports Council, if ever I rang them up and asked them, were always very helpful.

What advice did you go to them for?

It was more a case of... They were very encouraging, but they have got to be careful what they say. I remember going to a forum and talking to them there and they were saying 'we can't say this but...'. They are very careful, they can't really give advice, just encouragement.

It has already been noted by the City Council's SDO that Sport England is attempting to financially reinforce its normative expectations. The FSA, although a national

distributing organisation, is not a lead policy body in the sports policy sector and therefore has little policy to reinforce. This is not to suggest that it is devoid of policy because the government's guidance to the FSA has effectively established a set of criteria against which the FSA must judge applications. This is the same source of influence that Taylor (1997) identifies as an influence in formulating Sport England's policy objectives. To ensure that the recipient of funding from the FSA is complying with the criteria on which the grant was given, organisations receiving larger grants of more than a few hundred pounds are contacted by telephone. Alternatively, documentary evidence is required from the organisation. The FSA's representative stated: "We have a small team in the field which maintains liaison with the grantees and which checks on things like that and makes sure that the money is appropriately applied. Normally they only need to visit a place once just after the money has been spent and check the receipt etc".

Doncaster believes that complying with the expectations of Lottery funding is more a moral obligation than a legal one because of the lack of monitoring of its project. The Chairman surmises: "We haven't had many dealings with [Sport England] at all since we opened, apart from the signs which I put up this morning. They haven't even asked us how we are getting on. That may come in time, I don't know".

From the club's perspective, Sport England seems to rely on the voluntary diffusion of norms although the Chairman of the club does not deny the possibility of coercion at a later date.

8.5.3 Organisational structure

Since the project has been realised the club's membership has grown to a point where it now has 134 juniors, 42 seniors and 53 families as members. Table 37 shows the upward trend in membership.

Table 37: Membership numbers for Doncaster Tennis Club 1993-1999

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Junior	123	106	101	99	83	115	134
Senior	48	48	53	41	43	47	42
Families	49	47	31	34	35	53	53

However, the most conspicuous change in Doncaster's structure as a result of the new facility was the appointment of a part-time paid Club Manager and Coach. Formerly the club's volunteer Coach, she was recruited to the position of Club Manager because it was felt it required a dedicated role to make a success of the facility. As the number of coaching hours delivered in a day has increased with the new facility the coach has to fit her management duties around her coaching.

The appointment of a paid professional by the club should not be viewed as an indication of its increasing wealth. Instead, it signals the importance that the club has attached to making a success of the facility. Despite her professional status the club still relies heavily on the Manager/Coach's dedication. The Chairman comments:

If we paid her the proper rate for the job then we would lose money, so she takes less than the proper rate for the job. We would like to pay her the proper rate in time but at the moment we have £12,000 a year to pay back to the LTA for our a loan.

Associated with the appointment of a professional are formalisation and specialisation. This has occurred through the creation of a job description for the Manager/Coach, but this is the only position in the club's administration for which this has been done.

Further formalisation and specialisation of the club's structure has taken place due to the Lottery project because a Management Sub-committee was established to focus on the operation of the new facility and co-ordinate it with the club's outdoor provision. Prior to the award this sub-committee existed as the Project Sub-committee from 1992. Although this indicates that the structure of the club became more bureaucratic in 1992 due to the Lottery bid, it was not detected by the telephone survey. The survey only asked respondents to compare the structure of the club one-year before the submission of the bid to the structure at the time of inquiry. Therefore, the survey was not sensitive to the long-term changes that predated and occurred as a result of making the bid, leaving it for the qualitative inquiry to elicit these changes.

The increased structural complexity created by the existence of the sub-committee was compromised by a reduction in the size of the main committee from nineteen to fifteen positions. This was done to reduce the complexity of the main committee and was achieved by cutting four of the nine unnamed positions. Doncaster's pre-bid and post-award structures can be seen in Figures 17 and 18 respectively.

The appointment of the Club Manager/Coach as a professional, the formalisation of her role through a job description and the creation of the Project Sub-committee/Management Sub-committee are all changes which required formalising in the constitution.

Figure 17: Doncaster Tennis Club's pre-bid organisation structure

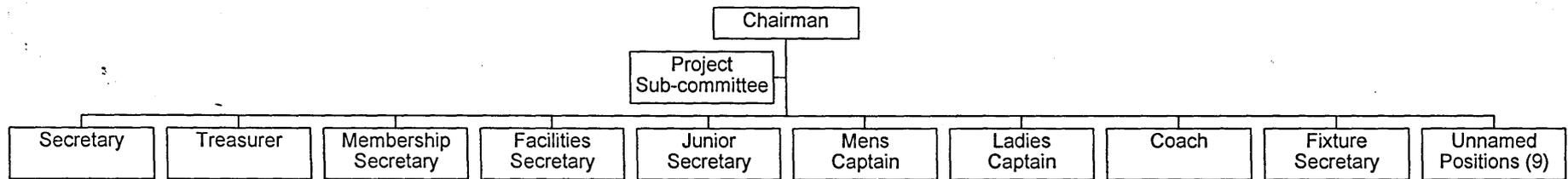
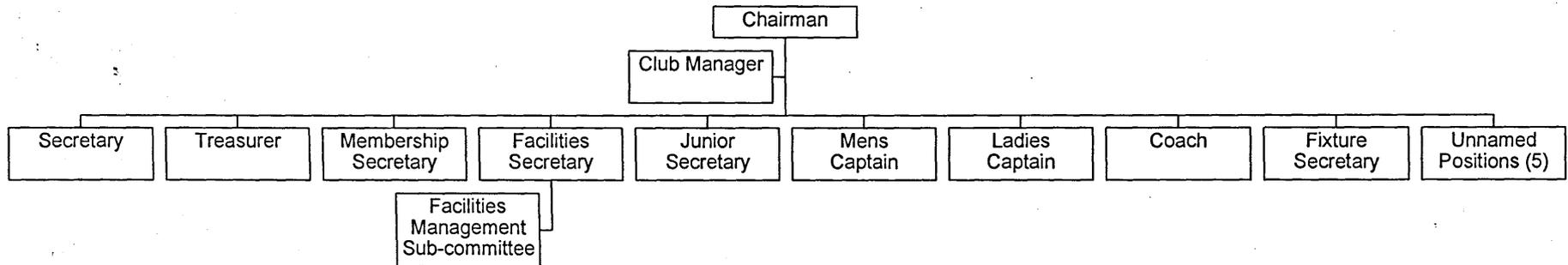


Figure 18: Doncaster Tennis Club's post-award organisation structure



8.5.4 Strategic response

No specific conditions were attached to Doncaster's Lottery funding presumably because Sport England was satisfied with the operation of the club as it was. Indeed, the Chairman and bid co-ordinator said the club emphasised the junior development aspect of the club's provision "because that is what [Sport England] wanted to hear". From this it would seem that the club was merely placating Sport England to secure the funding. This would be the case if it were not for the evidence to the contrary such as the increasing membership numbers and the employment of a professional to manage and promote the club. The club has not experienced any monitoring as yet, so it seems that Sport England is relying on Doncaster to voluntarily pursue the norms of sports policy sector. In terms of Oliver's (1991) control predictor, the club experienced little legal/coercive pressure but a good deal of normative or moral pressure to conform. The predictors of Doncaster's response are listed in Table 38.

Table 38: Predictors of Doncaster's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	Medium
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	High
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Low
Control	Legal control/coercion	Low
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High
Strategic response	Acquiescence	
Tactic	Compliance	

In taking the action it did, the club has acquiesced and complied with the normative expectations of Sport England's Lottery Fund. The pressures with which Doncaster complied had a socio-economic basis because at the same time the club was being encouraged to plan and rationalise, therefore becoming more business like, it was also being pressured to make provision for identified groups in society. Therefore, a

great deal of legitimacy was available from conformity to these pressures making resistance unlikely.

It could be suggested that the club acquiesced so willingly that Sport England did not need to levy any specific conditions on the club's award. This response may have resulted from the club adopting the normative prescriptions of the sports policy sector well before applying to the Lottery fund. In which case, Doncaster's goals would be consistent with the pressures of the sports policy sector channelled through the Lottery Fund. This makes a resistant response to the generic obligations and conditions of Lottery Funding by Doncaster unlikely.

There were only three funding partners in the project; Sport England, the LTA and the FSA, the latter of which is not considered to be an influential policy body. This leaves only two funders of any influence, and given their nature the LTA and Sport England can be said to present a consistent and inter-connected institutional environment. Doncaster was also heavily dependent on these sources of funding given the cost of its project. The project was legitimised non-financially by local actors in the sports policy sector; the LA, the county LTA and the CPFA, all of which have been demonstrated to reinforce the norms of the sports policy sector, increasing the inter-connectedness of the environment for Doncaster's bid. Doncaster was therefore heavily dependent on a highly inter-connected environment, which reduced the likelihood of a resistant response by the club according to Oliver.

Despite the county LTA's direct involvement the club seems to have retained its autonomy, choosing when the LTA could conduct its performance coaching in the new facility. Discretionary constraints imposed on the club by the institutional pressures were low if not non-existent. This makes a compliant response more likely.

Oliver (1991) believes that this evidence would make an active response to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector unlikely. A highly inactive response of acquiescing through habit or imitation is also possible given some of the evidence presented. For example there is the possibility that the club had been acquiescing to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector for some time and it had become something of a habit to respond in this way. In other words Doncaster knew no other way to behave. Also, there is evidence indicating that the club mimicked other successful indoor tennis projects that provided institutional models. However, these responses of imitation and habit imply a level of consciousness in an organisation's response that is clearly below that demonstrated by Doncaster, as the Chairman and bid organiser admits that the club emphasised how well it satisfied the expectations of the Lottery Fund. The models that Doncaster mimicked were not Lottery funded though. Therefore, mimetic isomorphism of any Lottery funded projects was again absent from a club's response to the institutional pressures despite a high level of environmental uncertainty.

8.5.5 Case conclusions

The initiative for Doncaster's Lottery project came not from the club itself but from the national LTA. The amount of funding originating from the LTA reflects this as the LTA stood to gain a valuable performance facility. The institutional pressures of the financial and non-financial supporting organisations were all highly similar.

Several of the changes in Doncaster's structure were caused by its Lottery project. A professional Club Manager/Coach was appointed to ensure that the new facility was a success. This indicates the professionalisation of a position that was previously occupied by a volunteer coach and the creation of a new and specialised professional Club Manager's position. The Project/Management Sub-committee, established to oversee Doncaster's Lottery application and then the facility after it was built,

represents the decentralisation of decision making, specialisation and formalisation of the club's structure. The size of the main committee was also reduced from fifteen to nine positions, although this was not a result of the new facility.

The response of Doncaster to the expectations of the Sport England's Lottery Fund did not take a resistant form in any way. The club was keen to comply, as it believed that it was serving itself rather than Sport England or the LTA. This suggests that the values and norms of the club were aligned with those of the sports policy sector. Doncaster's response was therefore one of acquiescence through compliance.

8.6 Aintree Lawn Tennis Club

Aintree Lawn Tennis Club regards itself as one of the foremost tennis clubs in Leicestershire particularly where junior tennis provision is concerned. According to its Lottery Fund application almost half (49%) of its total membership are under the age of sixteen. A self-employed coach is based at the club but not paid directly by the club.

Despite being a limited company the club has no formally stated aims other than to provide tennis for the local community. In 1993 the club requested a loan from the LTA to help it finance the rejuvenation of four tennis courts and the erection of an air dome to provide all weather tennis as the club lacks any indoor playing provision. A condition of this loan was that an eight-year, facility development plan was established for the club. The court rejuvenation and the air dome project constituted phase one of this plan.

Phase two was the subject of the bid to Sport England's Lottery Fund (see Table 39). According to the development plan the aim was "to provide more space and comfort

for the growing membership, especially the flourishing junior section and notably to provide facilities for disabled visitors and players". This was to be achieved by redesigning the club pavilion with the addition of a bar, kitchen and clubroom for juniors to socialise in. Had the application been submitted more recently it would not have been successful because it concerned social rather than playing facilities. Phase three aims to resurface a further three tennis courts.

Table 39: Summary of Aintree Lawn Tennis Club's Lottery bid

Name	Aintree Lawn Tennis Club
Application date	September 1995
Project cost	Pavilion extension to cater for people with special needs £42,700
Award date	£20,700 (49%)* March 1996
Matching funding	£10,000 Lawn Tennis Association loan (23%)* £6,000 self funded (14%)* £5,000 County Council (12%)* £1,000 Aintree Borough Council (2%)*
Non-funding supporting organisations	Lawn Tennis Association Aintree Borough Council Leicestershire Playing Fields Association
Structural change	Yes (increased complexity)
Structural score	30

* % of project cost

8.6.1 Critical organisations

The relatively high number of organisations that were critical to Aintree's Lottery bid is notable from Table 39. Of the three organisations providing support funding, two also provided non-financial legitimacy by acting as consultees for the project. According to the bid and Junior Organiser, the most critical organisation for the club's bid was Sport England because its Lottery Fund offered the means by which Aintree could afford a new pavilion. Central to the club's development plan, the clubhouse was the plan's most expensive element and therefore the club's reliance on Sport England for Lottery funding was heightened. The largest element of support funding, a LTA loan for £10,000, was contingent upon receiving funding from Sport England. This again raised the importance of securing funding in the first instance from Sport England. The club enjoyed close relations with the LTA having had a previous loan from the

governing body for phase one of the development plan. The bid and Junior Organiser identifies the club-LTA relationship:

The LTA were very good and have always been very good to this club in relation to the development plan, but they don't give grants they only give loans. We're still paying off loans that we had eight nine years ago for the indoor facility, but they are extremely helpful.

The club-LTA relationship seems to be characterised by resource dependence as a means of ensuring that the club progresses with its facility development plan.

Also contingent on the award of Lottery funding was the County Council's contribution of £6,000. However, the Borough Council's support funding of £1,000 was not confirmed at the time of application and not particularly significant given its relative size. The club also managed to budget for £6,000 of self-funding.

Project consultation forms were sent to the LA, the CPFA and also the LTA. The CPFA is the agent for the County Council's recreation grant application process so it was well aware of Aintree's plans having handled the club's request for support funding from the County Council. Having been awarded 'in principle' funding from the County Council the CPFA was unlikely to deny Aintree its legitimisation.

8.6.2 Institutional pressures

In recognition of Aintree's emphasis on junior and wheelchair tennis players in its bid, a specific condition addressing these target groups was levied on the award by Sport England. It stated that "a structured coaching development programme(s) for juniors and disabled be devised". The President demonstrates his approval for the condition.

He states:

Well if you don't have any goals, everybody should have some objectives. You can't stand still in this day and age in relation to anything, whether it be business or the club. You're always looking to improve facilities.

The President accepts the need for the rationalised and structured planning and provision demanded by the development plan. This is hardly surprising given the status of the club as a limited company. Also agreeing the need for structured coaching provision, the bid and junior organiser claims that before the award:

We never even thought about the structured coaching plan for juniors. We are a big club on juniors and we help as many juniors as possible. The facilities for juniors were just unsuitable with seniors and juniors together in a small clubhouse, it's just not conducive to... I know of other clubs where juniors and seniors mix and the juniors are second class citizens. That is really bad isn't it? Seniors come first and juniors are sort of... As far as we are concerned here juniors are the future of the club and therefore we've got to give them proper facilities.

That junior tennis is a major feature of the club is not in doubt given the juniors' proportion of the total membership, but the bid and Junior Organiser's reaction is informative in two ways. Firstly, his apparent surprise at the funding condition is in contrast to the President's response that it was a predictable condition and a natural extension of the club's operation. This perhaps indicates a differing perception of the club's operation and environment. Secondly, if such a junior focused club with a facility development plan had never even thought about a structured coaching plan for juniors, this then begs the question what consideration did the wheelchair players receive if they too were a reason for building the new clubhouse? This theme will be continued under section 8.6.4.

Further institutional pressures were applied in the application process for supporting funding. The Local Access Officer for the County Council explains the application procedure that Aintree went through:

The Leicestershire and Rutland Playing Fields Association acts as our agent for grant applications. They help the club put together the application form and the supporting information. That is taken through to the County Sports Advisory Council [CSAC]. The CSAC is made up of the governing bodies of sport in the county together with a couple of district and city councillors and a couple of County Councillors. They make the assessment of each application on its merits and we find that as sports people they are capable of thinking

for sport rather than... We have an executive committee which selects a number of sports people and our experience is that they always think for sport rather than thinking for their own sport and will make good decisions on the basis of their experience of running clubs. They make the recommendations of how much money a club should get and whether it should be a grant or loan or nothing. Those are then passed through to what used to be the County Council Planning and Recreation Committee, we now have a cabinet system in place. So applications like that now go through to cabinet who would accept.

The process involves constituents from multiple organisations but what is significant is the inter-connected environment that the CSAC creates. The CPFA works closely with the County Council whose executive committee selects the members of the CSAC. The CPFA, after having initial contact with the applicant, passes on the application to the CSAC. Members of the CSAC are drawn from a range of sports administration organisations and non-sporting political bodies such as the county and nearby city councils. CSAC's members need to produce a normatively agreed and objective decision regarding an application. This presents a unified and coherent environment for the applicant making it more difficult to resist the decision and any funding conditions if the decision is positive. The Local Access Officer stated that the County Council couldn't monitor every grant made but instead used the same network of "governing bodies of sport to put pressure on the [clubs] if things weren't happening". This is the same network of NGBs from which CSAC members are drawn.

The conditions attached to any funding from the County Council through this system reflect those of the Lottery both in terms of legal requirements and those that are relevant to policy objectives. The Local Access Officer summarises the County Council's position:

We don't pay the grant until the project is complete or underway. But we wouldn't confirm it until they had planning permission or they had signed a new lease for a certain amount of time, or until they had talked to a couple of representatives of the CSAC about their charging

policies for instance. We might also set as a condition that we want to see a sports development policy for the facility.

This similarity is a result of the County Council's strategy being congruent with Sport England's policy objectives, but the Local Access Officer later identifies the degree to which Sport England actually influences the council's strategy:

The priorities of our [forthcoming] strategy in terms of sport are that we want to see at least one Sports Development Officer into each district. The existing strategy was formulated when sports development work was actually a lower priority than it is now with Sport England.

So the County Council is mimicking the changes in emphasis occurring in Sport England's strategy and implementing them at the local level. Thus the county recreation strategy (Leicestershire County Council, 1992) by which the CSAC judges funding applications is directly influenced by Sport England's policy. What is more, the Sport Through Education Strategy (Leicestershire County Council, 1997) as an element of the overall recreation strategy was submitted to, approved and funded to the tune of £172,000 by Sport England. So the County Council's mimetic isomorphism of Sport England's policy was coercively reinforced. What is more is that the Borough Council's sports strategy is influenced by the strategies of the County Council and Sport England creating greater coherence in sport strategy generally.

Aintree applied in the first year of Sport England's Lottery Fund when the process of submitting the bid took place in an uncertain environment for VSCs. The bid and Junior Organiser comments:

We were totally unsure at that stage whether tennis clubs were at the front or just how much money would be going to tennis clubs compared to football clubs and cricket clubs. We didn't have a clue at all really. I mean basically, we did the application to the best of our ability and submitted it. It was basically as much as we could do at that time. There were no statistics about to say that 90% in the East Midlands has gone to football clubs or something, which might have

put me off, you know! But no, we just did the application and it went off.

There were no opportunities for club-to-club mimetic isomorphism through which Aintree could have reduced the uncertainty of the application process. However, opportunities were taken by the club to be influenced by Sport England, exposing themselves to normative and mimetic pressures. The bid and Junior Organiser continues:

Basically, I was right at the very beginning [of the Lottery] and therefore didn't have a lot of help from the Lottery in anyway. I was effectively a guinea pig job, but I did go on the course that the Sports Council ran, together with the architect. They used it to explain everything about the Lottery.

In addition to the specific condition of implementing a structured coaching development programme Aintree were subject to coercive measures from Sport England which included a site visit by a representative of the organisation and a requirement that the club submit the anticipated quarterly cashflow forecast for the project.

On top of this the LTA attached significant explicit and implicit coercive pressures to their loan. Explicitly, the LTA prescribed the cost of an adult membership subscription for the 1996 season at £99. This contradicted Aintree's eight-year development plan which, submitted in 1993 as a precondition of receiving the previous loan from the LTA, stated that an adult membership would cost £110 in 1996. This would clearly have had financial planning implications for the club. Also, the LTA prescribed that the club's sinking fund be set at no lower than £7,000 and that personal guarantors be provided for the loan. For the professional coach at the club, this was not the issue:

You've spoken to [the President] and [the Secretary] that they had some meeting with the LTA when we were trying to get more money for the project because of the building difficulties that we had. The LTA seemed to view the meeting as 'oh great they're in trouble we can really impress our will on them - you're doing it our way now if we're going to help you out'.

Omitted by the Secretary and the President during their interviews, this anecdote is an excellent example of the LTA taking advantage of Aintree's dependence on its financial resources and implicitly coercing the club. Such dependence allows the LTA to exercise its power over the club in precisely the way that Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) describe. This is confirmed once more when the coach responds to another question later in the interview regarding the broader relationship between the LTA and voluntary tennis clubs.

They always hold this nice cheque book... It's the way the LTA control people. I was saying to [the LTA] it seems that we have a programme that is fine in your eyes so what do you want from us. And they are like 'well we are going to send a performance coach around every once in a while to look at your kids and we're going to have inter-club matches'. I've heard that so many times and I haven't seen any performance coaches and I haven't seen any inter-club matches, and I haven't seen our kids being invited to different county things. So although we are under your umbrella, it's all bollocks, it's lip service. And then they say 'oh well we might have some funds available and if you want to apply, you're a three racquet club, and you know you stand a good chance'. So OK we'll do that. So last time we were under sub-scribed, we had a short fall in the coaching because we had to have performance kids, I said to [the Treasurer] 'fine, send an invoice to the county LTA, they said they have funds'. We're running their programme and we've lost money on it. Bang, they've got to pay for it. And it's all garbage. These people are being paid a lot of money to make themselves look good.

The relationship that the club has with the organisations in its environment varies. With the LTA the relationship is characterised by long-term financial dependence. With Sport England and the other supporting bodies, all of which provided finance and legitimacy, the relationship is characterised by short-term financial dependence and strong institutional influence.

8.6.3. Organisational structure

In the project brief for its Lottery application Aintree suggested that it wanted to redesign its pavilion to provide more space for its increasing membership. The coach dismisses this claim:

From my point of view the club was going nowhere because the membership was quite stagnant. It wasn't going anywhere and it wasn't attracting anybody. So I wasn't sure of the way I wanted to go but now its all getting better.

Corroborating this perception, membership numbers were constant in the two years prior to applying to the Lottery. In 1993 and in 1994 the total number of members remained unchanged at 271 but increased to 285 in 1995, the year of application. The eight-year plan created as a condition of the LTA loan in 1993 and revised in 1995 for the Lottery project predicted that membership would increase by 70 to 355 over the three years to 1998. Precise membership numbers were not available from any of the interviewees at the time of interview. Although the Secretary did promise to forward current membership figures they were never received despite three follow-ups by the author. The telephone survey indicated that there were 300 members, which is well below the predicted 355 for the time of inquiry.

Nevertheless, the effect that the enhanced social provision had on membership numbers was described by the President as "disappointing" having attracted only a "few extras". The Secretary expanded on this point:

I think it has been responsible for improving membership numbers to a degree, but in absolute terms I don't think they have gone up because there aren't that number of players and Aintree is a sort of transient place where people come and go.

Given that there aren't that many players and that Aintree is a "transient place", increases of 70 in membership numbers over three years seem unrealistic. Moreover, given that absolute membership numbers have not increased but the new facility attracted a "few extras", it could be assumed that without the new development membership numbers would have declined. The bid and Junior Organiser suggested that it was the junior members that had helped to combat the overall decline in membership as "the clubhouse has attracted, or kept the juniors".

Again in the Lottery Fund application it was stated that "the Directors will review progress by monitoring all aspects of the promotion and participation in the facilities by the disabled". However, the Secretary and the Coach, both Directors of the club, could not agree on the number of special needs members that the redesigned clubhouse had attracted. It could be suggested that the Directors were not monitoring their promotion and consequent usage of their facilities by wheelchair tennis players. The Secretary believed that there were around six wheelchair tennis players where as the coach knew there to be only two because he coached them. What is more is that they were the same two players that had been members before the Lottery bid. Therefore, there was no overall change in the number of special needs participants as a result of the new clubhouse.

Since the award and implementation of Lottery funding Aintree has undergone some changes to its structure. The club achieved the highest score for structural change (tb=30) in the telephone survey. The changes that took place are evident from a comparison of Figures 19 and 20 that illustrate the club's pre-bid and post-award structure respectively. The changes were not a result of receiving the award, more an attempt by the existing committee to make the running of the club increasingly efficient by introducing more directors to create additional functional areas of responsibility. The President summarises this:

There has been a change of emphasis as we are trying to have more individual responsibility for particular areas, but we were doing or would have done that anyway so I don't think it was effected by [the Lottery award].

Prior to the award there were six named and six unnamed positions on the main committee. The six named positions were all directors of the club and the coach occupied one of the unnamed positions. The overall number of main committee members remains unchanged at twelve. The changes in structure were caused by the unnamed committee positions being given named positions and incorporated as

directors of the club. Consequently, the responsibilities that previously accrued to the six have been divided amongst twelve positions representing a degree of specialisation. The coach, having most to lose from an inefficient club, explains the reasons for re-structuring of the committee:

We had a total re-organisation of the club structure and the directors because it (a committee meeting) was literally a social event. People would turn up and just do nothing at meetings and certain people would do everything. So now its you are Grounds and Maintenance or whatever, you are Captain, you are.... It is much better everybody has their own responsibilities.

Four new sub-committees were also introduced to complement the existing Junior sub-committee. Three of these sub-committees are presided over by the additional directorships of House, Ground and Social Secretaries and the existing directors of Men's and Ladies' Captains manage the new Match and Tournament sub-committee.

During the re-organisation, the committee threatened to professionalise part of the club's administration but in the event this was unnecessary. The Secretary explains:

We said to the membership at the time of reviewing the administration, that if they were not prepared to sanction the spreading of the load and if then they weren't prepared to take turns at doing something towards the administration of the club and its affairs, then the next alternative would be to engage a professional to do a number of the more onerous tasks and they would have to pay for it.

Figure 19: Aintree Lawn Tennis Club's pre-bid organisation structure

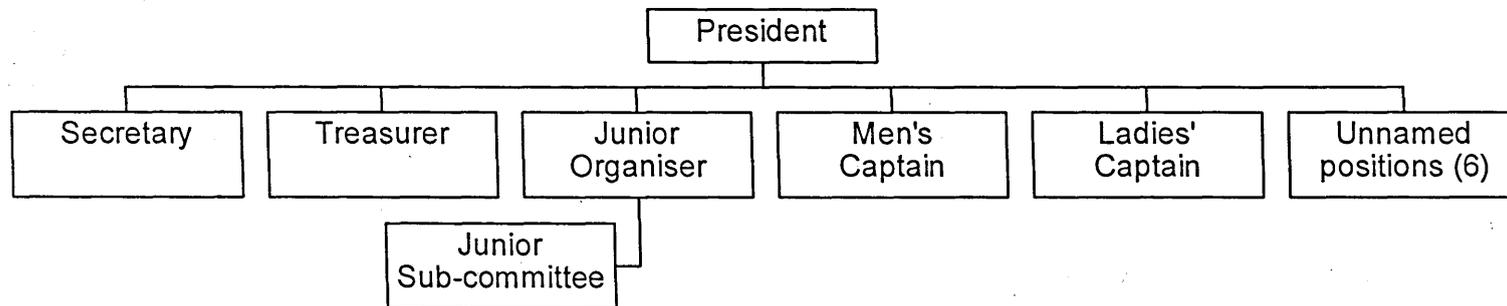
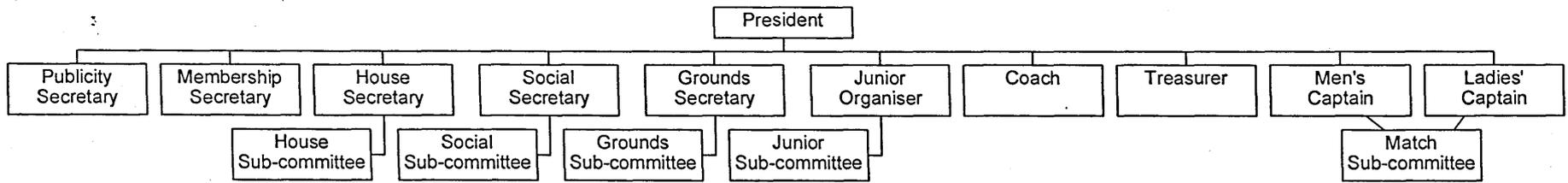


Figure 20: Aintree Lawn Tennis Club's post-award organisation structure



Changes to the committee structure were formalised in corresponding changes to the constitution. To formalise individual responsibilities in the new management structure, job descriptions were implemented and formalised in the constitution.

The performance side of Aintree's operation also witnessed a degree of formalisation. After the Lottery award the coaching structure was formalised and all the coaching assistants have either obtained coaching awards or are attempting to do so. However, this was not because of the specific condition levied on the Lottery funding by Sport England. The bid and Junior Organiser explains:

Mostly, we just had one lot of structured coaching as it was by age group or by ability. So it has changed. We implemented things like the award schemes and that kind of thing for the kids. But that wasn't anything to do with the Lottery programme, that was something we did for its own sake.

Maybe the coaching structure was not formalised to meet the requirements of the Lottery funding but it was certainly co-ordinated with the LTA's coaching structure.

The same respondent identifies the implications of this for the club:

It has meant... that the club has now got a three-racket rating. So we have put in with the county [LTA] a structured programme of coaching. And the way it works is that there are club development squads and then performance squads for the better players. They then feed the county development squads and the county performance squads. So there is a structure within the county as well as within the club.

The club has now become a more integrated part of the LTA's sports development continuum developing players and moving them up into the county squads. From within the club it may appear that the club's aim hasn't changed i.e. the development of juniors. What has changed is its role in developing juniors. It is now more closely linked to a much bigger and structured system for the development of junior players. The club's aim in this 'bigger picture' is to feed the county with talented players. By this, the club-LTA relationship has become structured and rationalised. So the changes in coaching structure were not to comply with Sport England's funding

conditions, although they met that end, but to serve the LTA's interests from which the club stood to benefit.

Although part of the club's environment, it appears that Sport England's Lottery Fund was not directly responsible for the pressures that encouraged structural change, but the LTA and the club's volition were.

8.6.4 Strategic response

It is argued here that Aintree has compromised with the institutional pressures of the Lottery Fund by pacifying Sport England. This is because the club has implemented a structured junior development plan with the LTA thus pacifying Sport England, but ignored the obligation and opportunity to develop special needs provision. There is no doubt that the club has the ability to make such provision given its facilities and coach who is a qualified wheelchair tennis coach and coaches at the highest possible level in this variation of the sport. However, Aintree has failed to capitalise on this capacity.

This conclusion is made on the basis of several pieces of evidence. The attention and emphasis given to junior provision by the club's administration was far greater relative to that given to the development of wheelchair tennis. Disabled provision was downplayed or seen as secondary to junior provision and it clearly is in terms of consideration and numbers. The committee's lack of emphasis and motivation suggests a reluctance to recruit disabled players. The coach confirms this:

You have to produce a programme for the bid to go in. So if you produce a good programme and it gets accepted, you'd be silly not to implement it, other than the wheelchair side. If you weren't motivated to that you could say what you want and still have no wheelchair players. I mean we should have a lot more than we've got. Its very easily done but then what actual control have [Sport England] got to go back and say well hang on a minute.

Despite pledging that they would monitor the promotion and participation of special needs participants in its provision, Aintree's directors could not state how many wheelchair players used or indeed were a member of the club. In fact the club only had two members with special needs and had done so since before the award. As these two members were elite level players the absence of a development plan for wheelchair players seems irrelevant, but to the contrary, opportunities missed by not capitalising on their presence at the club is disappointing.

It is little wonder that the number of wheelchair players is not higher because one of the biggest criticisms that the bid and Junior Organiser made of the club was that there was almost no publicity surrounding the club for able bodied players let alone special needs players. Part of the reason for this is that the Publicity director's position is vacant.

It must be accepted that wheelchair tennis players, potential or actual, are not abundant. This may explain why so few have taken the opportunity presented by the club. However, it is the attitude held by the club's administration that is telling. This is highlighted by the Coach who re-counts two anecdotes:

When the clubhouse was basically a shell, we were all inside and they were all saying what's going here and what's going there. And they were all coming up with some weird and wonderful ideas because they didn't know, I did but I wasn't going to tell them. They were saying 'this is going to be a lift for the disabled' and another would say 'oh why?' The reply: 'Because we have to, to get the clubhouse and we have to make it seem like were doing something for the disabled'. And their position was very much that they were doing that so that we could get the money, they weren't looking at integration, and that did annoy me. Even this year trying to get Simon⁵ into the men's teams it was like:

'Simon's available for the men's teams'

'Oh, right...'

So it's like get him on court and he'll beat most of you. So their approach was we need a clubhouse. How do we get a clubhouse?

OK, if we are to get a Lottery grant we are required to have access for

⁵ Simon (pseudonym) plays wheelchair tennis for Great Britain and is ranked in Britain's top three wheelchair tennis players. He is trained by Aintree's Coach at the club.

the disabled which was a means to an end. So it was then we've got the money stuff the disabled. If we get 40k for having a little lift, widened doors and a disabled toilet then great. Whereas I didn't see it like that. I saw it as an active way to include [the disabled].

The coach acknowledges that the club's administration had an utilitarian approach to its bid. Conversely, the coach seems to have approached the bid in the spirit and with the purpose for which the Lottery Fund was established. This indicates the possibility that two parts of the same organisation can respond differently to the same institutional pressure. This point will be developed in chapter 9 as it represents a possible development of institutional theory.

Had a junior development plan not been implemented the above evidence would represent a strategic response of the club rejecting its obligations. As it stands it seems that the club partially conformed resulting in a compromise.

Aintree's strategic response can be explained using Oliver's (1991) predictors listed in Table 40. Looking at the rationale or cause of the external pressures, the club's partial conformity is attributable more to the greater economic fitness pressures from the LTA than the lesser social fitness pressures from Sport England. Although both types of pressure were high, Aintree partially resisted Sport England's pressures and acquiesced to the demands of the LTA with which it had much closer economic and normative relations over a longer period. This is supported by the club implementing a junior coaching structure to fit with the LTA's county performance structure, but neglecting to develop the wheelchair tennis programme that was a condition of Sport England's Lottery funding.

A relatively high number of supporting constituents, Oliver suggests, makes an organisation more likely to effect a resistant response because it creates a fragmented, contradictory and less powerful environment. However, in Aintree's case

a moderate number of supporting organisations were all part of the same societal sector and applied highly similar pressures presenting a highly inter-connected environment. Dependence on only one of these constituents (the LTA) was considered to be high in the long term, with dependence on Sport England being high only in the short term.

Table 40: Predictors of Aintree's response

Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	Medium
	Dependence on constituents	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	Medium
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Medium
Control	Legal control/coercion	High
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High
Strategic response	Compromise	
Tactic	Pacifying	

The specific condition levied on Aintree by Sport England was only partially consistent with the organisation's objectives because the club expressed no real interest in disabled provision except for the purpose of obtaining Lottery funding. This inconsistency increases the likelihood of an active response to the pressures conveyed by the Lottery Fund but the club's discretion was not affected by Sport England's conditions making resistance less likely.

However, prescriptions regarding Aintree's financial management, the vetting of the club's eight-year facility development plan, and the integration of its coaching into the LTA's structure, mean that the club's autonomy was restricted by the LTA in exchange for financial support. Nevertheless, resistance to the LTA's demands was precluded because of the club's high dependence on the LTA. Sport England's emphasis on wheelchair tennis does not seem to have been reinforced by the LTA.

This may help to explain why Aintree resisted the pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund to implement a structured wheelchair tennis development plan. It may also suggest that the LTA is not conveying or supporting all the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector to its tennis clubs.

The LTA and Sport England can be seen to employ different methods of attempting to control the club. Sport England applied minimal coercion relying on voluntary diffusion of institutional norms. The interviewees' belief that adhering to Sport England's funding conditions was a moral obligation reflects this, as they perceived little legal obligation or monitoring. According to Oliver, the voluntary diffusion of norms makes for a much less resistant response but this is clearly not appropriate in Aintree's case. Conversely, the financial relationship that Aintree has with the LTA reflects a coercive reinforcement of institutional pressures.

It has already been noted that Aintree faced a highly inter-connected environment making resistance to institutional pressures more difficult (Oliver, 1991). The uncertainty created by being one of the first clubs to apply to Sport England's Lottery Fund also made a response of active resistance unlikely. This is also a possible reason why mimetic isomorphism was absent from Aintree's response as there would have been few if any legitimate institutional models of successful Lottery applications by VSCs to mimic.

It is surprising that Aintree did not simply acquiesce to Sport England's expectations in the light of the club's situation. However, the LTA's influential relationship with the club combined with the club's disinterest in special needs provision and development caused the club to compromise on its obligation.

8.6.5 Case conclusions

Aintree Lawn Tennis Club's Lottery project was part of a three-phase facility development plan created as a condition of a LTA loan. The LTA is clearly the most critical organisation for Aintree both in terms of funding and legitimacy in the long term and consequently is able to influence the operation and structure of the club. Sport England was also highly important for its Lottery funding upon which other sources of funding such as the County Council were contingent.

The growth in membership numbers predicted by Aintree in their Lottery bid did not occur but the club was re-structured by the committee to spread the responsibility of running the club more equally. Individual areas of responsibility were created by appointing another six committee members as directors of the club as a limited company. This indicates specialisation as the functional areas of responsibility previously allocated to six committee members have been split across twelve members. It also represents a formalisation of the occupant's role. Four new sub-committees were also created indicating the decentralisation of decision making.

The formalisation and specialisation of the club's coaching provision was evident in the junior development plan created as a condition of the Lottery funding and the certification of the club's coaching assistants. However, the club created the junior development plan more in response to pressures from the LTA than to comply with Sport England's funding conditions.

Aintree's overall response to the expectations of Sport England was one of compromise. Although it had created and put in to practice a junior development plan it had not acted on the condition of implementing a wheelchair tennis development plan despite wheelchair tennis being a key element of the bid. However, Aintree's

stated aim of providing wheelchair tennis is not connected to its operation and structure.

9 Cross-Case Conclusions

This research aimed to establish the effect of Lottery funding from Sport England on VSCs. An institutional framework influenced partly by the new institutionalism but mostly by the old was used to guide the research because of the need to recognise the importance of organisational interests and agency. The objectives of this research were therefore:

1. To identify the critical organisations for VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding from Sport England.
2. To analyse the institutional pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund and of other critical organisations to which VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding are exposed.
3. To investigate how the structure of VSCs may be changing with receipt of Lottery funding from Sport England.
4. To establish the responses of VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding to the institutional pressures of the Sport England's Lottery Fund using Oliver's (1991) strategic responses.

These objectives were pursued through a three-phase methodology of:

- initial qualitative interviews with Sport England staff
- a telephone survey examining a sample of VSCs that had received Lottery funding in the summer/autumn of 1996
- six qualitative case studies of VSCs selected from the telephone survey.

Cross-case conclusions will be made for each of the research objectives. These conclusions or analytic generalisations (Yin, 1994) are only relevant to theory and the organisations investigated, and are not representative of all VSCs in receipt of Lottery Funding from Sport England.

Six case studies from the sports of cricket, football, and tennis were selected from the survey respondents. These were the three sports most commonly awarded Lottery funding in the summer/autumn of 1996, except for the sport of bowls. Bowls was

another sport with a large number of Lottery awards but the amount of change in the structure of bowls clubs was so minor that it did not permit the selection of extreme or 'critical cases' to enable a thorough test of theory (Yin, 1994). The six case studies were selected in pairs by sport, keeping the number of members, change in total membership and size of award as similar as possible between each pair. However, one of each pair was selected because it achieved a high structural score indicating structural change and the other because it showed no change in structure or had become less bureaucratic. The purpose here was to investigate why, after both receiving Lottery funding, one club had experienced structural change when another similar club had not. Cases were selected in pairs by sport so as to keep constant the influence and approach of each NGB to VSCs seeking Lottery funding. Other possible influences such as the size of the project (indicated by the project cost), the size of the membership and any change in membership numbers were kept as similar as the number of survey respondents would allow. Table 20 shows the characteristics on which the case studies were selected. Emerging patterns and trends across the six cases will now be identified.

9.1 Critical organisations

The important role of organisations constituting a focal organisation's environment in influencing the behaviour and structure of the focal organisation has been acknowledged through concepts such as firm-in-sector (Child, 1997), organisational field (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and societal sector (Scott and Meyer, 1991). So for those organisations operating in the domain of VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding it was necessary to establish their societal sector or "those organizations that critically influence the performance of the focal organizations" (Scott and Meyer, 1991: p. 117). For Oliver (1991) these organisations were the constituents of the focal organisation's

environment. In addition these organisations may have formed the social structure or authority system for the sector and may have been a source of institutional pressure.

The number and type of critical organisations for the VSCs varied. A key organisation in all cases was Sport England, primarily for resource provision. NGBs were important for reasons of legitimation except in the case of lawn tennis where the LTA was also critical for financial support and legitimation. The club-LTA resource relationship was longer and stronger than that with Sport England because of the highly prescriptive nature of the LTA's funding conditions and because the funding came in the form of a loan. LAs were important both for the purpose of legitimacy and in some cases providing small to medium amounts of support funding. The GMFCYP was the only critical organisation in all six case studies that was not considered to be in the sports policy sector.

Sport England's position as the key-funding organisation for the VSCs' projects did not mean that it was the organisation with which the VSCs enjoyed their closest relations. This role was clearly occupied by the NGBs. In the case of tennis both VSCs had strengthened their links to the LTA as a consequence of their Lottery project. Aintree and Doncaster had become more integrated into the LTA's performance coaching structure allowing players to make the transition from club to county and national tennis more seamlessly. Aintree's junior development plan was designed to fit with the LTA's structure, as was Doncaster's. Doncaster's new facility even housed the offices for the county LTA. In the cases of Newbury and Doncaster, representatives of their respective NGBs occupied positions on each VSC's committee giving them a direct input into the operation of the VSC and increasing its exposure to the NGB's policy and objectives. Goodwood though, reversed this trend of close relations with the NGBs. Disenchantment with the way that district cricket

coaching was organised and a feeling that the club could make better provision through its own volunteers and improved facilities meant Goodwood decided and was able to withdraw from the ECB's coaching system at district level.

The only two VSCs not to experience a change in intensity of relations with their NGB were Sandown and Ascot. Ascot had always enjoyed close and harmonious relations with its governing body, the GMFCYP, which lay outside of the sports policy sector. Beyond the GMFCYP the club had very little contact with any other organisation. Sandown increased its contact with the Cumberland Football Association in the course of its Lottery bid but did not establish any formal links with the NGB in the style of Newbury and Doncaster. It is therefore possible to say that the VSCs in this research had a much closer and long-standing relationship, whether it be coercive or normative, with their NGBs than with Sport England despite their high level of dependence on the latter. It therefore seems that Sport England and NGBs constituted an authority system which was the primary source of institutional pressure. The changing nature of relations between Newbury, Aintree and Doncaster and their respective NGBs was not anticipated by institutional theorists and is therefore developed further in chapter 9 through the use of social network theory. Social network theory was dismissed in chapter 4 on the basis that it assumed VSCs and NGBs worked much closer than they actually did in reality. However, in the light of these findings it seems that social network theory may have some relevance here.

9.2 Institutional pressures

As the central organisation in the sports policy sector the institutional pressures exerted through Sport England's Lottery Fund were taken to represent the dominant institutional expectations and prescriptions of the sector. Findings confirmed this with other actors in the sports policy sector reinforcing these pressures whether for

reasons of normative commitment or instrumentalism. Therefore, institutional pressures were carried by the authority system of the sector. Organisations residing outside of the sports policy sector could therefore not be expected to promote the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector. This is demonstrated by the case of the GMFCYP, which was one of two critical organisations for the Ascot Lads' Club, the other being Sport England. However, the dominant norms and values of the sports policy sector were not held uniformly across the sports policy sector as some VSCs and LAs embraced them more than others. For instance, the LAs of Carlisle City Council and Cumbria County Council adopted an instrumental approach (Leach and Wilson, 1998) to their conformity or reinforcement of the institutional prescriptions of the sector whereas Sandown White Star FC subscribed wholeheartedly to them. Organisations on the periphery of the sports policy sector are perhaps less likely to value the norms of the sector than organisations towards the core of the sector such as NGBs and Sport England. This gives rise to a core-periphery variation in the sports policy sector.

Institutional pressures exerted through Sport England's Lottery Fund on the case study VSCs were identified and categorised according to DiMaggio and Powell's normative, mimetic and coercive distinction. Beginning with normative pressures, DiMaggio (1983) defined these as pressures existing in a societal sector as conventional and rationalised knowledge using norms and value systems to structure action. Normative pressures therefore provide a prescriptive, and consequently proscriptive, aspect to the institutionalisation of behaviour (Scott, 1995b) in the sports policy sector.

Sport England's Lottery Fund emphasised the value of a sports development approach to provision. This emphasis is also targeted at particular groups in society which are under provided for such as the young, women, ethnic minorities and those

with special needs, and for which it is believed to be socially desirable to make provision. Occupying a central role in the sports policy sector, Sport England has a reciprocal relationship between its aims and objectives and the norms and values of the policy sector. This allows it to pursue its aim to greater effect through its Lottery Fund and in doing so exposes the recipients of funding to the norms and values of the sports policy sector in a concentrated form. Thus the case study clubs were expected to develop participation among and serve one or more of these target groups, if they were not already doing so, if their bid was to be considered by Sport England.

Not only is it seen by Sport England as desirable and essential to develop sports participation in these identified groups but there is a hierarchy of importance that exists as a shared culture across the sector. Junior participation is clearly the number one priority. This was reflected in the number of junior development plans that were developed by the case study VSCs in response to conditions levied on their awards and in interviews with respondents from critical organisations.

Goodwood, Sandown, and Aintree were all asked to implement structured development plans focusing on junior players. Those clubs that were not asked to implement such a plan had assumedly proved to Sport England that their provision was already adequate and sufficiently structured. Ascot though proves to be somewhat of an anomaly here because its provision was neither structured nor orientated towards sports development. Thus there may have been some discrepancy between Ascot's supposed provision in its Lottery application and its actual provision after it received the award. Alternatively, it may have been an oversight resulting from the inexperience inherent in the early operation of the Lottery Fund by Sport England.

Turning to mimetic pressures, these are thought to exert an influence in circumstances of environmental uncertainty therefore encouraging imitation of successful models. DiMaggio (1983: p. 151-152) states: "When goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organizations may... model themselves after similar organizations in their sector that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful". There is also the possibility that the focal organisation will imitate models of best practice provided by controlling organisations (i.e. Sport England or NGBs) in their environment because of the legitimacy afforded to the controlling organisations by their position.

Submitting their Lottery bids was a highly uncertain process for the VSCs used as case studies in this research. One would therefore expect to find a high level of mimetic isomorphism. However, contrary to theory there was a notable absence of explicit mimetic isomorphism by VSCs in the pursuit of Lottery funding. This was the case at the club-club level, probably explained by a lack of models to mimic, and at the club-controlling organisation level. Only Doncaster had taken influence from other indoor tennis centres but these centres were not Lottery funded. Only, Aintree and Doncaster participated in Lottery funding seminars organised by Sport England. The potential of these seminars to provide opportunities for mimetic isomorphism was limited because at the time Sport England was prevented from soliciting bids to its fund, so it could not be explicit about the qualities of a successful bid. Since the 1998 Lottery Act (DCMS, 1998) though, Sport England is permitted a more strategic approach. The lack of mimetic pressures, despite an uncertain environment, refutes neo-institutionalist's emphasis on structural cognition (e.g. Arndt and Bigelow, 2000; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Henisz and Delios, 2001) and lends support to the use of an old institutionalist approach e.g. Selznick (1996) (Latavish, 2001; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 1997). This finding may have been affected by the use of a realist rather than a constructivist ontology.

Coercive pressure was used by the VSCs' critical organisations and consequently commonly perceived by the VSCs. Two forms of coercive pressure were suggested by the literature; formal and informal (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Formal pressures are embodied in the legal framework and informal pressures are present in the cultural expectations of society constituting the proscriptions provided by normative pressures. The distinction between informal and formal coercion was operationalised through Oliver's (1991) predictive dimensions of voluntary and legally enforced diffusion of institutional norms respectively. None of the six clubs considered observing the conditions of Lottery funding as solely a legal matter. Two of the clubs saw adhering to the conditions as both a legal and a moral obligation and four clubs viewed complying with the conditions of their Lottery funding as a purely moral obligation. These VSC-Sport England relations are shown in Table 41. The fact that none of the VSCs viewed complying with the conditions of their funding as purely a legal obligation is testimony to the presence of an institutional environment exerting normative pressures based on a logic of appropriateness and coercive pressures based on rational action. This highlights one of the ambiguities in institutional theory as these findings are able to support two apparently contradictory theories of social action (Donaldson, 1995; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 1997; Latavish, 2001).

Table 41 also shows a different set of relationships existing between VSCs and their respective NGBs. The LTA exercised its financial power over Aintree to structure the club's planning and provision, demonstrating considerable coercion. In Doncaster's case the LTA has had two representatives sitting on the club's Project/Management Sub-committee since 1992 to ensure that LTA's interests are considered. Other than these, club-NGB relations were found to be moral in character because of the absence of resources, but the presence of legitimacy. Club-LA and club-County

Council relations followed the same pattern: where resources were exchanged, coercion was present and where legitimacy was conferred, moral obligation was felt.

Table 41: VSC relations with critical organisations

	Club	Critical organisation			
		Sport England	NGB	LA	County Council
Cricket	Newbury	MC	M	M	
	Goodwood	M	M	MC	MC
Football	Sandown	MC	M	M	M
	Ascot	M	M	M	
Lawn Tennis	Aintree	M	C	MC	MC
	Doncaster	M	C	M	M

C = coerced/legal M = moral MC = coerced/legal and moral

Oliver (1991) suggested that voluntary diffusion is more effective than coercion. This is upheld by the pattern of relationships in Table 41 with the exception of Aintree. Sport England's relationship with Aintree was mostly a moral one relying on voluntary diffusion but the funding conditions were only partially accepted by the club. Conversely, the LTA relied heavily on coercion and got the response it desired. It seems that VSC-Sport England normative relations were weaker than VSC-NGB normative and/or coercive relations. Therefore the strength of voluntary diffusion may be affected by the relationship that the focal organisation has with the pressuring organisation. Coercive relations though are likely to be of shorter duration than normative relations. So once a grant has been received or a loan repaid, coercive pressure decreases but does not cease completely because of the existence of monitoring and the possibility of legal action if the conditions of the grant/loan are broken. This supports the suggestion in section 4.2.2 that contrary to institutional theory the vertical inter-connections in the sports policy sector are not static but dynamic. This proposition is also supported by Ascot's case where the longer and stronger normative relationship with the GMFCYP prevailed over its moral obligation to Sport England, despite its dependence on the latter. It is also supported by the cases of Newbury and Sandown, which viewed keeping to the conditions of their funding as partly a legal obligation.

Essentially what occurred in Ascot's case was a conflict of institutions similar to that discussed by Mouritsen and Skoerboek (1995) where the institutions of accounting and the performing arts came into conflict in the context of the Royal Danish Theatre. The reason for Ascot's resistant response seems to lie in the conflict between the expectations of the sports policy sector and the VSC's own goals and its societal sector. Having only temporary dependence on Sport England and perceiving a low level of coercion to comply, Ascot was much more likely to remain true to the traditional norms, values and aims of its own societal sector which consists of like-minded clubs for young people and the GMFCYP. This is particularly true when the funding conditions that Sport England imposed would have required a fundamental change in Ascot's institutions if it were to have complied. Ascot therefore acted in a self interested, rational and expedient manner. This lends support to a rational theory of action that is tolerated more by old institutionalists, e.g. Selznick (1996).

Aintree's response of compromising with the institutional pressures through pacifying Sport England was less active than that of Ascot. Aintree was asked by Sport England to create a sports development plan focusing on junior and wheelchair tennis players. Despite much attention given to the junior players, on whom Aintree has always been focused, wheelchair players were neglected because they were not the subject of the club's goals despite a statement to the contrary in its Lottery Fund application. Therefore, the conditions of Lottery funding were only partially consistent with the club's goals. So instead of a clash of institutions, Aintree's response was more to do with a conflict of goals. Aintree's coach openly criticised the committee for taking an instrumental approach to targeting wheelchair players and not valuing their participation for its own sake. This is in contrast to the junior players for whom the club worked closely with the LTA to implement its junior development plan, in return

for which it received a three-racket rating. It seems that Aintree's stated aim of providing for wheelchair players has been de-coupled from the core of the club's activities leaving the Coach keen to develop wheelchair tennis but the club's administration disinterested in such provision. This raises the possibility that different parts of one organisation may respond differently to the same institutional pressure. This point is taken up in chapter 10. Once again though, rational action is evident in a VSC's behaviour.

Overall, normative and coercive institutional pressures were found to be at work in the sports policy sector carried through the social structure (authority and governance system) and the culture of the sector (rules, laws, values and expectations). Mimetic pressures were notably absent though. This contribution to theory will be developed in chapter 10. Normative and coercive pressures were exerted by Sport England as the central policy body in the sports policy sector and as distributor of Lottery funding, and were subsequently reinforced by other inter-connected critical organisations in the sports policy sector. However, the VSC-NGB relationship was found to be stronger than the VSC-Sport England relationship despite a high level of dependence on the latter. This was because of the temporary nature of the latter relationship. The sports policy sector was found to present a unified and coherent objective reality for those within it, particularly the case study VSCs with the exception of Ascot.

These findings have implications with regard to the ontology used by institutionalists and the theory of action upon which institutional pressures are predicated. It seems that the VSCs that acquiesced were governed more by a logic of appropriateness and less by rational action. That is, the VSCs felt socially obliged to comply because they had internalised or aligned with the normative pressures of the sector rather than because they stood to gain financially. In contrast those VSCs that demonstrated some form of resistance to their funding conditions can be said to have done so

because they acted rationally on their own self interests. This situation lends support to both theories of action and in turn to the use of a realist ontology. Furthermore, it lends support to the use of a version of institutional theory that is more akin to the old than the new institutionalism but as mentioned earlier it also highlights one of the ambiguities in institutional theory.

9.3 Organisational structure

It was found that the majority of all clubs in the telephone survey (58%) had experienced some structural change after receiving Lottery funding. Of these, 52% had developed a more bureaucratic structure and only 6% a less bureaucratic structure. The single largest score (zero) was that of an unchanged structure after receiving a Lottery grant (42%).

A sampling frame from which to select and survey a control group of VSCs without Lottery funding was not available. Therefore any significant difference in the structure of VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding and those without could not be established. This prevented any statistical association being established between receipt of Lottery funding and structural change. Qualitative investigation was therefore needed to explain why structural change or inertia had occurred.

The structural change for each case study is shown in Table 20. Of the six case studies only Ascot had reported absolutely no change in its structure in the telephone survey and this was subsequently confirmed through qualitative inquiry. Doncaster and Goodwood reported that their post-award structures had become less bureaucratic in contrast to Newbury, Sandown and Aintree whose structures had become markedly more complex. Only two clubs, Doncaster and Sandown directly

attributed some of their structural changes, whether negative or positive to their Lottery funded projects.

To oversee its application a Project Sub-committee was established by Doncaster, which became the Management Sub-committee when the project was realised. The club also appointed a professional Club Manager to ensure that the marketing and operation of the facility was successful. However, these increases in structural complexity were masked in the telephone survey by four of the nine unnamed positions on the main committee being dissolved. The dissolution of these committee positions represented a reduction in structural complexity. As the reduction in complexity was greater than the increase, the overall change in structure was a negative one. This highlights the inability of the survey to distinguish between the effects of Lottery funding on a VSC's structure and other potential sources of change.

The major change in Sandown's structure was its general re-orientation catalysed by its Lottery funded project. From having almost no structure and a fluid existence, Sandown now has one of the most elaborate and rationalised operations of all the case studies. The aim and constitution of Sandown was developed as a prerequisite for its Lottery Fund application. An elaborate sports development plan was drawn up as a condition of its grant. The plan necessitated a more complex structure if it was to be delivered to Sandown's increased membership attracted by the new pitch. Had Sandown not been so willing to develop, the structural changes would not have been so great. Nevertheless, the features of Sandown's current structure are directly attributable to its Lottery project.

Except Sandown, the other two clubs to experience positive structural change after their award were Newbury and Aintree. Aintree formalised its junior development programme in response to conditions on its Lottery funding. The majority of the

changes took place to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of Aintree's operation by increasing the number of named positions on the main committee and introducing additional sub-committees. However, the changes to the committee structure were not a condition of Aintree's Lottery funding or a response to receiving the funding. Rather the changes took place to improve the club's administration and would have occurred in the absence of Lottery funding according to the respondents. None of Newbury's changes took place as an effect of Lottery funding. Instead, like Aintree, the changes were of Newbury's own volition and made to improve its operation. In Newbury's case this required the addition of three sub-committees to focus on particular aspects of the club's operation.

Goodwood's slightly reduced structure after receiving its Lottery funding was a reaction to the club having a disproportionately large committee to the size of its membership, rather than as a result of the award. However, it did have to formalise its junior development programme as a condition of its funding from Sport England.

The conditions on Ascot's funding were not the kind of conditions that could be met by simple changes in structure or the formalisation of existing processes. Compliance with the conditions would have required at least a revision of Ascot's defining structures and institutions. So strong was the inertia amongst the committee that the respondents stated they would rather see the club cease to exist than compromise their values and alter the way the club operates.

In total, four of the case studies experienced change after implementing their Lottery projects, but only Doncaster and Sandown explicitly identified the changes as a result of their Lottery funded projects. Goodwood and Aintree had to formalise their junior provision in a development plan as a condition of their funding, but these changes were masked by other changes that occurred for reasons besides their projects.

So the impacts on a VSC's structure of Lottery funding are variable depending on the conditions attached to that funding. It has been demonstrated that Lottery funding sometimes has a dramatic impact on a VSC's structure as in the case of Sandown, and at other times no impact at all as in the cases of Ascot and Goodwood. However, it is not possible to suggest a causal relationship whereby receipt of Lottery funding from Sport England invariably causes structural change in VSCs. Indeed, to do so would be contrary to the critical realist philosophy of this research. Instead, it could be suggested that receipt of Lottery funding has the potential to cause structural change in VSCs, depending on the circumstances and context in which the funding is received.

Tomlinson (1979) believed that VSCs avoided developing a bureaucratic structure because it would represent a rejection of their informal origin and history. However, the evidence presented here refutes this. A more structured, elaborate and sophisticated approach to the operation of VSCs is apparent from the case studies of Sandown, Newbury, Doncaster and Aintree than Hoggett and Bishop (1985), Schlagenhauf and Timm (1976) and Tomlinson (1979) have suggested. A professional approach (as opposed to the employment of paid professionals) has clearly arrived in these VSCs bringing with it business plans, job descriptions and occasionally salaried employees. This contention is supported by literature examining European sports clubs (Heinemann and Schubert, 1999; Koski, 1999; LeRoux and Camy, 1999; Porro et al., 1999; Puig et al., 1999; Skirstad, 1999) and represents an addition to knowledge regarding the structure of VSCs in England. Increased professionalisation among VSCs is probably good for the performance of UK sport but it may be undermining some essential qualitative dimensions of these organisations (Gratton et al., 1997).

However, it would take further research to establish how widespread these developments are in the UK and to establish how different VSCs of the 21st Century are to those of the late 20th Century. Indications from the telephone survey are that the employment of professional administrators or indeed coaches is still rare. Despite this, further research with a much greater sample size is needed to establish whether the trend for professionalisation exists across all VSCs or just those predisposed to apply for Lottery funding.

9.4 Strategic response

Oliver's (1991) categories of response were used to identify the reactions of the case study VSCs to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector as channelled through Sport England's Lottery Fund. This allowed rational action to be accommodated by the theoretical framework. Possible strategies in response to institutional pressures were identified that ranged from acquiescence through compromise, avoidance, defiance to manipulation, with each of these strategies having three tactics.

Each VSC's response to the institutional pressures of the Lottery Fund were confined to less active responses as shown in Table 42. Four of the clubs acquiesced, adopting tactics of compliance. Initially it was predicted that the conscious act of applying to the Lottery Fund would preclude the responses of habit and imitation and this seems to have been confirmed suggesting a level of self interested behaviour.

The estimation of each club's response in relation to Oliver's (1991) predictive dimensions can be seen in Table 42. All the case study clubs were exposed to institutional pressures that were rooted in social-economic causes rather than separate social and economic causes. Thus the clubs perceived there to be a high

degree of legitimacy and economic gain available by conforming to the institutional expectations of the sports policy sector present in the expectations of Lottery funding. It is likely that a combination of acting rationally and in a socially appropriate manner led to these responses. Ascot, however, clearly felt that there was less pressure to act appropriately and comply with the expectations associated with funding from Sport England's Lottery Fund and instead acted on its own self interests.

The number of constituents in each club's environment that were involved in its Lottery bid varied from two for Ascot to ten for Sandown, although every club was highly dependent on the majority of their constituents. This was particularly true of Sport England, without which all VSCs said that they would not have been able to undertake their project. NGBs also played a significant role in legitimating and sometimes funding each VSC's Lottery project.

With such a high level of dependence on Sport England it could be suggested that the VSC-Sport England relationship was a coercive one. Table 41 largely refutes this. Only Sandown and Newbury perceived any level of coercion. Sandown believed it would not receive any funding if it did not do what Sport England wanted and Newbury believed compliance with Sport England's funding conditions was a legal, as well as a moral, obligation. The remaining case study VSCs perceived only moral pressure to observe Sport England's funding conditions.

The strategic response of each VSC was related to the degree of congruence between its goals and the generic and specific institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund. Ascot and Aintree, which exhibited resistant strategic responses, can be seen to have held goals that were not consistent with the specific conditions of their funding. It also appears that from these two cases the greater the conflict between the organisation's goals and the content of the institutional pressures

the more resistant the organisation's strategic response. Those clubs having consistent goals with their funding conditions acquiesced.

Correspondingly, the fact that Ascot and Aintree held goals in conflict with their funding conditions meant that these conditions would have represented constraints on their discretionary decision making powers had the conditions been met. This is particularly evident in Ascot's case, but the constraint was only potential because the club ignored Sport England's conditions. In Aintree's case it was not Sport England but the LTA that imposed very real constraints on the club's operation as a condition of its loan. A high level of dependence and its close relationship with the LTA precluded resistance though. Again though, the clubs that acquiesced found that the funding conditions had no impact on their autonomy and if anything these clubs had been enabled by their award.

In terms of the control predictor, all the case study clubs either reported that it was solely a moral obligation to comply with the institutional pressures of their funding or that it was both a moral and legal obligation. This is illustrated in tables 41 and 42. It is also reflected in the fact that some clubs believed Sport England to have few, if any, legal powers to enforce its funding conditions. Sport England's reliance on voluntary diffusion or normative commitment was high in all cases. The perception of minimal legal coercion is not linked to a more active response amongst these cases despite Oliver (1991: p. 167-168) suggesting that "the lower the degree of legal coercion behind institutional norms and requirements, the greater the likelihood of organizational resistance to institutional pressures".

Table 42: Predictors of response for each case study

		Football		Cricket		Lawn Tennis	
		Change	No change/ reduced structure	Change	No change/ reduced structure	Change	No change/ reduced structure
Institutional factor	Predictive dimension	Sandown White Star	Ascot	Newbury	Goodwood	Aintree	Doncaster
Cause	Legitimacy/social fitness	High	Low	High	High	High	High
	Efficiency/economic fitness	High	High	High	High	High	High
Constituents	Multiplicity of constituents	High	Low	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
	Dependence on constituents	High	High	High	High	High	High
Content	Consistency with organisational goals	High	Low	High	High	Medium	High
	Discretionary constraints imposed on organisation	Low	High	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Control	Legal control/coercion	High	Low	Medium	Low	High	Low
	Voluntary diffusion of norms	High	High	High	High	High	High
Context	Environmental uncertainty	High	High	High	High	High	High
	Environmental inter-connectedness	High	Low	High	High	High	High
Strategic response		Acquiescence	Avoidance	Acquiescence	Acquiescence	Compromise	Acquiescence
Tactic		Compliance	Concealment	Compliance	Compliance	Pacifying	Compliance
structural score		19	0	19	-4	30	-1

The last of Oliver's institutional factors is the context in which the institutional pressures are applied. All the clubs reported that the development and submission of their Lottery bids took place in a highly uncertain environment. It has already been noted that according to institutional theorists mimetic isomorphism operates in circumstances of uncertainty, thus encouraging compliance (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Within this research, each focal organisation reported uncertainty regarding the pursuit of funding from Sport England's Lottery Fund and this may have contributed to the four acquiescent responses. However, it is unlikely that such responses can be attributed to mimetic isomorphism for the reasons already given.

With a highly inter-connected environment the presence of alternatives to the institutional status quo in the sports policy sector is highly unlikely. This in turn makes resistance unlikely. Therefore, the perception of a coherent and unified environment by individual clubs seems to have been important in securing a compliant response. The case of Ascot whose two critical organisations clearly existed in separate institutional sectors makes this apparent. Ascot's environment was therefore not inter-connected. However, despite a highly inter-connected environment Aintree still made a resistant response although it was significantly less active than that of Ascot.

Based on these case studies, the key dimensions for predicting a VSC's strategic response to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector as conveyed through Sport England's Lottery fund are:

- The consistency of institutional pressures with the VSC's goals
- The level of perceived constraint imposed on the VSC's autonomy
- The level of inter-connectedness in the VSC's environment.

Although these dimensions were found to explain each case study's behaviour, they in no way represent causal laws, rather tendencies.

From Table 42 there also seems to be no substantial connection between strategic response and structural change. All the clubs that acquiesced experienced structural change whether becoming more or less bureaucratic. However, only Doncaster and Sandown linked their structural changes to their Lottery funded projects.

In both Doncaster's and Sandown's cases the particular structural changes that were linked to the Lottery project involved changes that increased the club's structural score. However, in Doncaster's case the Lottery invoked changes did not occur in isolation because they were masked by a greater number of changes that were not caused by the Lottery project and that reduced the VSC's overall structural score.

Neither does it seem that a resistant response is associated with structural inertia because Ascot, which avoided institutional expectations, made no changes but Aintree making a mildly resistant response achieved the highest structural score of 30.

The response of the six case study VSCs is unlikely to have been much more active than that of compromise and avoidance because they simply do not have the power to mount a more active response such as that of manipulating the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector. This is because as individual organisations VSCs cannot capitalise on their allocative and authoritative resources. They can only do this through collective action. Also some responses may have been removed from the normative order by 'non-issues' (Lukes, 1994). That is, the range of strategic responses has been predetermined by the normative order of the sports policy sector, thus removing certain options from consideration. Therefore, Oliver's (1991) strategic

responses may not be sensitive enough to the context of VSCs applying for Lottery funding from Sport England. Further research is needed though to assess the potential of the three predictors of response identified as pertinent to VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding.

Nevertheless VSCs were found to be active agents in responding to their environment. It is therefore essential that institutional theory is adapted to accommodate the agency and interests of organisations when it is applied to explain the behaviour of VSCs in the context of their inter-relations with other organisations in the sports policy sector. This can be achieved by adopting a theoretical position similar to Selznick (1996) that is sympathetic to rational action. However, institutional theory is not perfect for explaining the behaviour of VSCs' in receipt of Lottery funding and there are possible modifications to the framework given these findings which are taken up in the following chapter.

To conclude this chapter it is useful to restate its main findings.

1. The institutional norms and values of the sports policy sector are not upheld uniformly across all levels of the sector. The further from the core of the sector an organisation is located, the greater the likelihood of it resisting the institutional pressures of the sector. This is only a general trend that has been noted and there are exceptions to this.
2. The organisations critical to a VSC's application for Lottery funding are in some cases only temporarily critical. This arises from the dynamic nature of the inter-connections within the sports policy sector.
3. A VSC's long-standing normative and sometimes coercive relationship with its NGB is more influential than its short-term high dependence relationship with Sport England based around the pursuit of Lottery funding. Hence, when a NGB reinforces the institutional pressures conveyed through Sport England's Lottery

Fund, the VSC is less likely to make a resistant response to these pressures. The converse of this is that when a NGB does not wholly reinforce these institutional pressures it makes a resistant response more likely by the VSC.

4. In some cases VSCs and NGBs were found to be working much closer than anticipated to achieve mutual objectives.
5. Normative and coercive pressures were exerted through the social structure and, to a much lesser extent, the culture of the sports policy sector. A logic of appropriateness and rational action was therefore evident in VSCs' behaviour. Despite the presence of uncertainty no mimetic isomorphism was reported by any of the VSC case studies. This cannot be explained by neo-institutional theorists and lends support to the case for the use of a realist ontology.
6. The effect of Lottery funding from Sport England on a VSC's structure was variable. In some instances VSC's experienced great structural change while in others no effects were reported. Although this is the pattern of effects related to Lottery funding, there were clearly pressures distinct from those of the Lottery fund for a more professional approach to the operation of a VSC.
7. Some VSCs made resistant responses to the expectations and conditions of their Lottery funding which is essentially public money.
8. Three predictors of response best explained each VSC's response to the conditions and expectations of its Lottery funding. These were:
 - The consistency of institutional pressures with a VSC's goals
 - The level of perceived constraint on a VSC's autonomy
 - The level of inter-connectedness in a VSC's environment

The following chapter goes on to discuss the importance to theory of some of these findings. Questions for further research are also posed drawing on the issues raised in chapters 8 and 9.

10 Theory Development

The purpose of this chapter is to develop theory in the light of the cross-case conclusions drawn in the previous chapter. In doing this the chapter makes analytic generalisations to theory (Yin, 1994) and not statistical generalisations to a wider population of VSCs. To achieve the latter is the task of further research.

This chapter therefore starts by conceptualising the way in which the sports policy sector has become more structured or stratified by the normative distribution of Sport England's Lottery Fund. It then goes on to propose a model of VSCs' responses to Lottery funding in the light of the dynamic inter-connections in the sector based on the case studies in this research. Social network theory is then suggested as possible framework with which to overcome institutional theory's deficiencies. Finally, questions for further research are posed in relation to these theory developments and also in relation to findings in chapter 9.

10.1 The stratified sports policy sector

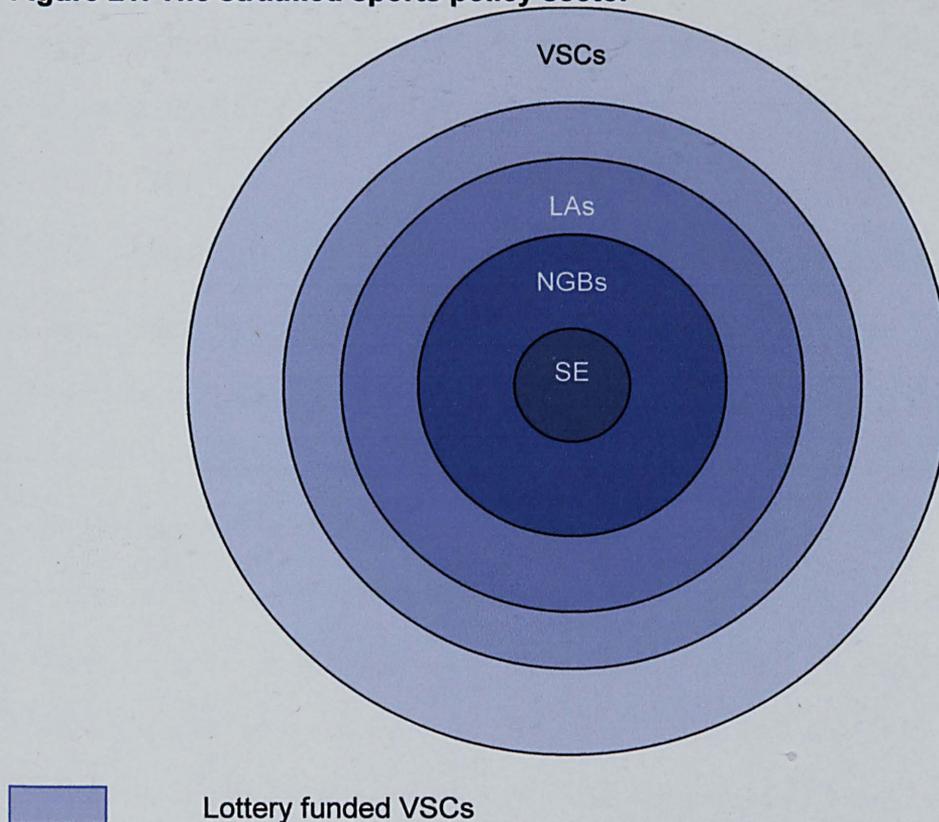
It was concluded in chapter 9 that there is a core-periphery variation in the way that the institutional prescriptions of the sports policy sector are upheld. Those organisations towards the periphery of the sector are perhaps less likely to faithfully uphold its norms and values than those at the core. Such reasons may include complying with or reinforcing institutional pressures to obtain Lottery funding from Sport England rather than complying because it is what the organisation truly believes in.

The introduction of Sport England's Lottery Fund has effectively created another strata or domain in the sports policy sector, see Figure 21. Within this new strata are

the VSCs in receipt of funding from Sport England's Lottery Fund. When applying for the first time, VSCs from the peripheral stratum consciously subject themselves to the institutional pressures of Sport England's Lottery Fund by deciding that they want to enter this new stratum containing Lottery funded clubs. VSCs therefore have the choice of exposing themselves to these pressures by deciding whether or not to enter the new strata. The knowledge that exposure to institutional pressures is temporary, or possibly sustained by choice, may influence a VSC's decision to apply for funding.

However, this does not mean that those VSCs deciding not to apply evade the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector altogether i.e. that organisational action occurs in a vacuum. Rather, societal pre and proscriptions are less acute towards the periphery of the stratified socially constructed reality that is the sports policy sector. This is evident in that some VSCs such as Newbury would already have complied with the institutional pressures of the new strata before receiving Lottery funding. This suggests that the boundaries of each stratum of the sports policy sector in Figure 21 are not absolute or impermeable. VSCs such as Sandown, Goodwood and Newbury may also be more committed to the norms and values of the sector than some LAs such as Carlisle City Council and Cumbria County Council that take an instrumental approach (Leach and Wilson, 1998) to supporting VSCs in seeking Lottery funding.

Figure 21: The stratified sports policy sector



Oliver fails to appreciate this core-periphery variation within the sports policy sector as she assumes that all organisations are equally and constantly exposed to the institutional pressures of their societal sector. Thus, she does not take account of the possibility that VSCs and LAs existing on the periphery of the sector are subject less to its core values and institutions. Also implicit in Oliver's assumption is a stimulus-response view of an organisation's behaviour. By this it is meant that organisations are first exposed to institutional pressures and then respond strategically given certain conditions. However, the reverse may also be true. Making an application to the Lottery Fund is of course a conscious act. By applying for and receiving money from the Fund and entering the direct link created by it between the centre and periphery of the sports policy sector, VSCs are voluntarily exposing themselves to a greater level of institutional pressure. VSCs can therefore just as easily make a strategic decision not to increase their exposure to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector.

The decision not to apply for or to reject an offer of Lottery funding could indicate a strategic response not considered by Oliver; that of 'no entry' into the new stratum of Lottery funded VSCs in Figure 21.

10.2 Dynamic inter-connections in the sports policy sector

It was noted in chapter 2 by the Home Office (1994), the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1995a), Nichols et al. (1998) and Russell et al. (1996) how funding received by local voluntary organisations from statutory bodies had become short term and targeted at specific policy objectives. It was suggested in section 4.2.2 that because of this trend the vertical linkages connecting VSCs to critical statutory organisations in the sports policy sector characterised by the award of funding are likely to be short term and dynamic rather than static. This possibility seems to have been borne out by all of the case studies with the exception of Sandown White Star. Sandown is submitting a further application to Sport England's Lottery Fund and its funding connection with Sport England has therefore remained more permanent than that of the other case study VSCs. Thus, the inter-connections created by a VSC with Sport England and LAs during the application for Lottery funding may not be ongoing, unlike the connection with its NGB. Therefore, VSCs are only temporarily dependent on organisations such as LAs and Sport England for funding.

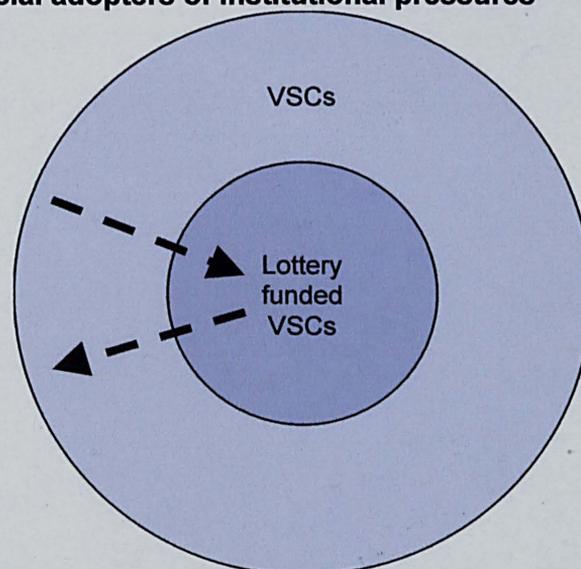
The dynamic nature of these inter-connections limits the duration over which normative pressure can be coercively reinforced. Temporal dependence is therefore likely to increase the chances of a resistant strategic response by a VSC to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector. After funding is received from Sport England the overall institutional pressure decreases as coercive pressure is reduced. Coercive pressure does not disappear altogether though as Sport England still has legal right to recover the value of a Lottery grant if it is found that the recipient is not

complying with the conditions of its award. However, other organisations critical to a VSC's bid may also be able to apply pressure for the VSC to conform to its funding conditions. Even in this situation VSCs may still make resistant responses. This is supported by Aintree's case whose relationship with Sport England was moral in character but was coercive and moral with its other critical organisations. As Table 41 shows, only two of the case study VSCs viewed their relationship with Sport England as coercive in anyway. In the remaining cases the relationship was considered a moral or normative one by the VSC, characterised by the voluntary diffusion of norms and normative alignment.

The temporary nature of the inter-connections with Sport England gave rise to three broad behaviours by the six VSC case studies in this research. These three are; superficial adoption, sincere adoption and pre-conformity. Superficial adoption was evident in Ascot and Aintree's behaviour when seeking lottery funding. The dependence of these superficial adopters on funding from Sport England is temporary, allowing them to superficially and temporarily conform to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund and then later to totally or partially reject these pressures. The VSCs exhibiting this instrumental behaviour move from the stratum containing non-Lottery funded VSCs by superficially demonstrating commitment to and alignment with the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector conveyed through the Lottery Fund for the purposes of obtaining funding. At this point the VSCs are dependent on Lottery funding and have a much closer and stronger relationship with Sport England than normal (see Figure 6). However, once the funding has been awarded the VSC is no longer dependent on receiving Lottery funding and its short-term relationship with Sport England is considerably weakened (see Figure 5). This allows the VSC to reject or only partially conform to its funding conditions and to return to the values, norms and behaviour of the non-funded VSC stratum of the sports policy sector.

Figure 22 illustrates this process within the stratified sports policy sector. These VSCs enjoy a longer normative relationship with their NGB than the short-term resource based relationship with Sport England. The VSC-NGB relationship can occasionally be coercive as in the case of the LTA. Consequently, the behaviour of VSCs in the most peripheral stratum seems to be influenced more by this long-term normative relationship with their NGBs. It is unlikely to be heavily influenced by a short-term relationship with Sport England unless the content of the relationship is reinforced by its NGB. Any change in the structure and operation of the VSC due to the conditions of its Lottery funding is therefore likely to be temporary, superficial or partial in an attempt to obtain Lottery funding. In this instance the changes may be de-coupled from the core of the VSC's operation because they do not fit the club's own goals or they restrict the clubs autonomy. However, changes to the VSC's structure and operation may have taken place through each VSC's own volition or to satisfy their NGB's expectations.

Figure 22: Superficial adopters of institutional pressures



The concept of de-coupling (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) proposes that an organisation may apparently comply with institutional pressures but in fact the structures

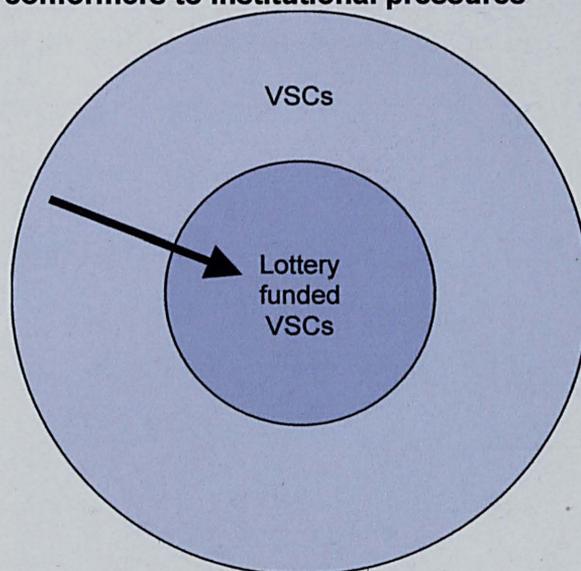
established in response to those pressures have been disconnected from its core operations. This allows the organisation to placate external demands and in doing so become more legitimate, but it also allows the organisation to continue unaffected by the pressures.

The evidence arising from Aintree's case suggests a possible addition to this concept. Different parts of Aintree Lawn Tennis Club reacted differently to the same institutional pressures. The coach representing the performance function of the club welcomed the condition on its award for a wheelchair tennis development plan, whereas the administrative side of the club represented by the committee did not. Consequently, two distinct parts of the same organisation reacted differently to the same pressure. In section 4.2.4 it was suggested that VSCs existed in weak technical environments. However, Levitt and Nass' (1989) finding that organisations existing in weak technical environments willingly accepted institutional prescriptions about how to operate is not supported by Aintree's case. This suggests that Aintree's technical environment may not be as weak as that of other VSCs such as Sandown and Doncaster, who wholeheartedly adopted the institutional prescriptions of the sports policy sector, that Levitt and Nass' proposition may not be applicable in this instance, or that the values and institutions of Aintree are not in harmony with those of the sports policy sector. It is not possible from this research to state which is correct as only further research could provide this answer, but it would seem that Aintree's administration did not share the sports policy sector's concern for promoting disability sport.

The next type of behaviour was exhibited by Sandown and is considered to be a sincere and wholehearted adoption of the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector. Just as with the superficial adopters, the VSC becomes more dependent on and closely linked to Sport England when applying for Lottery funding (see Figure 6).

Again the VSC moves from the stratum of the sports policy sector containing non-lottery funded VSCs by adopting the institutional prescriptions of the sector conveyed through the Lottery Fund. Once the funding is awarded the VSC returns to its normal pattern of relations with organisations in the sports policy sector, which are dominated more by its NGB (see Figure 5). However, because the VSC has sincerely adopted the institutional prescriptions conveyed through Sport England's Lottery Fund it does not return to the non-Lottery funded stratum of VSCs. Instead, because the VSC's behaviour has been aligned with the norms and values of the core of the sports policy sector, it remains within the stratum of Lottery funded VSCs (see Figure 23). This time, any changes made to the structure and operation of the VSC are connected to its core structure i.e. not de-coupled and are likely to be caused at least partly by the conditions of Lottery funding. Continued dependence on Sport England for further Lottery funding may also result in similar behaviour as evinced by Sandown.

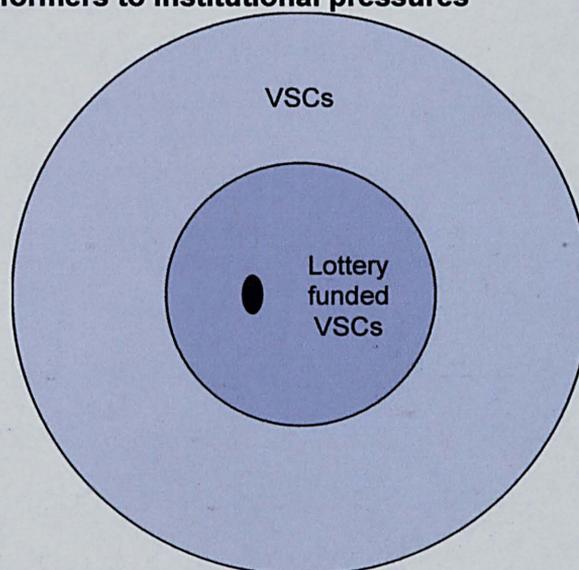
Figure 23: Sincere conformers to institutional pressures



The third and final type of behaviour found in this research was pre-conformist. This is where VSCs have already complied with the institutional prescriptions of the sports policy sector before applying to Sport England's Lottery Fund. Newbury, Goodwood

and Doncaster are cases in point here. These pre-conformers have already developed a structure and operation that complies with the institutional prescriptions of the sports policy sector and are therefore predisposed to receiving Lottery funding from Sport England. This has been developed without having additional contact with Sport England but through their day-to-day normative relations with their NGBs illustrated in Figure 5. Therefore, these VSCs already reside in the Lottery funded stratum demonstrating the permeability of the boundaries between the strata in the stratified sports policy sector. During their application for Lottery funding these VSCs are dependent in the short-term on Sport England but this dependence weakens once funding has been awarded. Despite this there are likely to be few if any conditions on the VSC's Lottery funding because they have pre-conformed to the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector and are already considered to operate in an acceptable and legitimate manner. Therefore the VSC remains within the new stratum of Lottery funded VSCs (see Figure 24). Consequently, there is unlikely to be any change in the structure or operation of the VSC caused by its Lottery funding but change may be present due to other reasons such as the VSC's own volition or competitive pressures between local VSCs.

Figure 24: Pre-conformers to institutional pressures



A key feature of all three behaviours is that the VSC seems to be influenced more by the long-term normative relationship with its NGB than the short-term relationship with Sport England, characterised by the award of funding to coercively reinforce normative pressures. Thus it may be the case that a VSCs' short-term high dependence relationship with Sport England based on the pursuit of Lottery funding, is weaker than the long-term normative relationship between a VSC and its NGB, which is only occasionally characterised by coercion and the pursuit of funding. Therefore, if the content and character of the institutional pressures conveyed through the Lottery Fund is not in keeping with the VSC's long-term normative relationship with its NGB then it is likely that the VSC will only superficially adopt the prescriptions of the sector, thus mounting a resistant response. This contention is supported by the case of Ascot that had a particularly strong relationship with an organisation (the GMFCYP) lying outside the sports policy sector. Also, Aintree's relationship with the LTA did not emphasise provision for wheelchair tennis as Sport England had done. Additionally, each VSC's organisational goals were not wholly congruent with the conditions of their Lottery funding and their autonomy was also threatened by the conditions. Thus a resistant response was evident.

Furthermore, the relationship held between Newbury, Goodwood and Doncaster and their respective NGBs is likely to have already exposed them to the institutional expectations of the sports policy sector conveyed through the Lottery Fund. This is likely to have prepared these VSCs unintentionally for the demands of Sport England's Lottery Fund, enabling them to pre-conform without conditions being attached to their award. This seems to be the case despite Aintree and Doncaster having the same NGB. In Sandown's case, its NGB did not subject the VSC to the institutional expectations of the sector prior to its Lottery bid in appreciation of Sandown's informal nature and context. However, the FA did support and reinforce

the expectations of Sandown's Lottery award. Although pertinent to the actions of VSCs used in this research, these models of VSC behaviour need further research to establish their relevance in relation to receiving Lottery funding from Sport England.

10.3 Social network theory

A notable finding of the research was that in some cases the distance between the VSCs and their NGBs had been reduced by the creation of inter-organisational linkages whereby the two organisations were working more closely towards a shared goal. Aintree, Newbury and Doncaster are the cases in point here. In the latter two cases NGB personnel regularly attended the VSC's committee meetings. This possibility was not acknowledged in the institutional literature, but would suggest the existence of a mutual institutional environment between the VSC and its NGB. This shortcoming can be overcome through the use of social network theory (Nohria and Eccles, 1992). Social network theory was initially rejected as a framework for this research on the basis that it assumed VSCs were located within a network of organisations and it therefore underestimated the independent nature of VSCs. Although VSCs may not be any more dependent on organisations in their sports policy sector, and therefore no less independent, it does seem that some VSCs have forged closer links with their NGBs.

"In sum a network perspective on organization-environment relations pushes beyond abstract notions of environmental uncertainty, resource dependencies, and institutional pressures" (Nohria, 1992: p. 6). When studying inter-organisation relations the social network perspective emphasises many similar tenets to those used in this research but also extends its interests to intra-organisation relations. Nohria (1992) lays out its key themes:

- 1: All organisations are social networks

2. An organisation's environment is seen as network of other organisations
3. Networks constrain actions and in turn are shaped by them
4. The actions of actors within organisations and of organisations within environmental networks can be best explained by their position in the network of relations
5. The analysis of organisations must take into account the characteristics of the network within which they are embedded.

Additionally, Nohria (1992: p. 6) criticises organisation theory for ignoring "how the network of relationships that emerges over time as a result of alliances between [organisations] shapes and constrains the strategic conduct of [organisations] involved in them".

Social network theorists therefore direct attention to all linkages that a VSC may have with organisations in its environment, whereas institutional theorists are only concerned with those organisations sharing a VSC's societal sector. However, like the version of institutional theory used in this research social network theorists highlight the importance of the nature of the network within which the VSC is located, the power relations that exist in the network and the temporal and dynamic nature of that network.

With regard to the finding of this research that the distance between some VSCs and their NGBs had been reduced by the creation of much closer inter-organisational linkages, social network theory suggests the boundaries of the two organisations have become blurred in the pursuit of their complementary objectives. No longer does the focal organisation have an arms length relationship with the environment but a relationship that is mutually pervasive with less clear and fixed boundaries. For Child (1997) this indicates that the environment of organisations has an institutional

character and, indeed, that people inside and outside the formal limits of an organisation may share institutionalised norms and relationships. In this view Newbury, Doncaster and Aintree have become closer to their NGBs. These VSCs have therefore been drawn into closer links with their societal sector and if it did not already, the relationship between the organisations now has an unavoidable institutional nature as well as being characterised by the task or objective. Although perhaps not pursuing precisely the same objectives, these VSCs and their NGBs are working closer together in order to achieve their own individual objectives which have become more similar. This may explain why Aintree rejected Sport England's condition of implementing a wheelchair tennis development plan but conformed to its other condition of implementing a junior development programme. Social network theory would suggest that Aintree was much more closely linked to the LTA than Sport England and as the LTA did not encourage the development of wheelchair tennis within the VSC, as it did with junior tennis, the former condition was neglected.

The increasing intensity of inter-organisational linkages between VSCs and their NGBs may be the result of an increasing dependence relationship between the two. With the increased quantity and quality of facilities provided by these VSCs through the Lottery Fund, NGBs are now realising that they can and will have to rely increasingly on voluntary provision to achieve their objectives. The same may increasingly be said of LAs' relationship with VSCs within their boundaries and also of Sport England, which needs the co-operation of Lottery funded VSCs if it is to achieve its policy objectives. Thus it seems that the co-operation of VSCs is essential if Sport England, NGBs and LAs are to achieve their sports policy objectives. Also, the importance of VSCs with Lottery funded facilities to these organisations has been consolidated. These dependencies are not unidirectional though as the VSCs require the legitimisation and sometimes the financial resources of NGBs and LAs to secure Lottery funding from Sport England. Although these inter-dependencies are clearly

two-way, the dependence of VSCs on NGBs and LAs for legitimisation and possibly resources is short lived compared to the dependence of NGBs and LAs on VSCs and their facilities for the realisation of their objectives. The inter-dependent relationship between Sport England, NGBs, LAs and VSCs existed before Sport England's Lottery Fund was introduced, but what the Lottery Fund has done is to increase the importance of those VSCs with facilities crucial to the fulfilment of their objectives. For instance, where a VSC receives funding for facility that is used by its NGB for performance coaching, when no such coaching was previously possible.

The creation of inter-organisational linkages or inter-dependencies as Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) call them is not beyond the explanatory power of the institutional framework but what was not anticipated was that the boundaries between a VSC and its NGB would become blurred. Further research therefore needs to be done to establish the utility of social network theory to the context of VSCs. If proven to be adequate institutional and resource dependency theorists would need to consider its relevance.

These greater inter-dependencies have implications for power relations within the sports policy sector. The additional facilities produced by the Lottery Fund and located in VSCs has increased VSCs' collective power by allowing them to accrue greater allocative resources (Giddens, 1984). Although still against them, the balance of power has moved towards VSCs from where it used to be in their relations with the actors of the sports policy sector. This shift in power is also likely to be minimal as the proportion of all VSCs in receipt of Lottery funding is small. Nevertheless, VSCs' greater allocative resources may explain NGB's moves to foster closer links with individual VSCs used as case studies in this research as an effort to maintain influence over the use of the facilities. VSCs also benefit from these closer links as it assigns them legitimacy within the sports policy sector.

Institutional theorists cannot account for the lack of mimetic pressures exerted on the VSCs. In this instance uncertainty was present but the absence of models legitimated and approved through a successful Lottery bid from Sport England meant focal organisations had no successful organisations to mimic. Therefore, mimetic isomorphism is unlikely to occur when organisations are breaking new ground such as the early applicants to Sport England's Lottery Fund. This is especially true when there are few opportunities for mimetic isomorphism offered by controlling organisations in the societal sector. In this instance, institutional theorists clearly do not take into account the nature and context of the network within which the VSC is located, as social network theorists would.

10.4 Questions for further research

Developments to theory have been suggested above but research often produces more questions than it sets out to answer. Based on the findings and conclusions in chapter 9 and the discussion in the present chapter, questions for further research are now posed to close this thesis. Questions exist on two levels: those directly relevant to subject of this thesis and those of a broader nature. Questions continuing from this research include:

1. How useful are the superficial adopter, sincere adopter and pre-conformer models to explaining VSCs' responses to Lottery funding?
2. How useful is social network theory (Nohria and Eccles, 1992) to explaining the response of VSCs to Lottery funding from Sport England? Can it provide a better explanation than Meyer and Rowan's (1977) concept of decoupling about the different ways in which the performance and administration operations of Aintree responded to the institutional pressures of its Lottery funding?

3. Is the pattern of structural change found in the telephone survey representative of all VSCs awarded Lottery funding from Sport England?
4. Is the pattern of structural change found in the telephone survey representative of all VSCs?
5. How common is it that VSCs ignore the conditions of their Lottery funding?
6. In relation to Levitt and Naas' (1989) proposition that weak technical environments encourage the sincere and wholehearted adoption of institutional pressures, is it the case that VSCs resisting the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector exist in stronger technical environments than anticipated? Alternatively, is it the case that VSCs resisting the institutional pressures of the sports policy sector experience conflict between these and the club's own values and institutions?

On a broader level, the following research questions arise:

7. If structural change is common place among VSCs, what are the implications of this for the recruitment and retention of volunteers within VSCs?
8. Given VSCs dependence on voluntary labour (Burgess, 1996; Gratton et al., 1997; Taks et al., 1998), what effect will VSCs' ability to recruit and retain volunteers have on their ability to perform the role outlined for them in A Sporting Future for All (DCMS, 2000)?
9. Have Sport England's, NGBs' and LAs' views of VSCs' role in sports policy and provision changed in the light of VSCs' increased allocative resources? Are VSCs seen more as a policy partner now or just a more effective policy tool?
10. Are Oliver's (1991) strategic responses to institutional pressures relevant to the relationships between NGBs and Sport England? Coming under the same type of institutional pressure, only reinforced with greater and continuous coercion due to established funding agreements, are NGBs able to effect resistant responses to institutional pressures from Sport England? If NGBs are able to make resistant

responses, do they take the opportunity to do so and what form does this response take in relation to Oliver's strategies?

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Appendix 1: Interview schedules for phase one

Senior Lottery Monitoring Officer

Introduction

1. How does Sport England view the voluntary sector in sport and what is the Sport England's relationship to this sector?

Nature of Agreement

2. Does the award of Lottery funding change the nature of the relationship between Sport England and (a) VSCs, and (b) the voluntary sports sector in general?
3. Are the funding agreements with each VSC generic or highly individual?
4. How are the conditions decided upon?
5. Does Sport England give advice on how to fulfil the conditions of the award?
6. Do VSCs have to specify how they intend to meet the conditions of the award?
7. Does the task of meeting the conditions cause a separation of a VSC's purpose and the members' motive for association?
8. How aware are VSCs of the implications of managing an award?

Matching funding

9. Where do VSCs generally obtain their matching funding?
10. Do private sector funders establish their own funding agreements with VSCs? If so what effects does this have on clubs?
11. Do VSCs have difficulty in meeting the requirement that they must raise 10% of the grant themselves?

VSC structure

12. Have any changes in VSCs' structure been noted as a result of the award?
13. Does the number of volunteers increase within the VSC?
 - supply or demand driven?
14. What effect does the award have on the volunteers within the VSC?
15. In the light of increased membership and usage in Lottery funded VSCs has there been a corresponding decline in membership and usage of VSCs without Lottery funding?

Monitoring

- 16..What does the process of monitoring involve?
 - every VSC?
 - how often?
17. What action can be taken if a VSC fails to meet the conditions of the award?

18. Are there generalisable characteristics of VSCs which manage their awards satisfactorily and those that do not?
19. What is meant by “a professional and business-like approach to club management”?
20. What is Sport England’s ideal “template of good practice” and how is this developed?

Education and Training Programme Manager

21. What's your role in Sport England?
22. How does Sport England view the voluntary sector in sport, policy tool or partner?
23. What are Sport England's policies towards the voluntary sports sector?
24. What type of VSC is Sport England attempting to foster through its policies?
(values)
25. How does Sport England encourage VSCs to share its vision and gain their co-operation?
26. What channels of influence does Sport England have over the voluntary sector?
27. How do VSCs respond to this?
28. What additional forms of funding and advice does Sport England offer the voluntary sports sector?
29. Is it the case that volunteers are becoming harder to recruit and retain? Why?
30. Do NGBs have their own approach to VSCs or do they largely pursue Sport England's objectives?

Senior Lottery Case Officer

31. What is your role in Sport England?
32. What objectives is Sports England trying to fulfil by awarding money to voluntary sports clubs?
33. How was the application procedure developed?
34. How many applications do you get a week?
35. How many of those would go through to be successful?
36. Do you think the quality of applications is increasing with experience?
37. Is it your experience that VSCs tend to have difficulty finding partnership funding?
38. What would you say are the main characteristics of a successful bid?
39. What is the chance of VSCs that have already received Lottery funding, getting another award?
40. Do you have any established systems for gaining feed back from your applicants?
41. Do you provide examples of best practice to VSCs?
42. If an application gets recommended to the panel how does the panel decide on the additional conditions of the award?
43. How often are the Running Sport seminars used as a condition an award?
44. If a VSC is successful are there ways to legally ensure that the club follows through on their promises?

Appendix 2: Internal case study interview schedule

Aims

1. What is the aim of the club and what are its goals?
2. Have these changed from before the Lottery award?

Lottery Bid

3. How much contact did you have with Sport England prior to your Lottery bid?
4. When did the club first decide to apply for Lottery funding?
5. Why did the club decide to apply?
6. How vital was it that the club built the facility?
7. Could the club have obtained funding from other sources for the facility?
8. How dependent was the club on other organisations for matching funding for the Lottery Bid?
9. Was this funding conditional?
10. Was the club successful with its first application?
11. Can you outline the content of the Sports Development Plan drawn up as part of the bid?
12. Why did you chose to develop the club in this way or chose these aspects of the club to be developed? (internal and external)
13. Were there any external pressures to develop the club in certain ways which were ignored or resisted?
14. How central or important is the Sports Development Plan to the club?
15. Did you have any help or seek any advice from people outside of the club such as a Local Authority Sports Development Officer, a Lottery Officer from your National Governing Body, or from the Sports Council Lottery Unit?
16. Did you contact any other clubs that had experience of applying for Lottery funding?
17. Why did you decide to do that?

Operation and Structure

18. Do you feel that the club's autonomy or discretion has been affected by the award?
19. How are the conditions of the award enforced and why do clubs keep to them?
20. Has Sport England contacted you since the award for monitoring purposes?

21. How much influence does your National Governing Body have over the way in which the club is run?
22. How much contact did you have with your National Governing Body before the award?
23. How much influence does the Local Authority or the County Council have in the way the club is run?
24. How much contact did you have with the Local Authority or County Council before the award?
25. How have you found the implementation of the Sports Development Plan?
changes
delays
unforeseen problems / benefits
26. How has the Sports Development Plan impacted upon the club?
size of the club - members & facilities
hours of usage and usage figures
number of fixtures

volunteers

numbers
time
skills / training
role descriptions
responsibilities

committee

roles
time
skills / training
role descriptions
responsibilities

Has the constitution been affected?

Have any specialist or professional staff been introduced?

Organisational structure of the club and the committee - organisation chart

Document Checklist

Copy of bid	
Award letter	
Club constitution pre-bid	
Club constitution post-award	
Any monitoring literature	
Copies of correspondence between SE and the Club	
Organisation chart pre-bid	
Organisation chart post-award	
Minutes of committee meetings	
AGM minutes	
Job descriptions pre-bid	
Job descriptions post-award	

Contacts

Local Authority Sports Development Officer	
National Governing Body	
Club committee contacts	

Appendix 3: External case study interview schedule

1. Can you explain a little bit about your position and your role?
2. Do you have an overall strategy to guide your funding decisions?
3. How is this strategy decided upon?
4. What are your objectives when providing such funding?
 - Priorities - why
 - Are they shared by the applicants
5. What kind of projects do you fund?
6. What is the rationale behind funding VSCs?
7. Can you outline your application process?
8. What preconditions must an applicant meet if they are to receive funding from you?
 - what's the purpose of these
 - do any of the applicants have to change to meet with these preconditions?
9. Are any conditions attached to the funding and if so why?
 - (economic or social fitness)
 - are they shared by the applicant
10. How are these conditions enforced and how regularly are checks made on receiving bodies?
 - Moral / legal obligation
11. Are VSCs dependent on the funding available from you?
12. How similar are the conditions that you place on funding to those of Sport England's Lottery Fund?
13. Is this the same for other funding sources?
14. Do you offer advice as well as funding to help applicants to Sport England's Lottery Fund?
15. How vital is your advice to VSCs?
16. How important is it that VSCs in this area are successful in seeking Lottery funding?

Appendix 4: Post-pilot telephone questionnaire

Opening Statement

Hi there, is that / can I speak to "name of person"

My name is Richard Garrett. I'm conducting research for my Ph.D. at Sheffield University. I'm researching the effect of Lottery funding on voluntary sports clubs and I believe that you're the secretary of the "name of club"? I also believe that "name of club" received Lottery funding in 1996?

As part of my research I'm conducting short telephone interviews with the secretaries of voluntary sports clubs across England that were awarded Lottery funding in 1996. The interviews only take less than 10 minutes and I'd quite like to interview you to see what impact the Lottery has had on your club. Any information given will be treated as confidential and anonymous and the research is no way connected to the English Sports Council or your National Governing Body. Would you like to participate in the interview.

Yes = Would it be OK to do the interview now?

No = Would another time be more convenient?

No = Do you think anyone else on the committee would be willing to participate in the survey?

Questionnaire Code

Background Information

Name of club _____

For what Sport was the grant awarded? _____

	Code		Code
Angling	1	Racketball	19
Archery	2	Rowing	20
Athletics	3	Rugby League	21
Basketball	4	Rugby Union	22
Bowls	5	Sailing	23
Boxing	6	Shooting	24
Canoeing	7	Sub-Aqua	25
Caving	8	Table Tennis	26
Cricket	9	Lawn Tennis	27
Dragon Boat Racing	10	Trampolining	28
Football	11	Wrestling	29
Gliding	12	Exercise and Fitness	30
Golf	13	Multi-Sport	31
Gymnastics	14		
Hockey	15		
Mountaineering	16		
Netball	17		
Orienteering	18		

1) Where did the club find the money with which to match the Lottery funding?

self funding

external private sponsorship

local authority

FSA

NGB

charitable source

non-cash contribution

combination of the above

other please specify _____

don't know

2) What type of facilities were provided by the Lottery award? Chose any from;

playing facilities

major permanently based equipment

essential support facilities

refurbishment scheme

purchase of land / water / facilities

other please specify _____

don't know

3) Was a club constitution developed or altered as part of the bid?

no	0
altered	1
developed	2
don't know	999

4) What did the club have to provide as a condition of the Lottery award? Chose any from;

- joint use with other sport clubs
- creation of junior section provision go to Q5
- external management of facility
- community use go to Q6
- disabled access
- other please specify _____
- nothing
- don't know go to Q7

5) Has a specialist junior coach been appointed?

- no 0
- yes 1
- don't know 999

6) How many hours of community use per week are stipulated? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

7) What is the number of members in the club at present, including junior, senior and social members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

8) What was the number of members in the club before the lottery bid, including junior, senior and social members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

Volunteers

9) What is the number of volunteers within the club at present, excluding all committee members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

10) What was the number of these volunteers before deciding to apply for lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

11) Do non-committee volunteers receive training in their roles at present?

no	0
some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

12) Did non-committee volunteers receive training in their roles prior to the Lottery bid?

no	0
some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

13) Do job descriptions exist for non-committee volunteers at present?

no	0
for some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

14) Did job descriptions exist for non-committee volunteers before the application for lottery funding?

no	0
for some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

15) Since the award have the number of non-committee volunteer responsibilities

increased	1
decreased	2
not changed	3
don't know	999

Committee Volunteers

16) How many positions exist, whether occupied or not, on the committee at present?
Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

17) How many positions existed, whether occupied or not, on the committee before
the lottery bid? Please state number _____ (code as number:
999 = don't know).

18) Is training given to committee members during their time on the committee?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

19) Was training given to committee members during their time on the committee
prior to the lottery bid?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

20) Do job descriptions exist for committee volunteers at present?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

21) Did job descriptions exist for committee volunteers before the application for
lottery funding?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

22) Since the award have the number of committee responsibilities

increased	1
decreased	2
not changed	3
don't know	999

Professional Positions

23) How many paid professional positions did the club have immediately prior to the lottery bid. Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 24

If 0 go to Q 27

24) What were these paid professional positions?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| committee positions | 1 |
| non-committee positions | 2 |
| both | 3 |
| don't know | 999 |

25) Were any paid professional positions dissolved as a result of applying for and being awarded Lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 26

If 0 go to Q 27

26) What were these paid professional positions that were dissolved as a result of applying for and being awarded Lottery Funding?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| committee positions | 1 |
| non-committee positions | 2 |
| both | 3 |
| don't know | 999 |

27) How many paid professional positions does the club have at present? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 28

If 0 end of questionnaire

28) What are these paid professional positions?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| committee positions | 1 |
| non-committee positions | 2 |
| both | 3 |
| don't know | 999 |

29) How many paid professional positions were created as a result of applying for or being awarded Lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 30

If 0 end of survey

30) What were the paid professional positions that were created as a result of applying for or being awarded Lottery funding?

committee positions	1
non-committee positions	2
both	3
don't know	999

End of survey

Appendix 5: Pilot telephone questionnaire

Opening Statement

Hi there, is that / can I speak to "name of person"

My name is Richard Garrett. I'm conducting research for my Ph.D. at Sheffield University. I'm researching the effect of Lottery funding on voluntary sports clubs and I believe that you're the secretary of the "name of club"? I also believe that "name of club" received Lottery funding in 1996?

As part of my research I'm conducting short telephone interviews with the secretaries of voluntary sports clubs across England that were awarded Lottery funding in 1996. The interviews only take less than 10 minutes and I'd quite like to interview you to see what impact the Lottery has had on your club. Any information given will be treated as confidential and anonymous. Would you like to participate in the interview.

Yes = Would it be OK to do the interview now?

Before we make a start if I could quickly outline a few details about the questionnaire to insure that each survey interview is as standardised as possible.

There are four sections. Each section contains two types of questions. The first type requires you to chose the most appropriate answer from a list of possible responses which I'll read to you. The second type of question requires you to give an answer without being given a list of possible responses. I'll make it clear how you're required to respond for each question.

If you do not understand a question, then I'll repeat it for you. If, after being repeated twice, the question remains unclear then I'll move on to the next question.

Is that all clear? Can we make a start?

No = Would another time be more convenient?

No = Do you think anyone else on the committee would be willing to participate in the survey?

Questionnaire Code

Background Information

Name of club _____

For what Sport was the grant awarded?

	Code		Code
Angling	1	Racketball	19
Archery	2	Rowing	20
Athletics	3	Rugby League	21
Basketball	4	Rugby Union	22
Bowls	5	Sailing	23
Boxing	6	Shooting	24
Canoeing	7	Sub-Aqua	25
Caving	8	Table Tennis	26
Cricket	9	Lawn Tennis	27
Dragon Boat Racing	10	Trampolining	28
Football	11	Wrestling	29
Gliding	12	Exercise and Fitness	30
Golf	13	Multi-Sport	31
Gymnastics	14		
Hockey	15		
Mountaineering	16		
Netball	17		
Orienteering	18		

1) Where did the club find the money with which to match the Lottery funding?

- self funding
- external
 - private sponsorship
 - local authority
 - charitable source
 - non-cash contribution
 - combination of the above
 - other please specify _____
 - don't know

2) What type of facilities were provided by the Lottery award? Chose any from;

- playing facilities
- major permanently based equipment
- essential support facilities
- refurbishment scheme
- purchase of land / water / facilities
- other please specify _____
- don't know

3) Was a club constitution developed or altered as part of the bid?

- | | |
|------------|-----|
| no | 0 |
| altered | 1 |
| developed | 2 |
| don't know | 999 |

4) What did the club have to provide as a condition of the Lottery award? Chose any from;

- joint use with other sport clubs
- creation of junior section provision go to Q5
- external management of facility
- community use go to Q6
- other please specify _____
- nothing
- don't know go to Q7

5) Has a specialist junior coach been appointed?

no	0
yes	1
don't know	999

6) How many hours of community use per week are stipulated? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

7) What is the number of members in the club at present, including junior, senior and social members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

8) What was the number of members in the club before the lottery bid, including junior, senior and social members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

Volunteers

9) What is the number of volunteers within the club at present, excluding all committee members? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

10) What was the number of these volunteers before deciding to apply for lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

11) Do non-committee volunteers receive training in their roles at present?

no	0
some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

12) Did non-committee volunteers receive training in their roles prior to the Lottery bid?

no	0
some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

13) Do job descriptions exist for non-committee volunteers at present?

no	0
for some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

14) Did job descriptions exist for non-committee volunteers before the application for lottery funding?

no	0
for some but not all	1
yes	2
don't know	999

Committee Volunteers

15) How many positions exist, whether occupied or not, on the committee at present?
Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

16) How many positions existed, whether occupied or not, on the committee before
the lottery bid? Please state number _____ (code as number:
999 = don't know).

17) Is training given to committee members during their time on the committee?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

18) Was training given to committee members during their time on the committee
prior to the lottery bid?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

19) Do job descriptions exist for committee volunteers at present?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

20) Did job descriptions exist for committee volunteers before the application for
lottery funding?

no	0
for some positions	1
yes	2
don't know	999

Professional Positions

21) How many paid professional positions did the club have immediately prior to the lottery bid. Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 24

If 0 go to Q 27

22) What were these paid professional positions?

committee positions	1
non-committee positions	2
both	3
don't know	999

23) Were any paid professional positions dissolved as a result of applying for and being awarded Lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 26

If 0 go to Q 27

24) What were these paid professional positions that were dissolved as a result of applying for and being awarded Lottery Funding?

committee positions	1
non-committee positions	2
both	3
don't know	999

25) How many paid professional positions does the club have at present? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 28

If 0 end of questionnaire

26) What are these paid professional positions?

committee positions	1
non-committee positions	2
both	3
don't know	999

27) How many paid professional positions were created as a result of applying for or being awarded Lottery funding? Please state number _____ (code as number: 999 = don't know).

If 1 or more go to Q 30

If 0 end of survey

28) What were the paid professional positions that were created as a result of applying for or being awarded Lottery funding?

committee positions	1
non-committee positions	2
both	3
don't know	999

End of survey

Appendix 6: Case study sources

Sandown White Star FC

1. Interview, Secretary and Bid Organiser, Sandown White Star FC, Sandown, 20.8.99.
2. Interview, Treasurer, Sandown White Star FC, Sandown, 20.8.99.
3. Interview, Chairman Sandown White Star FC, Sandown, 20.8.99.
4. Interview, Lottery Link Officer, Cumbria County Council, and Chairman Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA), Carlisle, 24.11.99.
5. Interview, Secretary Cumberland Football Association, Workington, 14.2.00
6. Interview, Secretary to the Trustees, Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool, 13.12.99.
7. Letter from the Sports Council highlighting faults in Sandown FC's application to the Lottery Sports Fund, 10.7.95.
8. Response to 8 by Sandown FC, 13.12.95
9. National Lottery Consultation Form completed by Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA), 6.6.95.
10. National Lottery Consultation Form completed by Cumberland Football Association (CFA), 2.4.95.
11. 'In-principle' Award Letter from the Sports Council, 4.7.96.
12. Sandown White Star FC Development Plan 1996.
13. Award Letter from the Sports Council, 6.2.97.
14. Letter to the Sports Council confirming the increased cost of Sandown FC's project, 24.11.99, containing;
 - letter from the Sports Turf Research Institute (STRI) supporting Sandown's claim for additional funding
 - form LP6 requesting increased funding due to increased costs
15. Award Letter from the Sports Council, 21.1.98, advising of increased award.
16. Guidelines for Applicants 1999, The Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool.
17. Conditions of Financial Assistance, Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool, June 1999.

Ascot Lads' Club

1. Interview, Secretary and Bid Co-ordinator, Ascot Lads Club, 4.8.99.
2. Interview, Chairman and Trustee, Ascot Lads Club, 8.11.99.
3. Interview, Chief Executive, Greater Manchester Federation of Clubs for Young People (GMFCYP) 8.12.99.
4. Completed Lottery Sports Fund Application Form, undated.
5. Ascot Lads' Club Annual Report 1997-1998.
6. Hill, H. (1949) The Story of Ascot: Sixty years of history of the Ascot Lads' Club 1888-1948, Manchester: Samson Ltd.
7. Minutes of Ascot Lads' Club Executive Committee Meeting 15.3.96
8. 'In-principle' Award Letter from the Sports Council, 13.5.96
9. Letter of response to 7 including programme of use for the available facilities, undated.
10. Grant Award Letter from the Sports Council, 29.7.96
11. Post-completion Monitoring Questionnaire completed by Ascot Lads' Club, undated.
12. Greater Manchester federation of Clubs for Young People (GMFCYP) publicity leaflet, undated.

Newbury Cricket Club

1. Interview, Secretary and Bid Co-ordinator, Newbury Cricket Club, Carlisle, 21st October 1999.
2. Interview, Treasurer, Newbury Cricket Club, Carlisle, 21st October 1999.
3. Interview, Junior Coach/Club Steward, Newbury Cricket Club, Carlisle, 21st October 1999.
4. Interview, Lottery Link Officer, Cumbria County Council, and Chairman Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA), Carlisle, 24th November 1999.
5. Interview, Sports Development Officer, Carlisle City Council, Carlisle, 15th February 1999.
6. Interview, County Development Officer, Kendall, Cumbria, English Cricket Board, 7th February, 2000.
7. Award letter from the Sports Council, 4th September 1996.
8. Monitoring literature and covering letter from the Sports Council, 9th March 1999.
9. Lottery Sports Fund Consultation form completed by Carlisle City Council, 10th January 1996.
10. Letter of award from Carlisle City Council, 13th November 1996.
11. Completed application for grant aid from Cumbria County Council, 28th November 1996
12. General conditions of funding from Cumbria County Council, undated.
13. Newbury Cricket Club's constitution, January 1995.
14. Membership and Fixture card, Newbury Cricket Club, 1998.

Goodwood Cricket Club

1. Interview, Fixture Secretary and Bid Co-ordinator, Goodwood Cricket Club, Brentwood, 25.11.99.
2. Interview, Chairman, Goodwood Cricket Club, Brentwood, 25.11.99.
3. Interview notes, Cricket Development Officer, Essex County Cricket Board. Chelmsford, 10.2.00.
4. Lottery Sports Fund application form completed by Goodwood Cricket Club including:
 - Project brief
 - Funding breakdown
 - Specification
5. Award Letter from the Sports Council, 7.3.96.
6. Letter to the Sports Council requesting increased funding, 23.4.96.
7. Award Letter from the Sports Council regarding increased funding, 13.6.96.
8. Goodwood Cricket Club's Business Plan, undated.
9. Goodwood Cricket Club constitution, undated.
10. Raising the Standard Directive, ECB, 1997.

Doncaster Tennis Club

1. Interview, Club Manager and Coach, Doncaster Tennis Club, Carlisle, 20th August 1999.
2. Interview, Chairman, Doncaster Tennis Club, Carlisle, 20th August 1999.
3. Interview, Lottery Link Officer, Cumbria County Council, and Chairman Cumbria Playing Fields Association (CPFA), Carlisle, 24th November 1999.
4. Interview, Secretary to the Trustees, Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool, 13th December 1999.
5. Interview, Sports Development Officer, Carlisle City Council, Carlisle, 15th February 1999.
6. Project brief: Aims, objectives and targets, undated.
7. Membership figures for 1993-99 provided by Club Manager.
8. Doncaster Tennis Club Constitution, undated.
9. Completed Lottery Sports Fund Application Form, undated.
10. Letter from the county LTA in support of Doncaster's Lottery bid, 1st December 1995.
11. 'In-principle' Award Letter from the Sports Council, 7th June 1996.
12. Award letter from the Sports Council, 28th January 1997.
13. Letter to the Sports Council from Doncaster Tennis Club informing the Council why the costs of the project had increased since the original bid, 16th April 1997.
14. Award letter from the Sports Council confirming an increase in the award, 21st May 1997.
15. Constitution of Doncaster Tennis Club (revised 1990).
16. Carlisle City Council's Sport and Recreation Strategy 1996-2001.
17. Carlisle City Council's sports facility strategy: 2001 a sports odyssey.
18. Guidelines for Applicants 1999, The Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool.
19. Conditions of Financial Assistance, Foundation for Sport and the Arts, Liverpool, June 1999.

Aintree Lawn Tennis Club

1. Interview, Secretary, Aintree Lawn Tennis Club, Aintree, 3rd August 1999.
2. Interview, President, Aintree Lawn Tennis Club, Aintree, 3rd August 1999.
3. Interview, Bid Organiser, Aintree Lawn Tennis Club, Aintree, 3rd August 1999.
4. Interview, Coach, Aintree Lawn Tennis Club, Aintree, 20th October 1999.
5. Interview, Local Access Officer and Sports Facilities Officer, Leicestershire County Council, Leicester, 23rd November 1999.
6. Completed Lottery Sports Fund Application Form, undated.
7. Letter from LTA to Aintree LTC confirming the LTA loan for the project and its conditions, 20th June 1995.
8. Financial projections for eight year club plan, dated 1994/5 season.
9. Anticipated cashflow projection for the pavilion extension, 31st August 1995.
10. Architect's plans for proposed alterations to the pavilion, January 1995.
11. Architect's project costing 14th March 1995.
12. Aintree LTC Development Plan 1993 (updated 1995).
13. Award letter from the Sports Council, 7th March 1996.
14. Leicestershire county recreation strategy, Leicestershire County Council, 1992.
15. The strategy: Sport through education, Leicester: English Sports Council (East Midlands), Rutland County Council, Leicestershire County Council, Leicester City Council, 1997.

Appendix 7: Relationship between the research issues, interview schedules and the template codes

Research Issue	Interview questions			Template codes
	Sport England interviews (Appendix 1)	Case study interviews		
		Internal/ VSC interviews (Appendix 2)	External/ critical organisation interviews (Appendix 3)	
1. To identify the critical organisations for voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding during the bid development and submission.	1,2,9,10	3,8,13,15,16	11,15	Resources Legitimacy
2. To identify the institutional pressures of the LSF to which voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding are exposed through the application, development and monitoring stages of their bid.	3,4,5,16,17,18,19,20,23,24,25,26,27,30,38,41,42,44	9,11,12,13,14,15,16,17	2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,12,13,14	Normative Mimetic Coercive
3. To identify how the structure of voluntary sports clubs may be affected by receiving Lottery sports funding.	12,13,14,15	1,2,11,18,19,21,22,23,24,25,26	None	Organisational size Centralisation of decision making Formalisation Specialisation Professionalisation

<p>4. To establish the responses of voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding to the institutional pressures of the LSF using Oliver's (1991) strategic responses.</p>	<p>16,17,18,19,20,25,26,27,41,44</p>	<p>1,2,3,5,6,7,8,13,18,19,20,21,22,23,24</p>	<p>8,9,10,12,13,14,11</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Strategic response</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Acquiescence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. habit ii. imitation iii. compliance b) Compromise <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. balancing ii. pacifying iii. bargaining c) Avoidance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. concealment ii. buffering iii. escape d) Defiance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. dismissing ii. challenge iii. attack e) Manipulation 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Predictors of strategic response</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Cause <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. social fitness (legitimacy) ii. economic fitness (efficiency) iii. socio-economic b) Constituents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. multiplicity of constituents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • multiple • few ii. dependence on constituents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high • low c) Content <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. consistency of pressures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consistent • inconsistent ii. constraint on autonomy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • restrictive • enabling d) Control <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. coerced diffusion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high • low ii. voluntary diffusion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high • low e) Context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. uncertainty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high • low ii. inter-connectedness of the field <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inter-connected • loosely connected
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Appendix 8: Final template for analysing qualitative and documentary data

Free Nodes

- Changed aims
 - Unchanged aims
 - Context
 - Institutional environment
 - Two-way dependence
 - Why apply?
- 1. To identify and map the critical organisations for voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery Sports Funding.**
 - a) Resources
 - b) Legitimacy
 - 2. To identify the institutional pressures of the Lottery Sports Fund to which voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding are exposed through the application, development and monitoring stages of their project.**
 - a) Normative
 - b) Mimetic
 - c) Coercive
 - 3. To identify how the structure of voluntary sports clubs, in terms of their level of bureaucracy, may be changing with receipt of Lottery sports funding.**
 - a) Organisational size
 - b) Centralisation of decision making
 - c) Formalisation
 - d) Specialisation
 - e) Professionalisation
 - 4. To establish the responses of voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding to the pressures of the Lottery Sports Fund using Oliver's (1991) strategic responses.**
 - a) Acquiescence
 - i. habit
 - ii. imitation
 - iii. compliance
 - b) Compromise
 - i. balancing
 - ii. pacifying
 - iii. bargaining

- c) Avoidance
 - i. concealment
 - ii. buffering
 - iii. escape

- d) Defiance
 - i. dismissing
 - ii. challenge
 - iii. attack

- e) Manipulation

5. Predictors of strategic response

- a) Cause
 - i. social fitness (legitimacy)
 - ii. economic fitness (efficiency)
 - iii. socio-economic

- b) Constituents
 - i. multiplicity of constituents
 - multiple
 - few
 - ii. dependence on constituents
 - high
 - low

- c) Content
 - i. consistency of pressures
 - consistent
 - inconsistent
 - ii. constraint on autonomy
 - restrictive
 - enabling

- d) Control
 - i. coerced diffusion
 - high
 - low
 - ii. voluntary diffusion
 - high
 - low

- e) Context
 - i. uncertainty
 - high
 - low
 - ii. inter-connectedness of the field
 - inter-connected
 - loosely connected

Appendix 9: Initial template for analysing qualitative and documentary data

- 1. To identify and map the critical organisations for voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery Sports Funding.**
 - a) Resources
 - i. Sport England
 - ii. NGB
 - iii. LA
 - iv. FSA
 - v. local sports council
 - b) Legitimacy
 - i. Sport England
 - ii. regional Sport England office
 - iii. NGB
 - iv. LA
 - v. local sports council

- 2. To identify the institutional pressures of the Lottery Sports Fund to which voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding are exposed through the application, development and monitoring stages of their project.**
 - a) Normative
 - b) Mimetic
 - c) Coercive

- 3. To identify how the structure of voluntary sports clubs, in terms of their level of bureaucracy, may be changing with receipt of Lottery sports funding.**
 - a) Organisational size
 - b) Centralisation of decision making
 - c) Formalisation
 - d) Specialisation
 - e) Professionalisation

- 4. To establish the responses of voluntary sports clubs in receipt of Lottery sports funding to the pressures of the Lottery Sports Fund using Oliver's (1991) strategic responses.**
 - a) Acquiescence
 - i. habit
 - ii. imitation
 - iii. compliance
 - b) Compromise
 - i. balancing
 - ii. pacifying
 - iii. bargaining

- c) Avoidance
 - i. concealment
 - ii. buffering
 - iii. escape

- d) Defiance
 - i. dismissing
 - ii. challenge
 - iii. attack

- e) Manipulation

5. Predictors of strategic response

- a) Cause
 - i. social fitness (legitimacy)
 - ii. economic fitness (efficiency)
 - iii. socio-economic

- b) Constituents
 - i. multiplicity of constituents
 - multiple
 - few
 - ii. dependence on constituents
 - high
 - low

- c) Content
 - i. consistency of pressures
 - consistent
 - inconsistent
 - ii. constraint on autonomy
 - restrictive
 - enabling

- d) Control
 - i. coerced diffusion
 - high
 - low
 - ii. voluntary diffusion
 - high
 - low

- e) Context
 - i. uncertainty
 - high
 - low
 - ii. inter-connectedness of the field
 - inter-connected
 - loosely connected

Appendix 10: Letter from Lottery Case Officer to Sandown White Star FC

10 July, 1995

Mr (Secretary)
103 Address Street
Sandown
Cumbria

Dear Mr (Secretary)

LOTTERY SPORTS FUND GRANT APPLICATION Sandown White Star

I have now had the opportunity to review your application in more detail and have to inform you that, as it stands, it is ineligible for funding. This is because you have not identified sufficient partnership funding and/or you have not identified sufficient funding from your own resources. These criteria are outlined in our information leaflet and reiterated on page 40 of the 'Guide to Project Development' and on pages 8 and 9 of our 'Guidelines for Applicants'.

However, your application can be re-activated should you be able to identify sufficient further sources of funding by **November 17th 1995**.

Also there are various aspects of the application which require clarification, I have highlighted these in the attached copy.

- 5.2. Is there no coaching/training programme available for your teams?
- 5.3. The percentage of participants aged under 16.
- 5.6. Is there a membership subscriptions or match fees system operated?
- 8.1. We need to know what your anticipated future income and expenditure will be on completion of the project (this should be illustrated in your income and expenditure projections a mandatory document in section 10.2).
- 9.4 & 9.5. Unanswered.
- 10.2. The following mandatory documents are missing.
 - detailed income and expenditure projections.
 - confirmation of the project finance

If you feel I have misinterpreted the information given in your application regarding project funding or you would like to discuss the matter please do not hesitate to contact me either in writing, or by telephone (between 2pm and 5pm Monday to Friday only please).

Your sincerely

National Lottery Case Officer

Appendix 11: Reply from Sandown White Star FC to its Lottery Case Officer

13 December 1995

Mr (Lottery Case Officer)
National Lottery Case Officer
The Sports Council

Dear Mr (Lottery Case Officer)

LOTTERY SPORTS FUND GRANT APPLICATION: Sandown White Star

Please find below amendments to various aspects of our original application as required by yourself.

- 5.2. There are no qualified coaches. However we do run structured coaching sessions by unqualified coaches. We have 6 coaches providing 4 hours weekly for adults and 12 hours weekly to under 16 year olds.
- 5.3. Approximately 72% of members are under 16%
- 5.6. (1) Spectator charges are voluntary contributions.
(2) We are currently investigating the introduction of an annual subscription charge payable by all members, with discounts for the youth and unemployed.
(3) There is a plying charge of £1 per match at open age level
(4) There is a training fee of £1 per session open age and 50p per session u16.
- 7.3. Other funding applied for:
(1) Parish Council £750
(2) County Council £750
(3) E.C. Objective 2 Priority 4 £15000
(4) FA £5000
(5) Foundation for sport & arts
(6) Football Trust
- 7.6. Voluntary contributions by club members: A member of the management committee is currently pursuing a career in project management. He will provide the project management on this project. We will need to be advised how this service can count towards the project costs.
- 8.1. See attached income & expenditure predictions.
- 9.4. The project will improve access to Bishops park for the disabled. We currently have one disabled youngster using the club.
- 9.5. Both sexes are encouraged to participate in games, females up to the age of ten (FA rules).
- 10.2. See attached.
- 11. Since the original application Sandown has been identified for European funding assistance for deprived areas. The moneys will be made available for suitable projects in the Sandown ward. This project has been given priority status by the Parish Council and the steering committee. The relevant section of the European Funding Priority 4 Strategy for Copeland is attached.

In October we had a feasibility study carried out by the STRI. At the time of writing we are awaiting their recommendations, and will forward them to you as soon as we can.

We have attempted to answer the questions referred to. However if you need further clarification of any points please contact me on the above number.

Yours sincerely

Secretary

Appendix 12: Sandown White Star FC's development plan

	Item	Target	Progress
Short term targets	Playing facilities	Improved facilities by August 1998	Achieved through Lottery funding
	Membership	Maintain membership at 120 for 2 years	Target not met, although membership numbers have been increased substantially
	Coaching	Two coaches to be trained to FA approved standards by the end of 1998	Not achieved due to a lack of convenient courses and volunteer pressures.
	Youth development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Five young people joining per year ii. Participation in an organised overseas / European Tournament within 5 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Target of five not met but young players joining continually ii. Not achieved as yet but time has not expired.
	Partnerships	Identify potential partnering opportunities within the next 12 months	Achieved as a condition of 21 year land lease from County Council. Link developed with local school and young persons' club.
Long-term Targets	Changing rooms	Construction of changing rooms within the next 5 years	Submission of a bid to Sport England's Lottery Fund
	Spectator accommodation	Construction of spectator accommodation within the next 10 years	Ongoing
	Continued improvement of Bishop's Park	Ongoing	Ongoing
	Saturday League status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Local leagues within 3 years ii. FA pyramid system within 10 years 	Club has one Saturday league team at present. Ongoing

**Appendix 13: Letter from Goodwood Cricket Club to Sport
England asking for a revised award**

Goodwood Cricket Club
23 April 1996

Lottery Case Officer
Lottery Sports Fund
Sports Council
PO Box 649
London
W1H 0QP

Dear Mr (Lottery Case Officer)

**YOUR REF:
LOTTERY SPORTS FUND AWARD REF:**

Thank you for your letter dated 7 March advising the award of a grant of £4,500 to assist with the purchase of a cricket roller.

I assume that the award is based on a percentage of our estimate of the cost of a new roller being £7,000. Subsequently we discovered that the cost of a new roller which would suit our requirements is £8,500 plus VAT and details of that roller were sent to you (Appendix 1).

The Club is not VAT registered so to acquire the new roller most suited to our needs the Club will have to raise approximately £5,500. Bearing in mind that we have just raised £15,000 to relay our cricket square an additional £5,500 may be difficult to find.

I recently spoke to a colleague of yours on the telephone to explain our problems and we discussed the following scenarios which she suggested I put to you in writing.

Scenario One

That we acquire the roller referred to in Appendix 1 and seek your approval to grant 65% of the total cost i.e. £6,500 on the total cost of a new roller being £10,000 inclusive of VAT and delivery charge.

Scenario Two

That we lower our sights and purchase a reconditioned model of the roller we would like to purchase new. Details of a reconditioned model are attached (Appendix 2) and you will see that the cost is £6,500 inclusive of VAT and delivery. If we were to proceed with this option would we still be eligible for a grant of £4,500?

I am sorry that we are having to put these additional scenarios to you. It would probably not have been necessary had we at the time of our original Application more precisely quantified the cost of a new roller.

I look forward to hearing from you

Your sincerely,

Hon Treasurer Goodwood Cricket Club