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Understanding capacity for successful Community
Asset Transfer of leisure facilities: The essential
role of human capital.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at Northumbria University

by

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University**
NEWCASTLE

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas, and contributions from the work of others. The work was jointly funded by Power to Change's Research Institute/the Institute of Community Studies Civic Scholars Programme and Northumbria University. Ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved through submission to Northumbria University's Ethics System **Reference 26144 on August 24, 2020**. The word count of this thesis is **73543** words.

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- Haw, S., Potrac, P., Wharton, K., Findlay-King, L. (forthcoming 2023). Collectively understanding successful Community Asset Transfer. Voluntary Sector Review

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Date: January 15 2022

Abstract

In the past 20 years, Community Asset Transfer (CAT) has grown as a way of delivering leisure services in England, where community groups form to manage public leisure facilities. Community management of leisure facilities and the drive of local authorities to transfer services and facilities has increased. CAT in leisure, in particular, has increased as the discretionary nature of such services makes them vulnerable during budget cuts. Whilst many community groups have succeeded in managing these facilities, the challenges for these groups that CAT through this complex process are not understood. Additionally, the capacity these groups need to conduct CAT is not known as academic research has not theorised these challenges. This study examines the necessary human capitals and how capacity is mobilised in the communities and organisations that form to conduct CAT. The focus is on interactions which mobilise the capacity of organisations.

The study adopts a critical realist methodology where qualitative case studies research was applied to four organisations which conducted CATs of leisure facilities, from varied cities. Across the cases, document analysis, focus groups, and interviews were conducted with participants (n = 52) including volunteer board members, paid staff and consultants, and local authority officers. Data was analysed using retroductive thematic analysis where descriptions of each CAT process were built.

The thesis makes multiple contributions to knowledge, by showing the human capital needed for a successful CAT to be conducted. This covers the knowledge, experience, and competences of those in groups involved in CAT. This human capital requires support from the third and public sector, but the provision of this is disproportionate across cases. Another contribution concerns the impact of the interactions those in groups have with each, other and external participants. The impact of these interactions is examined, with a theoretical contribution concerning how social and human capital are put to use in the organisations that conduct CAT. Wherein, if staff connect with community members, they do more through their role, and in maintaining relationships with local authorities, they access greater organisational resources to manage the facilities. Overall findings show a way for the capacity of CSBs to increase, but more significantly that bridging social capital is essential to form groups. The thesis makes a meta-theoretical contribution by making a conceptualisation of capital to show ways in which community and organisational human capital is developed. The thesis has significance for local authorities, funders and other organisations that are concerned with supporting community organisations to take ownership of local assets. Additionally, the findings guide communities in making realistic considerations of whether they have capacity to conduct CAT.

Acknowledgments

CAT has become a familiar way of shifting ownership of leisure facilities, with its prevalence being noticeable to those working within the English sport system. I was lucky to work in sport federations and in a leisure trust before conducting this PhD, giving me the understanding of the importance of this study. I would like to thank those who participated in this study for their time and openness in providing their insight and experience on being involved in leisure facilities. The interviews with participants that had conducted CATs were inspiring and reminded me of the importance of the study, as they too were keen to understand how the capacity of community organisations could be enhanced. Likewise, I am thankful to local authority officers for sharing their experiences and offering thoughtful reflections in what is a challenging climate.

This study of CATs has significant pertinence, given the importance of leisure facilities in ensuring that socially determined health inequalities are prevented, whilst at the same time, these facilities are becoming vulnerable to local authority cuts post-Covid. It is through individuals such as those interviewed for this project that community-ran leisure facilities remain and continue to address health inequalities. I am grateful for being welcomed into your facilities, and for being greeted with equal curiosity about the complex phenomenon of CAT. My own curiosity in CAT has been deepened by the discussions with participants, with peers, and with my academic team at Northumbria. My colleagues at Northumbria University have been a source of advice and encouragement. I am grateful to my supervisors, Lindsay Findlay-King, Paul Protrac, and Karl Wharton. You have developed my ability to produce Doctorate level academic writing from the very beginning which has been a rollercoaster journey. Lindsay, having a shared passion for community leisure has been invaluable, and your standards have kept me grounded and on track to publishing. Thank you, Geoff Nichols, for your ongoing critical advice and entertaining conversation. I would like to thank health and sport management students at Northumbria, who have stuck by me in the disputed territory of Room 431.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACV	Asset of Community Value
ATU	Asset Transfer Unit
BenCom	Mutual Benefit Society
CAT	Community Asset Transfer
CB	Community Business
CCF	Community Capitals Framework
CIC	Community Interest Company
CIO	Charitable Incorporated Organisation
CLOA	Chief Leisure Officers Association
CLT	Community Land Trust
CSB	Community Sport Business
CVS	Community and Voluntary Service
FOI	Freedom of Information
GLL	Greenwich Leisure Limited
LA	Local Authority
LAO	Local Authority Officer
LGA	Local Government Association
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivations IMF
NAO	National Audit Office
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PANVAC	Peterborough and Nene Valley Athletics Club
PCVS	Peterborough Council for Voluntary Service
SROI	Social Return on Investment
TUPE	Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment)
UK	United Kingdom
VCS	Voluntary and Community Sector

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis explores the human capital necessary for community groups to acquire leisure facilities through community asset transfer (CAT). It considers whether groups have the capacity to conduct transfers and successfully sustain facilities thereafter. Throughout, consideration is made of the complex process of CAT, and how the capacity of groups is mobilised to navigate such processes whilst being shaped, enabled, and constrained by the conditions within diverse contexts. In considering the mobilisation of community capacity in these contexts and subsequent interactions, this thesis addresses how tenets of human capital interact with community capitals and resources in order for community capacity to be mobilised.

CAT is a policy actualised through Local Government Acts enabling groups to bid for and run community assets, including leisure centres (LGA, 2006). This has been increasingly utilised to enable the transfer of local authority facilities. The policy addresses how new community organisations are formed with the transfers premised on these organisations providing social value through community ownership. Outsourcing community leisure facilities through CAT followed the tendering of local facilities and services enabled in reformative policies. The policy had been used for community centres that were leased to the community or run by volunteers. After the UK Government's 2011 austerity agenda, the policy was increasingly used for sport and leisure assets. Many leisure facilities have been closed or listed for closure, resulting in protests and campaigns to preserve them. For instance, a multiple purpose leisure facility in Edinburgh closed due to budgetary reductions faced by Edinburgh's local authority so community members responded through campaigns towards local authorities addressing the importance of facilities (Reid, 2018). In many localities, including the case examined by Reid (2018) the only way of preserving the leisure facilities is to conduct a CAT (Quirk, 2006), Quirk (2006) provided an early insight into this process when reporting on 9 instances of CAT, including a market and a village hall in Rochdale and a multi-purpose leisure centre in Plymouth, showing how new community organisations form to manage the facilities. Within tight periods, community groups transferring these facilities formed governance and staff structures. Many were inheriting complex maintenance work and high operating costs and some of these community owned leisure facilities closed after being transferred into community ownership (Ahrens et al, 2015). These groups face challenges, as their workforce may not have experience of running facilities and may be a mix of paid and voluntary staff (Nichols et al, 2020). Subsequently, shifts in ownership received increasing academic scrutiny (King, 2013). Despite challenges being highlighted, understanding of entities emerging from communities to conduct CATs is limited.

Academic debate on whether communities possessed capacity coincided with policy emphasis on CAT. These policy shifts came from the Localism Act and local authority Community Asset Transfer policies highlighting the social capital necessary for community ownership (Findlay-King et al, 2015; Fenwick et al, 2015). Empirical research began to examine some of aspects of how capital was mobilised from the communities and community groups that took on community ownership projects through CAT (Skerratt et al, 2011; Apaliyah et al, 2013; Findlay-King et al, 2018a; Nichols et al, 2020). This capital was conceptualised in some of these studies through the Community Capitals Framework, seven domains of capital that when activated, enhance the capacity of communities (Emery et al, 2006). The way that these capitals broadly interrelate with community human capital to enhance community capacity form the theoretical basis of the study. Further to framing the study, dimensions of capitals form the metatheoretical components of this research, as by extending empirical research investigating these capitals, the study attends to mechanisms enabling their emergence and the mobilisation of capacity (Nichols et al, 2020). Such descriptions involve assumptions of the world being stratified, as to describe the mechanisms enabling properties to emerge, is to attend to phenomena occurring at levels of reality that are real but not observationally real (Bhaskar, 1975). It follows that this thesis is positioned from a critical realist perspective, so that the lower-level properties in human, community, and organisational entities can be understood.

This introduction continues by raising the research questions and aims of the study, which are briefly complemented by the methodology that guides them. The questions address the perspectives within the CAT process and how these may conflict. The introduction outlines the context of the research and theoretical perspectives that ground it as, the background of the researcher and their funder is provided. The policy context of the research follows, showing shifts in public facility ownership which underpinned the marketisation of leisure facilities in England. This situates the need to conduct research on leisure CATS amidst the challenges faced by community groups pressured into continuing local service provision.

The key definitions of the research are provided in 1.3, which along with the case overviews in 1.4 aid the reader in understanding the organisations being referred to throughout the thesis. These overviews provide context on the CAT in each site, drawing on their local policy contexts. Lastly, section 1.5 presents the overall structure of the thesis, detailing the content of chapters and how they link together. This is achieved by touching on the focusses of each chapter and pulling together the chronology of findings that lead to the overall discussion and conclusion.

1.1 Research Questions and Aims

These questions reflect the importance of understanding ways to utilise dimensions of capitals for capacity to be mobilised in communities and the groups within them. Specifically, attention is on human capital, and how, accessing this can be enabled and supported to enhance the capacity of the communities and groups involved in CAT. There are five research questions:

1. What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility?
2. How are community capitals mobilised?
3. What support is needed to sustain CSBs?
4. What are the differences between voluntary and paid staff human capital requirements?
5. What impact does the balance between voluntary and paid staff have on success?

To provide answers to the research questions there are five aims for this research:

Aim 1	To provide the human capitals underpinning how CSBs emerge to conduct CATs
Aim 2	To understand how cultural and structural properties impact the mobilisation of capitals
Aim 3	To examine the role of external support in the mobilisation of capitals.
Aim 4	To understand the ways success is collectively constructed by those in and external to CSBs
Aim 5	To understand the human capital necessary to achieve and balance success.

(Table 1.1 Research Aims)

These questions and aims are addressed through a qualitative case study methodology involving a critical realist morphogenetic framework. With the research guided by critical realism, the researcher views how organisations are structured, meaning their structural properties can be explored. This means the way individual, community, and organisational capital is mobilised can be examined. The full nature of this is outlined in Chapter 4, where the methodology and methods are presented.

1.2 Power to Change and the Researcher

This research is funded by Power to Change, a trust formed to support community business in strengthening local communities¹. Power to Change brings partners together to fund, grow and back community business to make places thrive. Through such an approach, Power to Change ensures community businesses can create thriving places when local people take ownership over spaces that

¹ <https://www.powertochange.org.uk/about-us/>

matter and deliver services that communities need. The 2021-26 strategy sets out how, using funding, research, policy insight, and a strong network of remarkable community businesses, support for the sector can be provided². It follows that 7.5% of Power to Change's original £150m endowment has been invested in developing the trust's Research Institute. A way for the institute to maximise the impact of the research that is conducted in the Institute, was to fund PhD students to investigate the community business sector³. In 2019, it was agreed that Power to Change would co-fund, with Northumbria University, myself to conduct a PhD exploring the human capitals that are needed in community organisations involved in CAT⁴.

1.3 Introductory Policy Context

Since the 1980s policies concerning the provision of leisure facilities have shifted the relationship local authorities have with service users. Leisure services were publicly run throughout the 1970s as local authorities had a social responsibility to provide opportunities for communities to access leisure. Yet, the tendering of services as featured in the 1972 Local Government Act changed this (LGA, 1972; King, 2013). Section 123 of the Act empowers local authorities to dispose of land. The main caveat to this power is that the council must not do so for "a consideration less than the best that can be reasonably obtained" (LGA, 1972; Gilbert, 2016).

During the 1980s the inefficient operation of local authority managed facilities was criticised as a consequence of an extended state by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who introduced Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) (Reid, 2018). CCT was a way of increasing the efficiency of Local Authority service provision through ensuring local authorities operated competitively and efficiently. Authorities were required to tender local services and enterprises could submit proposals to provide those services (Patterson et al, 2000; LGA 1988; LGA 1989). Options for outsourcing included transferring asset management to the private sector, charitable trusts, or to CSBs (LGA, 1988; LGA, 1989). There was nothing to suggest that CSBs were awarded contracts at this stage, as a preferred option was private and charitable bodies that had the economies of scale to operate local services efficiently. Greenwich Leisure Limited (GLL, also known by its customer facing brand label

² <https://www.powertochange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Power-to-Change-strategy-2021-2025.pdf>

³ https://www.tnlcommunityfund.org.uk/media/insights/documents/PTC_Report-17-Community-business-in-England-compendium.pdf?mtime=20200305154239&focal=none

⁴ With a background in working for leisure trusts, sport clubs, and sport federations I could gain access to the organisations that would form the sample of the study. Moreover, in having an interest in CAT, and how communities have been increasingly pressured to do more, I was motivated to research such issues. Therefore, investigating how community organisations could develop their capacity to manage leisure facilities through CAT was an ideal undertaking.

'Better'⁵), a trust set up to manage and operate the leisure services in the Greenwich Borough of London, won contracts in 1993 and in twenty years accumulated over 150 contracts (GLL website, date unknown).

The redistributive force created an environment where transferring facilities outside the public sector was legally possible and politically endorsed (Rex, 2019a). Competition threaded through Conservative government tendering policies (through the 1980s-mid 90s), as the philosophy of the approach assumed the market provided efficiency through economising the effects of competition. Trusts evidencing cost improvements were criticised for adopting cut-throat employment practices. Further, trusts rarely transferred staff⁶ across from local authorities so they could save money through not having to pay in line with public sector pay. This attracted criticism that their competitive advantage stemmed from worsening employee experience (Patterson et al, 1995).

The election of the New Labour Government, in 1997, shifted emphasis away from contracts being premised on competitiveness. Instead, contracts were awarded based on financial efficiency and customer experience as tendering concerned Best Value (LGA, 2001). In continuing tendering, New Labour emphasised the role of communities as a source of innovation. The government committed support to the capacity building of community organisations by launching the Adventure Capital Fund and Futurebuilders.

Despite the hesitations by national charities that reviewed the Government's asset management plans⁷, the redistribution of facilities and services from LA ownership included an objective of £30 billion of asset sales by 2010. When suggesting a strategic view where assets are retained and efficiently exploited by local authorities, Sir Michael Lyons, confirmed that the government's asset sales objective was challenging and that the public sector needed more asset management expertise for transfers to be successful (Lyons, 2004; NAO, 2007). The Big Lottery Reaching Communities Fund Program was launched in 2005, and in the 2006 budget, a £30 million Community Asset Transfer Fund and Asset Transfer Unit (ATU) was created to fund the refurbishment of public assets to facilitate their CAT.

⁵ <https://www.gll.org/b2b/pages/3>

⁶ Staff transferred from a local authority to an entity taking on services were legally required to remain in post and at the same pay rate if the entity was delivering the same role.

⁷ The Local Government Association called for increased investment (Lyons, 2004) and the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) submitted recommendations for increased skill development and funding (NCVO, 2001). The recommendations were featured in the 2002 Treasury Review (HMT, 2002) which questioned the capacity of the third sector to manage public service delivery.

The emphasis of CAT as a solution to challenges within the public delivery of local services was becoming politically legitimised and with this came an increase in CAT. To provide a nuanced account of this increase, the 2007 Quirk Review (2007) touched upon the asset-based approach but highlighted that there was a lack of agencies that could help with the challenges faced. The closest was the Asset Transfer Unit (ATU) which was formed to draw together relevant evidence, expertise, and good practice, and by building partnerships and institutional capacity (ATU, 2009).

This continued shift in public service delivery shows that under New Labour the same forces of state retrenchment occurred, with the underpinning of new public management philosophy mirroring CCT. Another thread was the pressure on the third sector to take on leisure services. The relationship with local authority leisure services and the third sector was strained with the launch of the Big Society Agenda. Prime Minister David Cameron launched the Localism Act (2011) and announced a role for the third sector provision of local facilities which would change society through the structuring of a Big Society. Local Authorities must publish a list of assets which have community value, this Assets of Community Value list forms part of the local authority's wider asset portfolio and part of a national ACV list (Lynn, 2018). Community groups were given the right to challenge, which means that local authorities must consider expressions of interest for CAT should they be made and if necessary, must advise and assist community groups (Aiken et al, 2011; Murtagh et al, 2017). In this way, the Localism Act (2011) empowered communities in running assets by enabling them to list them as having community value, enabling their Community Right to Bid, giving them 6-months to purchase the asset (Lynn, 2018). Following this shift CAT increased (O'Leary et al, 2011) but there was little evidence of this shift being driven by CATs (Morgan, 2013). According to the Chief Leisure Officers Association (CLOA, 2011) few local authorities had a CAT policy (SQW, 2011). The consequences of such shifts on particular localities can be seen in the next section, where the sites for this study are introduced.

1.4 Introducing the study sites

This section introduces the organisations in this study, including their structures, the processes of CAT they followed, and the contexts which they emerge from. Many of these contexts involved facilities being transferred in deprived areas so cuts compound pre-existing financial strains (Nichols et al, 2014; SPERI, 2015). Financial challenges, budgetary cuts, and community empowerment agendas shape the contexts of CATs uniquely. These nuances change the likelihood of facilities being protected through CAT, highlighting the situation that communities face (IMD, 2019). Each case is anonymised, with pseudonyms being used, at the request of senior management and board

members in the organisations. This is because the thesis examines commercially sensitive data as well as touching on political tension (Yin, 2014).

West Hill Pool

West Hill Pool is located to the west of a northern city. The building has a pool, gym, studio, and workroom. The ward where the pool is located has one of the lowest white populations and is in the bottom 10% of localities for income, health, employment, and education (IMD, 2019). The initial construction of the asset was finished in 1981 and cost West Hill Council £1.25 million. This was part of West Hill Council's improvement programme to revive the amenities in the West end of the city. The pool was built with pool-side areas, a café, changing areas, social room, and kitchen, with space outside the building for activities. In December 2014 amidst reductions in service use, West Hill Council were required to find over £100m of savings within their service delivery, so the authority announced the closure of five leisure facilities across the city, which caused protests.

"We are seeking to dispose of public buildings because we can no longer afford to maintain a large property estate. A combination of government cuts and unavoidable rising costs mean that we must continue to make significant savings from our revenue budget." West Hill Council CAT Policy.

West Hill Council met with campaigners which led to Stage 1 of West Hill Council's CAT process (Table 1.2). The meetings attracted local people, and West Hill Council officers shared the information they had on the asset. To progress with the stages of the CAT, the group created West Hill Community Interest Company (CIC) which was supported by Friends of West Hill Pool.

Stage	Description
1. Contact officer	Notify us of your interest (details included in the list of assets).
2. Disclosure	We will provide you with information any relevant information we hold relating to the running of the asset. This will help you decide whether asset transfer is right.
3. Expression of interest	If you are interested in asset transfer, you should complete an Expression of Interest (EOI). The lead officer will provide you with this and it will be found in the list of assets, including specific criteria that will be evaluated.
4. Evaluation	We will evaluate the EOI against the criteria, we may contact you to ask for clarification or additional information. We will inform you of the outcome when the assessment has been completed.
5. Business plan/Financial projections	We ask you to submit financial projections showing expected income and expenditure over the next 3 years and a business plan explaining the assumptions you have made in arriving at those projections.
6. Evaluation	Once your expression of interest and business plan have been evaluated a decision will be made in principle whether to work toward a transfer. If approval is given, then the process of negotiating a lease can start.
7. Confirmation	We will inform you in writing of the decision, and where appropriate formally sign the legal agreement to transfer the asset.

Table 1.2 West Hill Council CAT process

After exploring options for CAT in line with West Hill Council's CAT policy, the campaigners submitted a plan outlining their aims, financial forecasts, key individuals, and local partnerships. For three years the group struggled to progress with the business planning (stage 6) as West Hill Council officers claimed their figures were unfeasible. Progress came as the Councillor from the local ward, invited two consultants and the Chair of a community owned pool to help. They supported with a grant for £150,000 from Power to Change⁸. In February 2019, the Council handed the pool over to West Hill.

In June 2019, the group began recruiting for the pool, starting with the Senior Duty Manager and two Duty Managers. Lifeguards, leisure attendants and receptionists were then employed. The structure of West Hill Pool is shown in Figure 1.1.

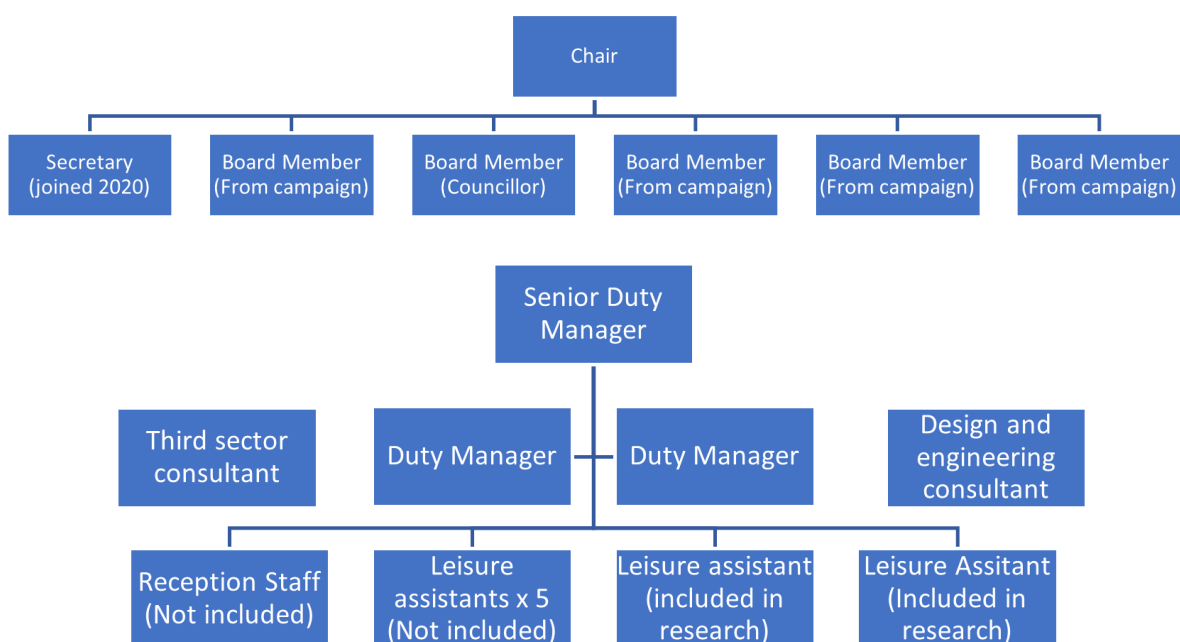


Figure 1.1 Organisational structure of West Hill Pool

Central Pool

Central Pool manages an Edwardian pool and gym. In 2011, £90m in cuts were required by Central Council who reduced the opening hours of the pool to 29 hours per week, so closure seemed likely. Therefore, after retiring, the former MP and another community sector worker wanted to ensure there was affordable swimming provision in the city. Their reason was to stop children from drowning in a nearby canal. Population data shows the area around the pool had problems with

⁸ Power to Change is a charitable trust operating in England, created in 2015 with a £150 million endowment from the Big Lottery Fund. The trust is concerned with supporting community businesses in England over a ten-year period, after which it will cease operating.

crime and the local environment (EIMD, 2019). Therefore, campaigners organised a campaign with the community sector worker, consulting local people, and making them aware of the situation with the pool. After consultation with Central Council, the campaigners understood the hours would continue to be reduced, with the pool closing.

“We are concerned about the loss of amenities in local communities and are keen to identify other organisations to continue to supply services from those buildings.” Central Council CAT Policy.

This consultation formed the basis of the CAT process, as for Central Council, the former MP had instigated Route two of their asset transfer process, which is where a community case is made for a CAT, rather than the asset being deemed surplus to the authority. The former MP organised further meetings where 40 volunteers expressed interest in helping to transfer the Baths. These formed a steering group, which became the Central Pool board and Friends of Central Pool. The local authority allowed the group to pass the first three stages of the transfer process, shown in the below figure.

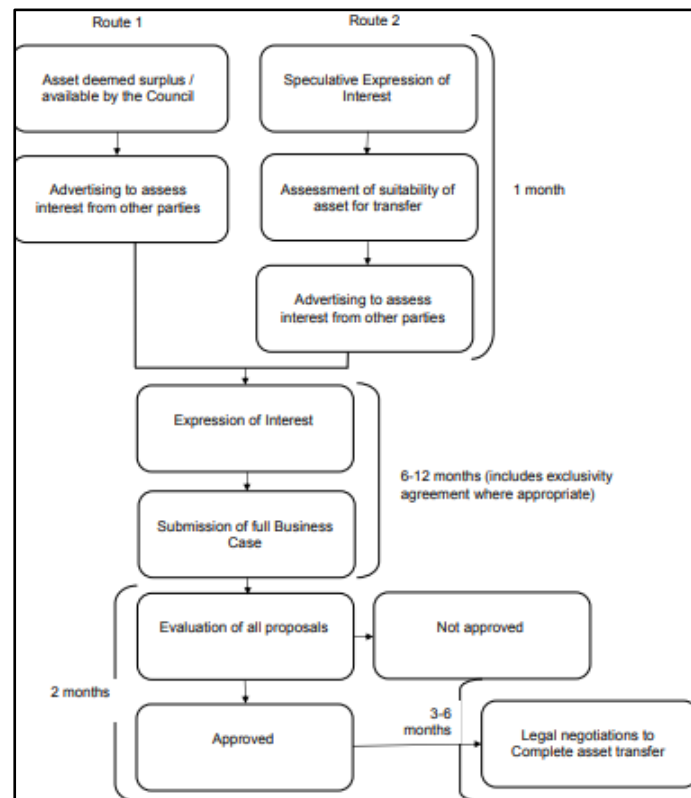


Figure 1.2 CAT process from Central Council CAT Policy

The group formed a Mutual Benefit Society and submitted a business plan outlining that the entity would be governed with representation from residents, users, schools, Central Council, and local third sector organisations.

Once this plan was accepted the group took over managing the facility as Central Pool, with a 25-year lease from the council from December 2012, and they reopened it in January 2013. They recruited a CEO, an operations manager, receptionists, gym instructors, swimming instructors and lifeguards. The board evolved based on local expertise, to include the former MP as chair, a local councillor as vice chair, a finance professional as treasurer, a secretary, and other members each with expertise from different sectors. The staffing grew and reached 50 members before the Covid-19 pandemic.

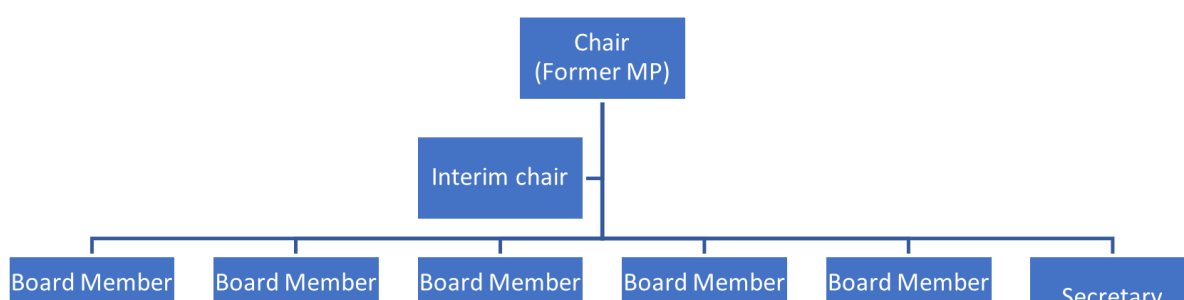


Figure 1.3 Board of Central Pool

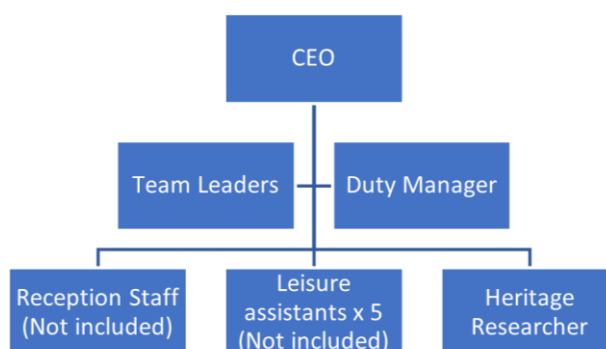


Figure 1.4 Staff Structure of Central Pool

Burnside Gymnastics Club

Burnside Gymnastics Club are based at a leisure centre built in 1983. The club took over the facility in September 2016 and moved 112 members from a previous gymnastics club. The club specialise in tumbling but offer other opportunities in Gymnastics. The Club was formed by a coach who, after representing Great Britain and coaching for over 15 years, was trying to find a facility which could house the tumbling club. To start the transfer process, the Director submitted an expression of interest in March 2016. The Head of Leisure at Burnside Council proposed the group acquire another centre and introduced the directors to the Parish Council. This was because Burnside Council had

facilities which were surplus to requirements and had been closed. So, with the Director of the club expressing an interest in a local facility, they considered this expression useful.

“Burnside Council is facing large reductions in public spending over the coming years and recognises the important and valuable role that local communities play in their local area. Burnside Council is looking for ways for these valued services to be provided.” Burnside Council CAT Policy.

During June 2016, the Director met with parish councillors and proposed to use the facility as a high-performance gymnastics centre which would produce World and European medals and involve the community in gymnastics. This proposal outlined what the club did, their vision and ambition for the CAT, and the staffing team. A condition report was conducted which acknowledged the necessary repairs to be completed, including repairs estimated as costing more than £500,000. Once who would cover these, the Director submitted a business plan highlighting the club's background, objectives, financial forecasts, and ways they would support the Council in achieving objectives.

In July 2016, the director received the keys to the facility to start cleaning works, but no contracts had been signed at this point. The facility opening involved resolving maintenance issues including the boiler replacement, the floor being repaired, and the proposed building extension. This brought financial challenges for the club as directors had taken loans and remortgaged their home to fund the work. Once open, the club paid all staff and coaches that were working at the facility.

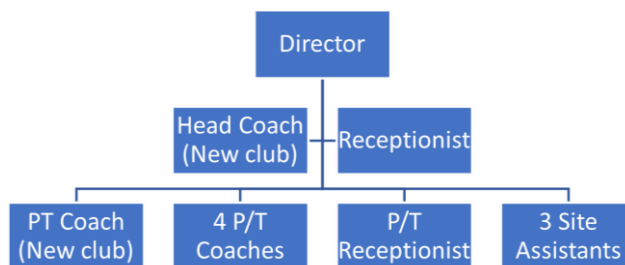


Figure 1.5 Structure of Burnside Gymnastics Club

The club has five directors. The high-performance coach is the director in charge of this board and the staffing, who is joined by a level three coach and three parents who have coaching qualifications.

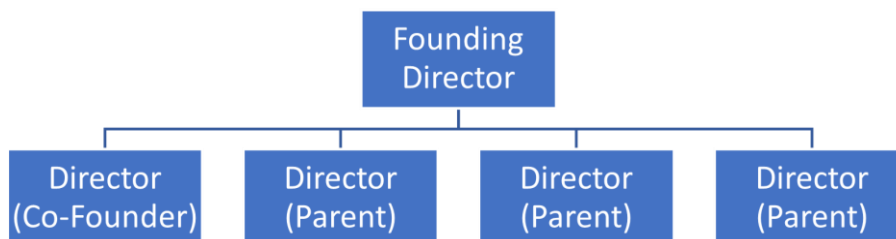


Figure 1.6 board of Burnside Gymnastics Club

Riverside Hockey Club

Riverside Hockey Club is (formed 1894) based in The Midlands and has developed women’s and men’s teams. Several players were awarded MBEs after helping Great Britain win a gold at the 2012 Olympics in the Women’s competition. Club directors wanted their contribution to sport to be seen on a par with that of football, rugby, and cricket teams, who had also achieved national success. The club moved back into a city facility to strengthen their revenue potential, enhance recruitment and catchment area. Therefore, the directors of the club considered making the facility a permanent base. The facility was managed by Riverside Council and was being used for Hockey, but as many of the club members played elsewhere, it was not widely used. Therefore, directors agreed if they were to run the site, they would make the facility suitable for competitive hockey. The club directors (and a volunteer) met with the Head of Leisure and expressed an interest in acquiring the facility, and the club officially started the transfer process. This is illustrated below.

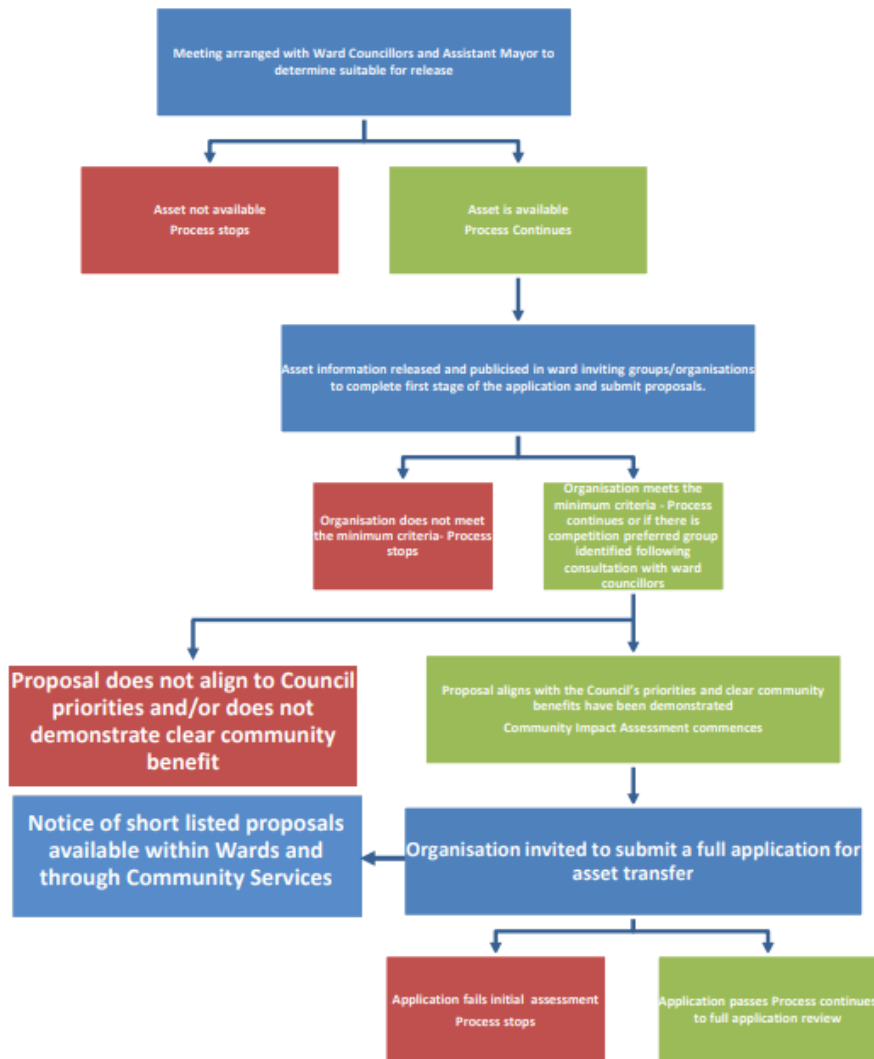


Figure 1.7 CAT process by Riverside Council

Riverside Council's Head of Leisure spoke with the Chair to ensure the club had sufficient information on the asset prior to continuing. The club was proposing managing the facility and aligned this with Riverside Council's objectives for facility use across the city. A focus was on how the club would achieve community benefit. The club recruited the former CEO of a local authority as a consultant to oversee the CAT. With their support, the club submitted a business plan outlining the governance of the club, the proposed workforce, including a facility management team, and a thorough financial forecast. Between April and July 2018, the club and the local authority agreed a lease to enable funding bids and site development to progress. The consultant finalised the terms of the transfer. From August the club worked with the local authority for planning and extension of the club pavilion and funding bids were submitted to national bodies including Sport England and England Hockey. Once funds, planning, and staffing was agreed (December 2018) recruitment began in April 2019.

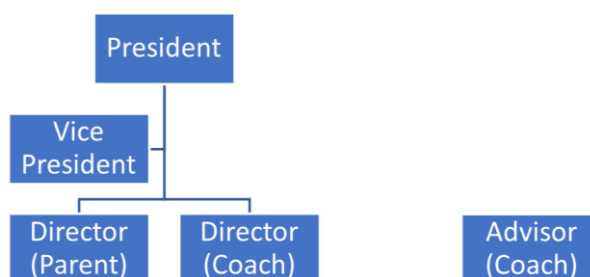


Figure 1.8 Board of Riverside Hockey Club

The Facility Management Team includes staff and representatives from the board. The operations of the facility were overseen by a paid Sports Centre Manager and a mix of paid and voluntary staff. The main consultant oversaw venue development, planning permission, and contractors. Further consultants were contracted to deal with marketing and fundraising.

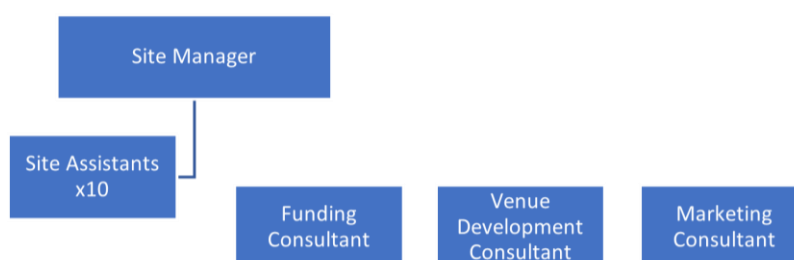


Figure 1.9 Staff Structure Riverside Hockey Club

Contribution of the cases to the study

The findings of the thesis cover the cases in diverse ways. Chapter 5 addresses the community capitals that were mobilised in the communities around West Hill and Central swimming so only

addresses these pools and the local authorities in each case, as the other cases evolved from existing community groups. Chapters 6, 7, and 8, covers all four cases and examines data from participants within the groups and local authorities involved. The list of participants is provided in Appendix A.

1.5 Key Definitions

The thesis focuses on organisations involved in Community Asset Transfers of facilities. Throughout, the abbreviated term CAT is used to describe the process of local authorities transferring the facility management responsibilities to the organisations in the study. In each case the transfer concerns the management of the leisure facilities on a leasehold basis, with the leases in each CAT being a length of at least 25 years. The thesis adopts a definition of CAT from Locality (2018a) as:

“CAT is the transfer of management and/or ownership of public land and buildings from its owner (usually a local authority) to a community organisation for ‘less than best consideration’ – i.e., less than the highest obtainable or estimated market value. This discount is based upon a presumption of long-term local social, economic, or environmental benefit.” Locality (2018a).

This thesis views the sample organisations as Community Sport Businesses (CSBs), as they are sport organisations that focus on communities or may be voluntarily run but operate as businesses (Cuskelly et al, 2013). Some CSBs in the sample are sport clubs that manage a leisure facility post-CAT (Breuer et al, 2015), others are community organisations that manage leisure facilities, with this typology emanating from community businesses (CBs). The term CSB also comes from Power to Change reports that understand third sector organisations as organisations with business priorities and social objectives (Gilbert et al, 2016; Archer et al, 2019; Byrne et al, 2020⁹; Bruni et al, 2020). Plunkett et al (2015) conceptualise community businesses as organisations initiated by the local community, defined by a link to a physical place, trading in local goods and services, with the primary purpose to generate economic and social value in the community. These definitions of CSBs and CBs work with how CATs are understood in recent evaluations (Lee et al, 2020)¹⁰. The organisations that CSBs conduct CATs with are understood as statutory organisations, public bodies, or local authorities, with these organisations being defined as local authorities (Locality, 2018a). This is regardless of whether they are combined authorities, county councils or metropolitan councils.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

⁹ Community business – a business that is locally-rooted, is accountable to and trades for the benefit of the local community, and has broad community impact (Byrne et al, 2020)

¹⁰ Community Asset Transfer is the transfer of a publicly owned asset (usually land or buildings) to a community organisation at less than market value, or at no cost. It is a voluntary process, entered into proactively by public bodies. For community businesses, owning an asset can provide a sustainable income stream and a secure base for community activities, service delivery and local enterprise.

This chapter provided the context of CAT by highlighting shifts in local authority leisure policy and the increasing pressure on communities. In providing this context, questions of capacity were raised, as research questioned if stocks of capital were possessed in the communities concerned with CAT. This set the scene for the study's theoretical position by introducing domains of community capital, social and human capital. The Community Capital Framework (CCF) was referred to, as these domains were conceptualised within a broader frame to consider if communities possess the capacity to conduct CAT. Four cases were introduced with the reasons for each CAT being provided; this showed how national and local policy contexts intertwined as the public sector looked towards communities as a solution to local service reductions. Each case organisation was understood as a Community Sport Business (CSB), as they combined a social mission with providing sport and leisure activity. It followed that key definitions were made for these organisations. Overall, this context conceptualises the research questions of the study, by showing the contextual and theoretical frames underpinning why it is essential to consider the human capital possessed in communities and organisations.

The next chapter reviews academic discourse that fed into the development and discussion of the study. The review has two parts: Government Policy Reform, and CAT. Under these headings, academic research on the changing nature of local service delivery in England and the impact of iterations of policy on community groups is explored. The literature shows a need to address research gaps in the CAT of leisure facilities and is returned to throughout the study.

Chapter 3 continues with theoretical reflections, by highlighting ways that community capacity has been understood. Chaskin's (2001) relational framework of community capacity is introduced, wherein interrelations between human and social capital are emphasised to understand collective access to resources. It is argued that viewing human and social capital amongst a total of seven community capitals is necessary to appreciate the full extent of how such capital interrelates. Therefore, this draws on the Community Capitals Framework of Emery et al (2006) to propose a dynamic and intersecting view of the capitals that interrelate for human capital to be mobilised to successfully conduct CATs. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology, which is framed by critical realism and the sensitising devices of emergence which frames the evolution of CSBs. The chapter uses the work of Bhaksar (1979) to explain epistemological and ontological views. Drawing on organisational stratification from Elder-Vass (2006) and Archer (1998), showing how examination of structural and cultural properties of CSBs is significant to understand how human capital is mobilised. Following this a detailed overview of the methods used to address the research questions are provided, with

the decisions throughout the research process being shared, including how data was collected, analysed, and discussed, whilst rigour, reliability and quality were maintained.

Across four findings chapters, the research questions are addressed, beginning with Chapter 5 addressing the first three research questions. Indeed, the chapter examines the emergence of the CSBs which campaigned to conduct CATs of community pools, showing the domains of community capital that underpin the context of CATs in these two cases. Chapter 6 continues this, by examining the domains of organisational capital that are mobilised for all four CSBs to possess human capital in conducting CAT. Chapter 7 examines the structural emergence of CSBs, where organisational human capital is examined in whether there is capacity for CSBs to form and manage facilities, and what the impacts of their formation are, culturally. The impact of human capital limitations on organisational culture are examined. Chapter 8 examines the ways that participants from local authorities and CSBs understood successful CAT. Five dimensions are shown, with some underpinning others, including the need to enhance the capital of the communities around the facility. Shared understandings of successful CAT are found to enhance the organisational human capital of CSBs. Chapter 9 discusses findings made across each chapter with reference to answering the research questions, addressing the aims of the research, and concludes with the significance of this study. Lastly, a conclusion summarises the key findings, the contributions, the recommendations, and a final conjecture.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

This chapter examines research on the provision of local authority leisure services and facilities. The first part explores the local authority policy shift in community asset ownership; by examining literature on Competitive Compulsory Tendering (CCT), Best Value (BV), localism and the big society agenda. These policy agendas are critiqued for their emphasis on community empowerment and community ownership through Community Rights, in the context of financial cuts to local authorities and to third sector organisations. Throughout this section the policy shifts are related to the provision of sport and leisure facilities and services are explored.

In the second part the review focuses on the Community Asset Transfer (CAT) policy. This includes context for why CAT has increased within the public policy field in England, as detailed challenges associated in this model of service delivery are discussed. These challenges concern whether communities are able to participate in community ownership endeavours by discussing investigations of the available social capital and community resources. The review then focuses on CATs of leisure facilities, where the nature of groups, individuals and local authorities involved are shown. In reviewing literature covering these characteristics, the challenges for the communities and organisations involved in CATs are consistent with those highlighted in part one, so questions of whether communities can access the necessary pool or capitals and resources are raised.

2.1 Shifts in Community Ownership Policy

The transfer of community assets stems from a political philosophy that leisure provision can curtail urban problems, enhance community building, and overcome class and social conflicts. This was shown in the Department of Environment's (1975) white paper which recognised the role that leisure provision plays in the improvement of urban and socio-economically deprived communities (Glyptis, 1989). Indeed, the policy origins of outsourcing public assets emanates from a similar period, as the Local Government Act (LGA) (1972) outlined a model of public ownership to maintain efficiency through competitive provision. Where this dual emphasis was enforced in policy was within the Compulsory Competitive Tendering policy (Nichols et al, 2000). An approach which reflected a shift in the management of public leisure services (Robinson, 2002) from a welfare model which focused on supporting communities to a model which had efficiency embedded into provision (King, 1999).

Such policy shift continued amidst changes in government as New Labour's Best Value¹¹ approach to tendering required authorities to demonstrate how services contributed to governmental social objectives or whether leisure trusts were more effective (Reid, 2003; Giddens, 2013). There was a requirement to plan leisure services with each authorities' social objectives in mind (Reid, 2003), with most councils welcoming a move away from the CCT regime (Audit Commission, 2002). This brought challenges to local authorities, as they were being required to build strategic frameworks inclusive of leisure provision where no strategic plans had existed (Robinson, 2002). Under New Labour, service delivery involved partnerships combining the skills of those across different sectors, with community groups, sport clubs, or charities increasingly managing facilities and services (King, 2013). This demonstrated how the New Labour government viewed communities in achieving social objectives (Tacon et al, 2013), with the delivery of this transforming public service delivery (Entwistle et al, 2005) and pushing active citizenship onto the third sector (Levitas, 2005). The shift involving the third sector showed the relationship between civil society and the government continued to change.

Further, as the Conservatives took power in 2010, David Cameron announced a role for community provision of local facilities through the Localism Act (LGA, 2011) and Big Society Agenda (Cameron, 2009). For Cameron this was about redistributing power away from Whitehall to communities (DLGS, 2011). Public facilities would be voluntarily run, saving the state resources, and creating a society where communities shared financial and physical assets (Morgan, 2013). The agenda included plans to train community organisers, encouraging volunteering, and devolving power to communities (Aiken et al, 2011). Grants were awarded to third sector organisations to deliver support to build the capacity of local communities in taking on services (Alcock, 2015). Much of this support involved reciprocal arrangements between communities and the state (Coote, 2010), but did little to offset the financial cuts made in tandem with the agendas as funding to local authorities was reduced (Rex, 2019a). As impacts of austerity meant not all local authorities had resources to support communities (Findlay-King et al. 2018a), local authority staff were pressured to provide greater levels of support to communities, but with dwindling resources (Levitas, 2005; MacMillan, 2013). Indeed, community empowerment agendas were viewed as a smokescreen to cover austerity measures (Reynolds, 2011; Such, 2013). Questions were raised as to whether this form of community ownership failed to reflect on whether marketisation hinders the capacity building of communities (Simpson et al, 2003; Lynn, 2018), as neoliberal¹² shifts in public provision and localism weakened community capacity. In this

¹¹ The policy also continued performance management, with authorities being required to evidence continuous improvements to avoid services being outsourced.

¹² In this context, neoliberal refers to a view of public facility provision which assumes that relying on market mechanisms is most effective in terms of the quality of the provision of the facilities.

way the governance of local assets, as influenced by the localism act, clumsily conceptualised if communities had capacity for ownership by using market mechanisms (Lynn, 2018; Rex, 2019b; MacMillan, 2013). Therefore, shifts towards localism constrained communities rather than empowering them as communities were left to clear up the mess left by a failed state (Levitas, 2005; Jarvis, 2015).

This presents a duality to localism of community ownership, with the localism that third sector organisations are strained by as austerity localism (Featherstone et al, 2012). Here, through the marketisation of local facility provision, localism has pernicious consequences, as inequalities remain between local places (Findlay-King et al, 2015). For example, Clayton (2016) found that staff in third sector organisations were frustrated at being pressured to do more with less. Progressive localism contrasts this as an articulation of the potentials that are unlocked by community ownership, where localism enables communities to develop their own solutions. These two articulations symbolise the uneven impact of austerity across communities, with some of the poorest parts of the UK being severely impacted. Between 2010 and 2015 local authorities received cuts in expenditure of £130 per person (Nichols et al, 2014) with cuts being higher in the North of England and in deprived areas. The 10 percent most deprived local authority wards experienced cuts of £228 per person, while the 10% least deprived wards experienced cuts of £44.91 per person (SPERI, 2015).

Despite this evaluation of the impact of austerity localism and the Big Society on communities, there were few critiques of what the significance for leisure would be. King (2014) explored how councils were adopting cooperating or commissioning frameworks for involving communities in their leisure provision. For King (2013), reciprocal arrangements and a reinvigoration of volunteerism in sport meant that clubs and community groups were seen as suitable for delivering the Big Society. Delivery mirrored CCT to BV as sport clubs could build the capacity of local actors to manage local public facilities (King, 2014). This was because sport clubs could deliver social objectives, provide voluntary opportunities, and enhance the involvement of communities in local facility provision.

The National Audit Office revealed the extent of this reduction in local authority funding was 36%, with £53 billion being removed (NAO, 2018). To handle such cuts, local authorities reduced leisure service provision to 18% in 2018 (Intel, 2018) and up to the launch of the Big Society Agenda 35% had transferred management of leisure facilities (O'Leary et al, 2011).¹³ This shift reflected an uncritical acceptance of how the third sector could deliver public facilities (Findlay-King et al. 2018), with the broader outsourcing of leisure services reflecting notions of new public management as

¹³ This is in part because leisure services are discretionary in the UK. Meaning that local authorities have no statutory requirement to provide such facilities and services.

services become increasingly marketised. These cuts compounded the ability of authorities to evidence performance management and quality (Boyne, 1998), as where quality could not be met, local authorities were pressured to outsource facilities. Therefore, transferring facilities added weight to notions that communities may be the best providers of facilities (Stevens et al, 2002).

2.2 Community Asset Transfer

Amidst reductions in local authority service delivery, CAT became politically legitimised as a way to ensure facility provision was maintained (Quirk, 2007). However, emphasis on CAT was out of sync with nuanced understandings of the capacity of communities to participate in this form of ownership (Morgan, 2013). Moreover, research into CAT started with large samples, where participants were surveyed without interacting with each other or researchers, meaning the idiosyncrasies of the CAT process were not understood. For instance, Skerratt and Hall (2011) surveyed members of 347 village halls that were taken into community ownership, finding challenges. Likewise, Aiken et al (2008; 2011) mixed surveys and interviews, presenting richer participant experiences that emphasised the importance of social capital in the connections communities shared around facilities.

These studies framed the claims made about community ownership by drawing on the capitals that exist in communities using Emery et al's (2006) Community Capitals Framework (Figure 3.1). In using this frame of capital, the potentials embedded within communities were critically addressed, with claims being made that this form of asset ownership pressured communities (Aiken et al, 2011). Such research approaches provided understanding of challenges associated with community ownership, as capitals were found to be unevenly spread across communities (Dobson, 2011). This is because communities struggle with CAT if they lack agency, harmony, and social capital (Chadwick et al, 2018). Where capitals are lacking in communities, CATs reflect austerity localism as they exacerbate existing inequalities, as some communities benefit from access to facilities whilst others are excluded (Featherstone et al, 2012; Earley, 2020; Newcombe, 2020).

Indeed, research on CAT became critical of the reliance on communities to deliver local facilities through CAT, as questions of whether there was the capacity in the sector were raised (Fenwick et al, 2015). Fenwick et al (2015) identified this unequal level of access and capacity in communities. Reid (2018) showed that CATs reflected progressive localism, but only when skills in the community and support from local authorities was present. Forbes et al, (2017) and Rex (2019a) found when CATs are conducted amidst local authority cuts, the capacity of these authorities to support is limited. Other dilemmas have been found, as successful CATs may risk justifying cuts to authorities

(Fortkert, 2015). Also, local authority officers implement cuts and then try to support groups in spite of them, with their involvement leading the suspicion of community members of reducing dissent (Fortkert, 2015).

It follows that the claims made about CAT remained unacknowledged by local authorities who prioritised financial savings from CAT over the potential community benefits (Rex, 2019a; Bruni, 2020). These risks reinforcing justifications that communities may be better placed to manage facilities (Murtagh et al, 2017). Yet communities may still not receive adequate support to be involved in CAT (Ahrens et al, 2015; Fortkert, 2015). Indeed, critical research approaches on CAT which account for influential contexts, question whether communities have the sufficient stocks of capital necessary to conduct CATs. Nichols et al (2020: 1162) stated that it is impossible to disentangle the Big Society policy from the driving force for CATs; Moore et al (2013) argued that CAT cannot be viewed as unrelated to neoliberal policy making as it is shaped by the state's retreat.

2.2.1 Community Asset Transfer of Leisure Facilities

Local authorities

Due to being discretionary, leisure facilities are one of the most likely facilities to be transferred when local authorities face budgetary cuts (Gilbert, 2016). Therefore, CAT of leisure facilities is situated in response to public sector budgetary reductions as community ownership can save costs for local authorities (King, 2013). In fact, some authorities do not provide financial support to communities taking on facilities as the conditions causing CATs lessens the financial capacity of authorities (Rex, 2019a; Findlay-King et al, 2015; Fenwick et al, 2015). Research has shown that communities may be able to manage the finances of leisure facilities more efficiently than local authorities. Nichols et al (2014) showed that communities operate on smaller budgets, as they involve volunteers. However, this can be complicated, as Findlay-King et al (2015) found that TUPE legislation restricts the roles that volunteers can be used in as they are unable to deliver the same roles as paid staff from the local authorities if they are not transferred across. Community-run leisure facilities may also be able to charge more if staff are connected to the community (Schwarz et al, 2015) but they may sustain the facility at lower prices if the local community buy-in (Kenyon, 2018; Schultz, 2016). Lastly, community organisations are eligible for grants that local authorities

cannot access (NLHF, 2017¹⁴), such as funds from Sport England when leisure assets (Sport England, 2014).

Individuals involved

Community members may campaign as activists against closures or reductions in local authority leisure services (Findlay-King et al, 2015; Ahrens et al, 2015; Rex, 2019b; Murtagh et al, 2017). Activists mobilise residents who support campaigns (Somerville et al, 2011). The individuals involved may change their focus from campaigning to conducting a CAT (Nichols et al, 2014). Still, this can be challenging as the skills used throughout campaigns differ from the skills necessary to conduct a CAT (Nichols et al, 2020). Further, with their involvement likely to change, and the skills required at each stage changing, campaigners may disengage despite supporting the campaign and the CAT. This is because CATs are complex and the time-consuming and political processes challenges those without relevant skills and experience (Findlay-King, 2018b; Ahrens et al, 2015).

Other studies have shown these processes are more suited to affluent individuals, with successful CATs being conducted by individuals characterised by higher levels of skills, confidence, and social capital more likely to succeed (Fenwick et al, 2015). Indeed, Aiken et al (2015) found that such individuals are likely to be retired in rural communities, and with professional experience of business or politics. The complexity of this process remains unclear, particularly as CATs of leisure facilities may be more challenging to identify due to the smaller population of these CATs. Therefore, these challenges have been conceptualised on small sample sizes. For instance, Ahrens et al (2015), Fenwick et al (2015), and Fortkert (2015) examined the nature of the individuals, each with just one case example. Consequently, there is little understanding regarding the broad nature of the individuals involved (Aiken et al, 2008).

Groups

There are no overriding models for the structures and legal status of groups (Aiken et al, 2011). They have been understood as mutual aid, self-help, social enterprises, or membership associations, with an ability to address problems (Findlay-King et al. 2015). Groups form these structures with a board of trustees, with staff, and support from volunteers (Fenwick, 2015). The nature of groups involved

¹⁴ <https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/in-your-area/north>

in CAT has been inconsistently conceptualised (Archer, 2019), which has resulted in the organisations leading the transfer of leisure CATs being recognised in a way where their focus on providing sport and leisure services is overlooked. Despite this there is a body of literature on third sector entities regarding how their characteristics bring advantages and disadvantages. For example, these features of organisations are provided by Billis (2010).

Features	Third Sector
Ownership	Members
Governance	Election/selection
Operational Priorities	Commitment to social mission
Human resources	Staff, members, and volunteers
Other resources	Sales, dues, donations, and legacies

Table 2.1 Organisational Types across sectors (Billis, 2010)

Table 2.1 shows that whilst these organisations are diverse and have unique characteristics, they are all third sector entities. Thorlby (2011) investigated the key features of each entity, showing the unique ownership, governance, status, and funding model they have. They found that having an asset lock, and the possibility of granting shares or bonds to directors through the model makes these organisations attractive to communities considering CATs, as shown in Table 2.2.

Legal structure	Key features of ownership and governance
Community Interest Company (CIC)	A form of private company suited to social enterprises providing a community benefit and which provides an alternative to charitable status. CICs can take any form of private company (limited by guarantee, limited by private shares, or a public limited company), but also have additional features. They must pass a community interest test and are protected by an 'asset lock' on all assets, including a cap on any dividend payments. The CIC model allows a broad range of purposes, provides limited liability, and allows directors to be salaried. Regulated by Companies House and the CIC Regulator
Co-operative Society 'co-op' (Industrial and Provident Society 'for profit')	Trading organisations run for the mutual benefit of their members, with profits mainly reinvested in the business. Profit sharing amongst members is possible, but limited and must be equitable. There is a maximum investment in shares per person of £20k, all withdrawable. One member, one vote, regardless of size of shareholding. Limited liability. Registered by the Financial Services Authority

Table 2.2 Organisational Models in CATs (Thorlby, 2011)

Aiken et al (2011) and Thorlby (2011) suggest that Community Interest Companies (CICs) are the preferred model for organisations conducting CATs¹⁵. Similarly, organisations registered as Mutual Benefit Societies and Charities have also conducted CATs. Both involve being owned by members,

¹⁵ In a data set from Thorlby (2011) 48% of CATs are by organisations registered as CIC.

providing services to members, but providing services to the public (Archer et al, 2019). The benefit of mutuals and CICs is that they bring asset lock, which are constitutional devices that prevent the sale of the asset for private development. This is in place to ensure that any entity running a facility does so with the local community interests as a priority. Additionally, these models enable the organisation conducting the CAT to access rate relief, which is key in the facility being more affordable to maintain as local authorities can grant full relief of the rent (Schultz, 2016).

Despite a lack of conceptualisation of the models that may be adopted in leisure CATs (Aiken et al, 2011), communities running a facility through a CAT may form either model from Table 2.2 meaning they are community sport businesses (Cuskelly et al, 2013), because they share four characteristics:

“(1) CBs are started and run a local community; (2) They derive their strength from being rooted in a physical place; (3) Their primary purpose is to generate social value for the local community; (4) They trade in goods or services with a view to being independent of grants.” Plunkett et al, (2015).

Plunkett et al (2015), shows the stages of development that CSBs may cover to form one of the models in Table 2.2 to conduct CAT. These cover pre-venture, inception, growth, and scaling.

Stage	Description
Pre-Venture	Community members become aware of a local problem, need or opportunity, to which a CSB could be the answer. This may mean a valued leisure centre could be under threat from closure and local people are well-placed to respond.
Inception	This is the point at which a CSB is formalised. This means taking on a legal form, whether as a form of company (CIC), Company Limited by Guarantee (CLG), Company Limited by Share (CLS); as a co-operative or bencom.
Growth	This is a formative, high risk stage for any CSB. It decides whether or not early momentum can be translated into a financially sustainable organisation.
Scaling	CSBs establish a sustainable organisation and look at what could be achieved next. Businesses at this stage are doing good work but find themselves improvising.

Table 2.3 Stages of CSB Development (Plunkett et al, 2015).

Cultures

The structural arrangements and contexts influencing CATs result in cultural properties forming within the workforces in CSBs. Research on CSBs has shown cultural properties include values, practices, and behaviours which are normalised in CSBs (Watson et al, 1999; Rae, 2017). For CSBs, cultures may reflect the beliefs shared between the communities and activists that formed the CSB (Rae, 2017; Jacobs et al, 2011). This is because CSBs are characterised by relations between staff,

volunteers, and service users, which facilitates identities that become embedded (Schlesinger et al, 2018; Cuskelly et al, 2013). The cultural properties of CSBs may concern taking care of each other, connecting with communities, and working towards social missions (Kleinheins et al, 2020).

Further research is needed to understand the cultural properties of CSBs which have conducted CATs (Nichols et al, 2020). As, the role of culture in forming organisational properties needs attention to understand the capacity of CSBs conducting CAT (Jacobs et al, 2011; Cuskelly et al, 2013). This is despite research on voluntary leisure organisations, which addresses a multitude of factors that influence volunteer experiences (Schlesinger et al, 2018; Cuskelly, et al, 2013). It follows that to understand how CSBs can successfully conduct CAT of leisure facilities, the lower-level structures within organisations needs addressing (Denison, 1996; Nichols et al 2020).

Successful CAT

The definition of success for CATs is contested despite being important for local authorities and groups to have shared understandings (Forkert, 2016). For instance, success for policymakers has been defined by service quality and value for money (Rex, 2019a). For local authorities, success may involve keeping a local facility operational whilst making financial savings (Moore et al, 2013), particularly when CSBs CAT loss making facilities (Findlay-King et al, 2018b). Given that financial success does not always guarantee benefits for residents, these dimensions are critiqued as keeping facilities open at any cost (Richards et al, 2018a; 2018c). Rex (2019b) argues that local authorities should focus on achieving social and economic benefits for residents instead (Rex, 2019b). For CSBs, success relates to delivering services and forming governance structures that empower residents.

Whilst these approaches present the importance of understanding success in CAT, the studies are limited in how this is understood across perspectives or how local authorities and communities can collaborate together in CATs (de Haan et al, 2019). For instance, most studies of CAT and community ownership do not draw on shared perspectives from local authority officers and members of CSBs (Richards 2018a; 2018b; Findlay-King et al, 2015; Nichols et al; 2014). Consequently, success has not been understood from a shared perspective, despite the importance of this. A shared understanding of success may develop the capacity of local communities (Earley, 2020). However, there are multiple aspects to this; volunteers improving their social capital through strengthening their links with communities; volunteers improving their human capital by accessing training opportunities at facilities (Apiliyah et al, 2013) or through improvements in health, reductions in crime, and other social improvements (Findlay-King et al, 2015¹⁶; Hobson et al, 2019).

¹⁶ These domains of capital are theorised in Chapter 3.

2.3 Summary

This chapter reviewed the offloading of public services, where CCT and Best Value shifted the way leisure facilities are provided. These shifts pre-empted the Big Society and Localism Agendas as communities were pressured into taking an active role in running leisure facilities. This shift was critiqued, as questions of the desire, capacity, and resource in communities to manage leisure facilities were reflected when exploring literature on CAT. Critiquing literature on the CAT of leisure facilities provided an understanding of how the individuals, organisations, and dimensions of success for CAT are understood, but this was limited, as such understandings were not linked to the ways that communities can utilise dimensions of capital when conducting CAT. Investigating how accessing domains of community capital, particularly human capital, enhances the capacity of the communities and groups to succeed with CATs, would therefore address where the existing body of literature is limited. Therefore, the study answers five research questions which address the limitations in understanding human capital (in both organisations and communities), conceptualisations of success, and the component properties of communities and groups involved in CAT. These questions are:

1. What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility?
2. How are community capitals mobilised?
3. What support is needed to sustain CSBs?
4. What are the differences between voluntary and paid staff human capital requirements?
5. What impact does the balance between voluntary and paid staff have on success?

3. Theoretical Framing

This chapter introduces the Community Capitals Framework (Emery et al, 2006) to outline ways to explore whether CSBs have the community and organisational capital to conduct CAT. The concept of community capital is critically discussed, drawing on the questions raised throughout the literature review. Discussing this encourages consideration of whether communities have capacity to conduct CAT, with emphasis on the importance of human and social capital. The chapter uses the framework (Emery et al, 2006) to conceptualise domains of capital that individuals, communities, and organisations possess. This conceptualisation involves framing human capital across community and organisational settings, with a focus on addressing the human capital necessary to conduct CAT.

3.1 The Community Capital Framework

3.1.1 The nature of the framework

The literature in Chapter 2 outlined domains of capital that interact in mutually beneficial ways, by focussing on the skills, resources, and abilities of communities (Skerratt et al, 2011a). In this context, capital concerns the resources, potentials, and assets which communities and individuals possess across multiple domains (Emery et al, 2006). Examining capital enabled explorations of whether groups could participate in community ownership (Aiken et al, 2008), community housing (Moore et al, 2013), and CAT research (Skerratt et al, 2011a; 2011b; Fortkert, 2015; Fenwick et al, 2015, Nichols et al, 2014), each treating capitals as existing in communities, individuals, and groups.

These studies identified further framing of capital is necessary. For instance, whilst social capital is addressed most frequently, political (Findlay-King et al, 2018a; Fenwick et al, 2015) and financial capital (Emery et al, 2006; Nichols et al, 2014) were highlighted as significant. Further, studies of community assets raised the interaction of built or natural capital with other capitals, showing the capacity mobilising function of community assets (Skerratt et al, 2011a; Murtagh et al, 2017). Raising these capitals confirms the significance of their interrelation for community or organisational capital to be mobilised. Indeed, the Community Capitals Framework (CCF) Emery et al (2006) is a theoretical foundation for understanding the capital in communities. Emery et al (2006) applied the framework to explore the ability of members of a rural community to respond to natural disasters.



Figure 3.1 Community Capitals Framework (Emery et al, 2006)

Within the CCF each of the seven areas concern the potentials and assets that communities have. In this way, capital is seen as a stock that can be possessed (Emery et al, 2006). The framing of capital (as covered in Figure 3.1) was premised on the increasing use of social capital (Putnam, 1993) and human capital (Becker, 1975) to conceptualise the presence of social networks, community cohesion, and individual knowledge in such response efforts. This can be used to examine communities managing facilities, and how such capitals may interrelate when communities come together (Skerratt et al, 2011a).

The CCF refers to natural capital as assets in particular locations, including weather, geographic isolation, and natural resources. Cultural capital reflects how people know the world, how they act in it, and language (Bourdieu, 1986). Human capital includes abilities to garner resources and improve wellbeing (Chaskin, 2001; Becker, 1975; Fitz-enz et al, 2002). It stems from research (Becker, 1964) in economics where investments in education were justified on the economic gains that individuals would make once in employment. More recently, human capital has been understood as the resource and ability that individuals invest in themselves and their communities for non-economic purposes, such as community endeavours (Marginson, 2019). Social capital involves the connections among people, including ties that bring individuals in networks to mobilise resources and to consider alternative ways of doing things. Political capital reflects power. It covers the abilities of people to engage in actions that contribute to wellbeing (Fitzgerald et al, 2016). Where social capital is addressed, it is understood as involving aspects of collective action generated by networks of

relationships, trust, and norms (Stofferahn, 2012). The approach emphasises relational networks among organisations, where individuals have access to shared resources and support for capacity building (Coleman 1998; Putnam, 1993). In this, both Coleman (1998) and Putnam (1993) situate individuals within a network of community actors, where networks may intersect or overlap.

Financial capital covers financial resources for investing in community development (Emery et al, 2006). Table 3.1 outlines these capitals across the two settings in this study, revealing the differences between how capital is conceptualised in the community and within organisations.

Domain of capital	Organisational Definition	Community Definition
Human capital	Knowledge, expertise, wellbeing	Knowledge, expertise, wellbeing
Natural Capital	Location, environment, amenities	Location, environment, geography, amenities
Social Capital	Communication, relationships, cultures	Communication, relationships, participation
Cultural Capital	Values, heritage, perception, local content	Values, heritage, perception, local content
Political Capital	Political powers, relationships with political authorities	Accountability, power, civic engagement
Built Capital	Built assets	Local infrastructure, telecommunications, housing
Financial Capital	Monetary resources, business assets, workforce	Monetary resources, local business capacity, local workforce

Table 3.1 Defining Community Capital and Organisational Capital (adapted from Emery et al (2006) and Bruni et al (2020).

As figure 3.1 and table 3.1 illustrate the domains of capital conceptualised in the CCF have tenets which together contribute to the community and organisational capitals that are accessed. However, interrelations of the domains in community and organisational settings must be viewed. Christensen et al (2020) examined the interrelation of human capital and political capital, Fergen et al (2022), Utami et al (2020), and Guitierrez et al (2009), found interrelations of human, social, and political capital were vitally important, with each study showing how human capital can interact with other domains for capital to be enhanced. Interrelations of domains of capital received less attention and was briefly mentioned in studies of CAT (Findlay-King et al., 2018a; Bruni et al, 2020; Nichols et al, 2020).

This application of the CCF related the benefits of community ownership to the role of communities in meeting their own needs (Moore et al, 2013). Where, disparities between the capacity of communities were seen, as some benefited from the availability of local professional skills that may not be available in disadvantaged areas (Skerratt et al, 2011a). Moreover, viewing capital as the stock that individuals have across these seven domains prevents a conflation with other key terms such as capacity and capabilities, and enables the types of capital invested, the interaction among them, and the resulting impacts across these domains to be conceptualised (Emery et al, 2006). Other terms such as capacity, holding, or having abilities reflect stocks within community members but does not conceptualise the constituent and dynamic nature of capitals (Emery et al, 2006). Chaskin (2001) conceptualised community capitals as underpinning the capacity in communities, which shows that each dimension of community capital interrelates for capacity to develop. As the agency and abilities defining community capacity is contained within communities but also incorporated within connections to external systems, capacity fundamentally involves access to stocks of human and social capital. This is because human capital forms social agency and social capital possession underpins the social missions, structures, and external connections, meaning human capital and social capital are closely interrelated. For instance, having skills, knowledge, and self-efficacy in communities may open doors to social networks, and access to external expertise can utilise skills, knowledge, and dispositions. The next section conceptualises human capital that is relevant to examining the capitals needed to CAT through the work of Bruni et al (2020).

3.1.2 Community Human Capital

Research addressing community capital highlighted ways that human capital interrelates with social and political capital, giving communities certain potentials (Utami et al, 2020). Interrelations of the domains of capital are important in CAT as Skerratt et al (2011a) identified the knowledge needed in communities for community governance structures to form. Most importantly, increasing human capital through training, upskilling, and connecting agents increases other domains of capital as the knowledge, political agency, and connections in communities increase (Guitierrez-Montes, 2005; Utami et al, 2020). With these exchanges of information, knowledge, and resources being critical in enhancing the capacity of CSBs, human capital is the most important capital in community capital (Emery et al, 2006) as it impacts other domains (Skerratt et al, 2011a). Bruni et al (2020) accounted for these, when conceptualising the human capital needed for CAT, in a way that moves beyond the neoclassical theorisation from Becker (1964) (Bruni et al. 2020).

Human Capital	Description
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Strong leadership	Will the group be run by an experienced chair? Is the governance with defined roles and understanding of who participates in decision making?
Quality staff and volunteers	Will the group be able to attract volunteers in terms of skills and background? Do they have a good plan for retaining staff?
Proactive management	Is the group planning to do something to identify issues affecting local people and the needs of local people.
Succession planning	Do the group have a contingency in case board members or key team members need to be replaced?
Evidence of partnerships	Is there evidence of the group having developed partnerships with funders, delivery organisations, advisory organisations?

Table 3.2 Human Capital in CAT (Bruni et al, 2020)

The study therefore applies the understanding from Bruni, as outlined in Table 3.2 to conceptualise how human capital forms community capital in the communities associated with CAT.

3.1.3 Organisational Human Capital

Interpretations of how domains of human capital (Becker, 1964), social capital (Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 1993) and political capital (Fitzgerald et al, 2016) interrelate in the CCF are conceptualised on social organisations. It is important to conceptualise the impact on organisational capital as these capitals interrelate. In organisations, human, social, and political capital are key domains of organisational capital (Hobson et al, 2019), with human capital being the most significant (Bruni et al, 2020). This is because it shapes organisational knowledge (Fitz-enz et al, 2002), community and organisational resilience (Fischer et al, 2017 Shela et al, 2021; Sturgis, et al, 2022 Haw, 2023), sustainability (Allamen et al, 2017), and influences other domains of organisational capital such as political and financial capital (Stofferahn, 2012; Fischer et al, 2017). Therefore, human capital is conceptualised in both community and organisational contexts aligning the view of interrelations of organisational capitals with Emery et al's (2004) framework of community capitals. This evolves their model to be a broader interrelation of capitals that can be applied in both settings. In this, human capital is a starting point of mobilising the interrelation of capitals, as illustrated in Figure 3.2.

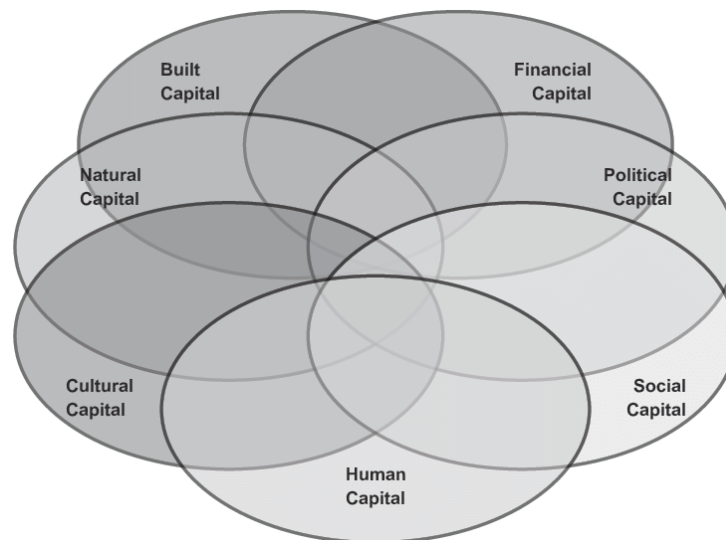


Figure 3.2 Interrelation of Capitals (Emery et al, 2006)

Figure 3.2 shows the interrelated nature of the capitals that human capital underpins. In illustrating this, the way human capital is understood in the study can be seen. However, the theoretical foundation for human capital has been problematic for conceptualising how this domain is understood in community studies. Human capital stems from neoclassical economic assumptions that investment in education results in a return in skill and knowledge (Becker, 1964). However, these returns were considered for economic returns, rather than for collective community efforts (Marginson, 2019), meaning that more recent conceptualisations of human capital have to be considered for the theory of this domain to be applied in researching communities. For instance, neoclassical views of human capital assume that the possession of this capital has a linear relationship with financial capital. Additionally, individuals are motivated to invest in their human capital for selfless reasons, such as giving back to their community. This is why the domains of human capital from Bruni et al (2020) underpin aspects of the conceptualisation of capital.

Secondly, Skerratt and Hall (2011a; 2011b) and Fischer et al (2017) analysed the challenges of community ownership in the UK, but the framework has been applied to studies of communities in developing countries. These do not misapply the framework, but this means that the application is incongruent with the contexts of America from Emery et al (2006). For instance, Utami et al (2020) used the CCF to examine the capitals in a small rural community in Indonesia, as did Rasmussen et al (2021) in rural Pakistan, and Guitierrez-Montez (2005) in Columbia. In these studies, the researchers provided detail on the communities being investigated, and gave the community members in the sample a voice, so that local nuance was captured. Therefore, any framing of human capital needs to be made in a way which captures the local contexts of the communities under examination (Emery

et al, 2006). This study does this by providing greater detail on the case sites and the participants in the same (see Appendix A and section 1.4).

3.2 Theoretical Conclusion

This chapter drew on community studies to frame the analysis on the interrelations of capitals which underpins how community and organisational capital is mobilised in CAT. The interrelations of capital in Emery et al's (2006) CCF frame how these capitals interrelate, with human capital being a starting point of this. It followed that an understanding of human capital in CAT was provided by Bruni et al (2020), which underpinned how a novel framework could be developed. Because to investigate how human capital is mobilised in community and organisational contexts, the CCF was mirrored by a frame of organisational capitals or the human capital to be investigated. This was shown in Figure 3.2, which when applied in this study, would view human capital as a starting point for increases in other capitals, and the broader capacity communities and organisations have to conduct CAT. In sum, the chapter framed the overarching research question of the study, as the human capitals needed to conduct a CAT are conceptualised, as are the way this is mobilised

4. Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to justify why critical realism is suited to answering the research questions outlined. Indeed, the chapter explains how critical realist assumptions and modes of analysis shaped the research process adopted.

Firstly, an introduction to critical realism is explored (4.1), as the epistemological view of a stratified reality is introduced. This draws on a view from Bhaskar (1979) concerning the way that reality can be understood at three distinct levels, and these shape our understanding of events. Indeed, Bhaskar's (1979) argument that the ultimate objects of scientific knowledge are not events, but their underpinning properties sets the context for taking a stratified view of reality. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 outline this, showing how the sample organisations (and reality) are understood within this study.

Secondly, 4.2 examines the assumptions from researchers of CAT and community ownership studies, where explanations for why understanding the interplay of structure and agency for community organisations are limited, despite efforts to conceptualise these. This section highlights the ways in which a combination of social constructionism and realism underpin the critical realist view applied through the research. Explaining these, will outlay the basic philosophical tenets that are carried forward throughout the chapter and used in the thesis. For instance, the need to view the lower levels of organisational or human entities is needed to reveal how entities come into being.

The third section (4.3) covers critical realist methodological approaches, by explaining how the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1998) can be a sensitising device in understanding organisational emergence. This treats the emergent properties of agential and structural entities as consequences of the interactions that entities are involved with. The relevance of morphogenesis is made clear, as the stages of how organisations emerge, where interactions cause novel properties to form and be reinforced is explained. The use of the approach is related to the emergence of sample organisations, where through interactions between staff, board members, and other stakeholders, properties emerge including organisational structures and cultures. So, whilst the morphogenetic framework (figure 4.3) is not referred to in the findings, it guides how the formation of entities is understood.

Section 4.3 culminates with a brief summary which connects the justification of this methodological approach, to the design of the research and the methods that follow. Indeed, section 4.4 provides an overview of the research design and the sections that follow discuss the methods (4.5); design, data collection, synthesis, analysis, and writing details are provided. The considerations that were made

throughout the collection and handling of data are shared including the need to be reflexive, ethical, and rational with how the methods were judged.

4.1 Critical Realism

Critical realism is a framework model of how social systems work (Anderson, 2020), developed by Roy Bhaskar (1975). It focuses on the social world of human activity to explain events, interactions, and processes such as how an organisation emerges (Danermark, 2002). Bhaskar (1975) argued that the world can be divided into real, actual, and empirical domains. The 'empirical' experience of events that people experience, as a sub-set of the 'actual' full set of events that occur whether people are aware of them or not, in turn a sub-set of the 'real' objects, their structures and causal powers. Critical realism applied to organisations therefore provides a framework to understand the underlying structures and actions of the organisation and individuals within it (Anderson, 2020). It provides a way to explore the development of these structures and the interactions that allow properties to emerge within them. Properties in organisations include the policies, buildings, organisational branding, human resource, financial resource, and other resources. Within individuals, properties include their knowledge, competences, and physical body part.

Considering this in more detail, the framework can be used to question how organisations emerge, in that pre-existing properties merge to form a new property (Bhaskar, 1975). A stratified view of reality is implicated, where the way reality is experienced is separated across levels of reality. At the empirical level, social life is experienced through sensory means, at the real level social life can be sensed, but occurs regardless of sensory experience, and at the actual level, social life cannot be experienced. This stratification does not mean any level of reality is less or more real than another only that the levels of reality that can be experienced are distinct. Figure 4.1 is an illustration of how these levels of reality can be understood (Fletcher, 2015; Simmonds et al, 2018).

This philosophical view has increased in use within social science since 1970, as for researchers concerned with changes in social phenomena, realism enabled the recognition of the antecedents of scientific enquiry. Meaning that understanding these changes required attending to their antecedent properties, which existed despite not being directly observed, showing social scientists that there was a real world independent of human interaction. The social sciences developed this by acknowledging the antecedent aspects of reality (Pryke et al, 2003).

Shifts in realist social science followed, which recognised that there are structures and mechanisms underlying the production of observable phenomena (Bhaskar, 1989). Describing these structures,

events, interactions, and mechanisms accepts that whilst our knowledge of social phenomena requires interacting with the empirical material of the social world, antecedent aspects of this world exist independent of us and do not necessarily depend on human activity (Bhaskar, 1975; Fletcher, 2015). The view changed how empirical material was understood, with attention on structures and mechanisms rather than attempting to confirm or falsify empirical matter, which reflected shifts away from conflationary ontological assumptions within positivist paradigms (Sayer, 1992). By recognising the independent existence of antecedent matter, Bhaskar (1975) separated viewing the production of knowledge from the means of knowledge. So, a stratified view of reality is made (Bhaskar, 1975).

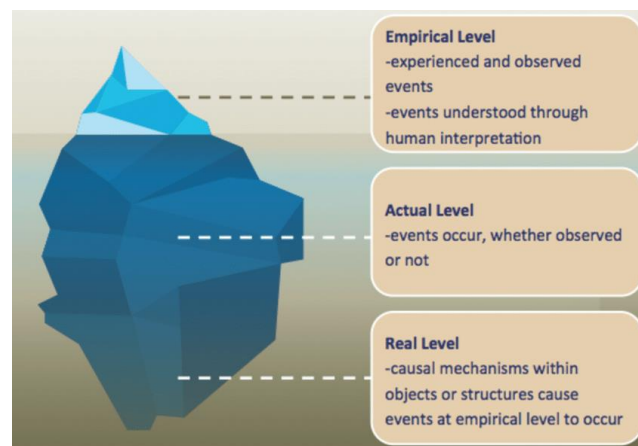


Figure 4.1 Critical Realist Iceberg (Fletcher, 2015)

As seen in figure 4.1, this stratified view separates levels of reality where interactions between entities and properties occur and where organisational structure can be identified (Bhaskar, 1975). Identifying that properties exist at lower levels of reality recognises that organisational structures are stratified, as properties exist at real and actual levels of reality. This means critical realist methodology enables attending to lower-level structural and cultural properties within organisations such as CSBs and community groups

4.2 Justifying Critical Realism

The last two chapters included studies of CSBs emerging from a variety of contexts to conduct CAT of facilities. This section critiques the methodological approaches applied in these studies, particularly where challenges of conducting CAT were examined, with social capital and other domains of community capitals being used as theoretical frames in examinations. Philosophical considerations made by Nichols et al (2020) on previous CAT research addressed the limited methodological approaches used, which were driven by a variety of pragmatic reasons (Nichols et al, 2020), such as

access to participants, timescales, and funding requirements. Consequently, lower levels of structure of organisations have been overlooked and conflated, and the interactions between stakeholders involved in CATs have not been viewed in ways that elucidates how structural and cultural properties emerge when participants interact with each other and structures. It follows that this methodology is constructed to enable the examination of the properties of CSBs involved in the CAT process, and this requires going beyond descriptive accounts of phenomena to examining data from the interactions (Fenwick et al, 2015; Findlay-King et al, 2018a; Nichols et al. 2020).

Other PhD studies have revealed the socially constructed nature of organisations that are involved in CAT. For instance, Foxton (2018) explored the construction of meaning for groups involved in heritage CATs. Corble (2019) explored agents collectively constructing understandings of library CATs as political transformations. Lynn (2018) showed how organisational structures constrain community members. Rex (2019a) attended to socially mediated structure by using actor network theory (ANT) to view how CAT transformed museum provision (Rex, 2019a). This assumes the world is composed of socially constructed entities, so research involves understanding associations between these entities. Meaning that explanations of reality are socially constructed with other individual actors who refer to social structure (Latour, 1996). Like the associationism examined by Findlay-King et al. (2015) reality in ANT is socially constructed through the translations between mediators. These approaches describe local authority staff as agents of central government policy and the individuals from the community groups as agents of reconfigured structures (Fenwick et al, 2015). These move the study of the social, to the study of association, as through relying exclusively on interpretations of participants, without addressing how social structures influence those interpretations, empirical aspects of reality are ignored. Further, these studies assume a flat ontology of entities, as organisational structure is understood at an abstract level. This means that the properties of organisations are conflated and how entities possess certain powers is not considered, committing the epistemic fallacy (Bhaskar, 1979; Fletcher, 2015)¹⁷.

The socially constructed nature of such organisations must be considered with reference to the contexts which condition the emergence of entities and the interactions that lead to structural and cultural elaborations within these entities (Bhaskar, 1979; Lynn, 2018). As Chapter 3 showed, human capital as a component of community and organisational capital within social constructionist research must take a stratified ontology so that the existence of human capital can be theorised. It is for this reason that examining ways CSBs emerge, identifying their structural properties, and

¹⁷The epistemic fallacy involves assumptions of what 'exists' and what we 'know' become blurred which led to a failure to recognise underlying mechanisms that influence organisational context and impact (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). An illustration of the alternative to this fallacy is provided on the next page (Fletcher, 2015).

understanding their organisational human capital requires a methodology that attends to the interplays of structure and agency, embedded in interactions between members of organisations.

4.3 Critical Realist Methodology

Attending to the lower-level parts of entities and the interplay of structure and agency means the emergence of social organisations can be explained. Descriptions of how social organisations emerge, refers to the processes by which sets of entities interrelate in specific contexts which constitute them into a stable higher-level entity. The emergent properties within this process rely on such contexts to condition the interrelation that brings them together (Archer, 1982). Furthermore, the maintenance of higher-level entities relies on the same and often overlapping sets of lower-level entities interrelating to maintain its continuing existence. Elder-Vass (2010) provides an example:

“Properties of water are different from those of its components, oxygen and hydrogen, when these are not combined with each other in the specific form that constitutes water” (Elder-Vass, 2010: 17).

Explaining emergence requires accounts of how in different domains of reality relatively stable organisations of lower-level phenomena interrelate to form organisational properties. Such phenomena can be attended to by stratifying these composite organisational lower levels through the downwardly inclusive view of entities. As seen in figure 4.2, L1 represents the highest level of the organisational entity, which would be viewed in the abstracted or laminated view. L2 represents the first decomposition of the whole, L3 represents the next decomposition, and this continues until we can no longer view entities or there is an atomic entity. Most importantly for Elder-Vass (2006) is that each of these levels represents a different decomposition of the same whole.

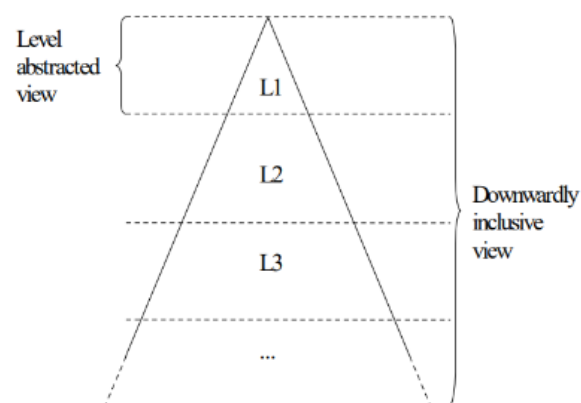


Figure 4.2 Downwardly Inclusive View of Entities (Elder-Vass, 2006: 5)

The existence of emergent organisations is explained through the concepts of continued (morphostatic) or changing (morphogenetic) causes within the process of structuration for the

entity. This is because there are many combinations that these lower-level entities can be organised in, but morphostatic causes organise entities in ways which mean their emergent properties form the continued structure of the higher-level entity. Conversely, morphogenetic causes influence the changing organisation of these lower-level entities, changing the structure of the higher-level entity. Emergence is a process which relies on morphostatic or morphogenetic causes to sustain or change combinations of lower-level entities in relationships that constitute them into higher-level entities that can exercise powers not possessed by component parts (Archer, 1995; Elder-Vass, 2010). It is these combinations which have causal effects and provide the empirical material to be identified.

The Morphogenetic Cycle addresses how structure, culture and agency interact with and back upon entities for organisational changes to occur (Archer, 1998). The cycle therefore enables identifying the emergence and evolution of social entities, as identifying higher-level entities that are rooted in, and emerge from, lower-level entities, requires explanations of mechanisms and contexts (Collier, 1994). This acts as a sensitising device for providing explanations of emergence, as structural and cultural elaborations must be situated within structural and cultural contexts which enable them. So, T1 denotes a pre-existence of a structural entity, meaning there are pre-existing structural and cultural conditions in organisations or social groups (Lawson, 2012; Horrocks, 2009). At T2 individual agents associate and interact with structural conditions (socio-structural interaction) and cultural conditions (socio-cultural interaction) causing cultural, or structural reshaping. Such reshaping leads to structural and cultural elaboration at T3. As the cycle is complete at T3, with morphogenesis or morphostasis occurring for the structure, T4 becomes the conditions for the next iteration and T1 follows (Horrocks, 2009; Archer, 1998).

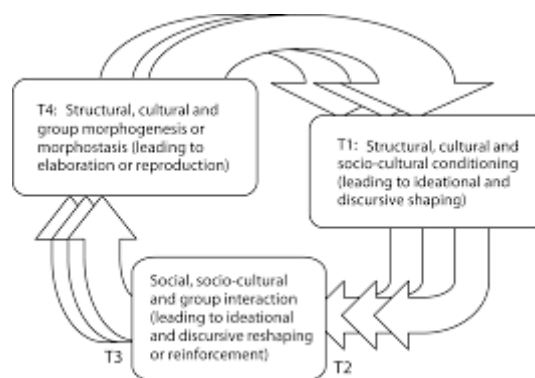


Figure 4.3 Morphogenetic Cycle (Archer, 1998)

The ways in which human entities which enter that structure, interact with the pre-existing structural and cultural conditioning is a concern of critical realist researchers. Part of that could be the norms that are endorsed in that group. If a human entity resisted or endorsed those norms, then through the social-cultural interaction at T2, ideational reshaping or reinforcement may occur, and

the structure would undergo morphogenesis, or morphostasis for T3 to T4 (Horrocks, 2009). This cycle illustrates that morphogenetic organisational change is an iterative cycle, which pre-exists any human entities interacting with it (Bhaskar, 1979; Archer, 1998). Morphogenetic critical realism therefore involves a form of organisational analysis that is attuned to these interplays and interactions, and the influence they have on organisational form (Reed, 2000; Brown, 2018).

However, what this looks like for organisational evolution needs considering, as most applications have addressed social clusters, but not formal community organisations. Wegner et al (2019) examined voluntary organisations with this view, identifying how structures influence the identity and behaviour of agents (Elder-Vass, 2007; Wegner et al, 2019). An emergentist view helps to explain how community members construct the CSBs that they represent (Elder-Vass, 2010: 34), as Corble (2019) argued for meaning emerges in community organisations (Archer, 1998). Therefore, to understand the structural and cultural properties of CSBs, analysis must focus on these combinations to show the ways in which organisations are shaped by their emergence (Archer, 1998).

Stratification enables analysis to recognise where these cultural properties may exist within the organisational structure of CSBs in that they are antecedent properties which we may only be able to identify the impacts of (Horrocks, 2009). As Byers (2013) uncovered when using critical realism in a study of control in sport clubs, confirming that human behaviour within sport clubs is culturally conditioned. Further, the stratified reality assumed within morphogenetic critical realism means that the capitals individuals possess can be subject to analysis (Marginson, 2019). As, by understanding interactions between individuals, lower-level interrelations of their capital can be examined.

It is this morphogenetic and stratified view of individuals, their stocks of capital, and the interactions between these which reveals the usefulness of critical realism in addressing the research questions of this thesis. For instance, attention on the properties within individuals and how these interrelate at lower levels of organisational structure is needed to explain how human capitals are utilised in CSBs (RQ1). Likewise, understanding ways that both community and organisational capacity are mobilised requires a recognition of the organisational levels that domains of capital may exist and interrelate for capacity enhancements to occur (RQ3). This view acknowledges the influence on the capacity of CSBs from interactions with other external organisations, such as local authorities and support agencies. Therefore, addressing whether the properties of such organisations contribute to enhancements in organisational capitals may address RQ3. Understanding these properties may be useful for addressing RQ4 and RQ5 if lower-level capital changes are understood across cases and individuals, with the enabling nature of cultural properties being conceptualised in this view.

Overall, explaining Bhaskar's (1979) critical realist methodology has provided foundations for viewing the properties of CSBs that need examining in addressing the above questions. Viewing emergence as adopted by Elder-Vass (2006) and morphogenetic analysis from Archer (1998) acknowledges the importance of interactions in shaping CSBs. The methodological approach therefore involves building a set of qualitative methods which assists in modelling interactions (Bhaskar, 1989). Forming these models requires acknowledging the fallibility of critical realist methodology (Smith et al, 2015), as critical realist methods do not take analysis deep enough to provide thorough discursive histories (Marbola, 2006). Additionally, the ontological view proposed, does not comprehend the broader neoliberal system (Brown, 2018) showing limitations in the abstractions that are made. This means that causal explanations are limited to the situation of study so that testing is by corroboration (Easton, 2007). However, it is not possible to find out about broader structures without examining local cases (Brown, 2018). The next section outlines these qualitative methods in detail.

4.4 Research Design

The study takes a qualitative case study approach to the methods used for understanding complex and multivocal perspectives of CAT, as across localities each CAT differs (Briggs, 2019). The selection of methods was governed by the need to attend to properties at real, actual, and empirical levels of reality (Danermark, 2002) and antecedent properties of organisations that exist at lower levels (Sayer, 2000; Makadok, 2015). For example, Schlesinger et al (2018) used critical realist case studies to examine how contexts of sport organisations shape organisational conditions, structures, and the identity of those volunteering in the organisation. This examination is enabled by a qualitative design using interviews, focus groups, and other methods with multiple stakeholders to form explanations of the properties within organisations (Bronnimann, 2022; Smith, 2012). Therefore, by adopting qualitative critical realist design, case studies involve methodological pluralism which recognises that for research to provide conceptions of phenomena, research must involve varied data generation tools, multiple participants, and varying perspectives (Danermark, 2002).

This section introduces these qualitative methods in detail after the process of selecting the sample is shown. The sections show the implications for each of these on the data generation. Additionally, the way findings were analysed and generalised through abductive reasoning and retrodution are provided (Danermark et al, 2019). Such design provides the validity and rigour necessary to explore the underlying properties of how community and organisational capital is mobilised (Bronnimann,

2022). This section also outlines ethical aspects of this research, and issues of reflexivity and practicality.

4.4.1 Selecting the Sample

A scoping exercise was conducted between February and September 2020 to narrow-down the population of leisure organisations to a sample of CSBs that had successfully instigated a CAT of a leisure asset. The scoping technique involved submitting a Freedom of Information (FOI) request¹⁸ to local authorities in England (Appendix B) via their information governance or democratic services department. The request was made on February 13, 2020, and by the time the ethical approval was granted for the data collection of this study, 67 local authorities had responded with CSBs that could be contacted to be in the final sample. The local authorities shared information on the CSBs and the assets which had been transferred. These were listed where information that was missing could be added by looking online at the organisations. As of November 2nd, 2020, the list contained 288 assets that had undergone a process of CAT. All groups with assets on the list were contacted with project information, ethical information, and were asked to complete a survey¹⁹. By November 25th, nine organisations had provided full responses to the survey.

Prior to contacting the CSBs which responded, the criteria for being involved in the full data collection was confirmed (Teddlie et al, 2007). It was important the groups had a mix of staff and board members who had been involved with the CSB and CAT and to have relationships with local authorities and with external stakeholders were considered (Teddlie et al, 2007).

There were requirements for the CSBs to meet the definition of a CAT as provided by Locality (2018a). Organisations managing facilities which did not meet the lease length or were no longer managing the facility were not included. Likewise, organisations which were managing facilities where leisure was not the primary area of service delivery were not included.

To summarise, mixed purposive sampling (Emmel, 2013; Patton, 2002) was used to select the sample against the criteria for inclusion in the study, the CSB or the staff:

- Managed a facility which has been acquired through a process of CAT.
- Had recently acquired operational facilities (a mix of 2-5 years).

¹⁸ The Freedom of Information Act 2000 is an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that creates a public "right of access" to information held by public authorities. It is the implementation of freedom of information legislation in the United Kingdom on a national level. <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-freedom-of-information/what-is-the-foi-act/>

¹⁹ Multiple authorities responded beyond the data collection period. In total, the list now has 364 assets.

- Had a relationship with the Local Authority.
- Had a relationship with National Members associations.
- Had a relationship with the local community.
- Possessed and were willing to share sufficient documents.
- Had an organisational structure mix of trustees, paid staff, and voluntary staff.

4.4.2 Conducting the Research

Of the 9 organisations that met the criteria, 4 were involved in the final sample as the Chairs of the boards of these CSBs agreed for their organisation to participate. These are the four organisations outlined in the introduction.

Stage 1 Literature Policy Context				From 2020
Freedom of information requests				February 2020
Survey organisations identified through requests.				November 2020
Apply criteria to responses.				November 2020
Stage 2 Contact organisations				December 2020
Organisation	West Hill Pool	Burnside Gymnastics Club	Central Pool	Riverside Hockey Club
Preliminary conversation	December 2020	January 2021	January 2021	January 2021
Document Analysis	January 2021	January 2021	January 2021	January 2021
Focus Groups	February 2021 (n = 6)	February 2021 (n = 10)	N/A	N/A
Interviews	March 2021 (n =10)	March 2021 (n =2)	June - Aug 2021 (n 12)	June - Aug 2021 (n = 7)
AGM/Consultation	April 2021	N/A	May 2021	N/A
Site Visits	July 2021	N/A	August 2021	N/A

Table 4.1 Stages of Research Process

Initial steps prior to data collection involved building rapport with the participants, including the Chairs who were the gatekeepers and instigated the access to others as they had strong relationships with other board and staff members. Building rapport with the participants involved attending group meetings, virtual events, and starting dialogues over email to ensure they were comfortable with the research process. For instance, at Central Pool, there was time to speak to the chair and CEO in detail about the research process to build their trust. In such conversations having a background in leisure and being funded by a funder who provided grants to their CSB proved useful²⁰.

²⁰ See section 1.2 for background on the funder and researcher.

Data collection with West Hill Pool and Burnside Gymnastics Club started at the beginning of 2021 and followed a snowballing approach with the sample for each case organisation, as the Chair of each CSB provided connections to additional organisational members and external stakeholders including local authorities. Data collection with Riverside Hockey Club and Central Pool was delayed until June so additional conversations were necessary with the CEO of Central Pool and the Chair of Riverside Hockey Club as three months had passed since the initial conversations. Similarly, Riverside Hockey Club faced turbulent months prior to their involvement in data collection²¹. In each case, the same process of data collection is followed with document analysis preceding focus groups or interviews.

4.4.3 Document Analysis

Documents were sourced from public repositories, websites, and from Chairs of CSBs. The analysis included media of the closure and CAT of each facility as well as business plans and job descriptions as shown in Table 4.2 (Smith et al, 2012). Analysis started a month before the interviews (table 4.1).

Case organisation	Documents analysed
West Hill Pool	5 web articles, 1 West Hill Council meeting report, 3 job descriptions, the group's business plan, and the 2019 and (draft) 2021 annual reports.
Burnside Gymnastics Club	2 web articles, deed of covenant, business plan, 1 Parish Council meeting agenda, 1 timeline of transfer process, 1 lease, and 1 conditioning report
Central Pool	6 web articles an additional vision document was analysed
Riverside Hockey Club	1 Local authority strategy, 1 local authority meeting agenda, articles of association, 2 job descriptions, 2 organisational charts, and 1 business plan.

Table 4.2 Documents Analysed in Data

The document analysis was conducted with two aims; generating an understanding of how each CSB emerged from the closure of a leisure facility and providing context so that the interview schedules could reflect the key features of each CSB (Jones et al. 2018). As per Table 4.1, the first round of document analysis involved analysing online news articles that referred to facility closure or new groups conducting CATs. This was the case for West Hill Pool, Burnside Gymnastics Club, and Central Pool. There were no media articles available for Riverside Hockey Club.

The data generated proved useful for introducing the case organisations at the beginning of the thesis, where localised policy and conceptual contexts were provided, as well as the examination of

²¹ The World Health Organisation declared the COVID-19 as a Global Health Emergency, therefore many governments across the world enforced a national lockdown. The UK government enforced a national lockdown on the 23rd of March 2020, where individuals could only leave their household for essential reasons (Sohrabi, et al. 2020; Gov, 2020).

interview data in Chapter 5. In this chapter, data regarding the contexts of the transfer was analysed, and this added to the analysis throughout the chapter as many participants and organisations featured in both sets of data. The data from the document analysis was also used in planning the focus and schedules of the focus groups and interviews with participants. For this, the organisational documents were useful as the data was used to refine questions to refer specifically to each organisations, as the nature of the roles within the CSB, their external partners, and the nuance surrounding ways CATs occurred (Thornton et al, 2012) were reflected in schedules (Appendix C and D).

4.4.4 Focus Group interviews

Archer (2003) pointed to the use of semi-structured group interviews (Appendix E and F²²) in exploring and analysing the reflexivity and the sense making of participants, especially to reflect on their involvement in social interactions. The focus groups were opportunities for interactions to take place which formed additional data for the study. Indeed, grouping participants involved the synergistic building up of responses. However, generating interactions amongst participants from the case CSBs involved practical considerations, so participants were grouped based on role (Harris et al, 2017), with board and staff members interviewed separately. This maintained homogeneity throughout the discussions in the organisations (Kahan, 2001).

The first focus groups involved board members from West Hill Pool and the second involved directors from Burnside Gymnastics Club. Staff members from West Hill Pool and coaching staff from Burnside Gymnastics Club were interviewed in separate focus groups. The loose structure of the focus groups provided freedom to divert from the schedules referred to above if additional lines of inquiry were raised. Exploring these meant that the nuances of each case could be explored in greater detail, as the responses from participants contained rich data which was specific to each case. Generally, this structure involved building on the responses participants provided to the questions and probing the participants on their responses until sufficient data was provided.

4.4.5 Semi-Structured interviews

Throughout the data collection, 31 interviews (around an hour) were conducted with participants from across the cases. This involved using open-ended questions to draw on experience,

²² Appendix 4 and 5 shows the questions that were asked to the staff and the trustees of the case organisations.

motivations, and perspectives (Tacon et al, 2014). This started with the chairs of each CSBs, prior to the focus groups with board members and staff at West Hill Pool and Burnside Gymnastics Club (Table 4.1). Additional board members and a leisure assistant from West Hill Pool were interviewed individually. At Burnside Gymnastics Club the receptionist was interviewed and across CSBs consultants, local authority staff, and funders were interviewed individually.

All interviews were conducted individually with participants from Central Pool and Riverside Hockey Club. This relied on responses of each participant (Kvale, 2006), but acknowledging the subjectivity enriched the analysis of the properties of organisations and individuals (Cartagena, 2019). This is because interviews were opportunities for in-depth engagement, where participants shared experience openly (Brinkman et al, 2015).

4.4.6 Collecting, Recording and Transcribing Data

The data collection plan (Tables 4.1 and 4.2) was followed throughout despite the practical challenges that were involved with the cases, such as leisure organisations closing during pandemic related lockdowns and whether their staff were furloughed during that time. There was variation as to how this impacted the availability of stakeholders in the research, but even with these considerations, data saturation was achieved through the process of data collection outlined. With the UK Government announcing lockdowns, to maintain consistency across data collection, virtual collection was conducted. This was decided because of the increasing use of these platforms in professional meetings so two ethical submissions were made. One covered the ethical considerations of a face-to-face study, and one covered the ethical considerations of virtual data collection. Video conferencing increased during the global Covid-19 pandemic, meaning participants were familiar with using this platform (Yuan, 2020). These methods were convenient, financially efficient, and an unrestrained way of conducting interviews with participants (Janghoran et al, 2014). Participants were easily recruited, as with having cases in four different localities, interviews could be conducted concurrently and around the availability of the participants. This made participants comfortable enabling rapport to be developed, so deeper analysis could be made (Kaufmann et al, 2020).

Prior to conducting each interview, participants were given a participant information sheet (Appendix D) which outlined the focus of the study and mutual expectations between participants and the researcher. A consent form was shared so that participants could give a record of their consent. At the beginning of each interview the researcher explained the project and reminded participants that they could withdraw from the study at any stage, this provided an opportunity to

discuss aspects of the study off the record. Once agreed, the researcher then started the interview by beginning the recording and asking the first question. At the end of the structured questions, the research gave each participant the opportunity to share any additional comments and then explained what the process of data collection would be from there on. Rough notes were taken during the interviews, and these were used as prompts throughout the scheduled questions. These prompts were used where the semi-structure of the interview allowed for exploring responses in greater detail. For example, a leisure assistant from West Hill Pool shared responses regarding their employment history with West Hill Council. These responses were so rich in contextual detail concerning their CSB, the local authority, the staff in these organisations, and the communities in the locality, that by prompting this approach the first questions covered the majority of the time for the interview.

There were differences in interviews between the cases, as board and staff members of Burnside Gymnastics Club and West Hill Pool were interviewed in focus groups. Whereas all board participants from Central Pool and Riverside Hockey Club were interviewed individually. This limited the conflict between participants and maintained a richness in commentary (Harris et al, 2017; Garrett, 2004). However, it meant that the participants relied on their own recollections of the CAT process, whereas the focus groups participants collectively developed topics of discussion.

To account for these differences, the same schedule was used for participants regardless of their organisation or role, but also regardless of whether participants were interviewed in focus groups or individually. Further, interactions were examined in a unique way, as participants would be alone with the interviewer and unable to interact with other participants.

Therefore, probes were used, reflecting the discussion in the focus groups, and being used in individual interviews. Utilising these probes guided participants in line with interactions in the focus group, enabling consistency across the conversations (Doherty et al, 2013). For example, with board members 1-3 from West Hill Pool being interviewed together, they discussed issues by building on each other's responses, as shown in Section 5.2. Some comments shared in these interactions were noted and anonymously shared with board members 4 and 5, who were interviewed individually. Consequently, board member 4 added to the points made, and board member 5 contrasted the views with the quote in section 7.1.2.

Around 60 hours' worth of interview data was collected, as some interviews lasted only 40 minutes, whereas others lasted for up to 2 hours (above example), whilst most were between 60 and 90 minutes, even for the focus groups. The recordings were listened to afterwards and further notes were taken. These recordings were rich with detail and nuances that could not be captured by the

notes alone, as the virtual methods were beneficial for accessing verbal and non-verbal cues during the interviews. Additionally, using the video interviews meant a recording of the interview was ready-made for transcription. Once transcribed, transcriptions resulted in 450 pages of data, presenting a rich volume of data for analysis. It was important that transcriptions respected the verbatim responses of participants, so the transcripts were tidied, but false starts, hesitations and stutters were kept (Braun et al, 2012). After transcribing the interviews, written transcripts were uploaded into NVivo 11, a qualitative data analysis software package that enabled the mapping of thematic categories and the organisation of extracts of participants' interviews. These themes were used as starting points for data analysis.

4.4.7 Data Analysis

Critical realist methods of analysis involve thematic analysis for providing explanations of how CSBs come to be as they are. However, to account for the antecedents properties underpinning CSBs, the analysis of data moves beyond describing phenomena thematically, towards identifying the causal powers and properties at lower levels of organisational and human agents. Analysis therefore must provide theories of the various interactions at work in the formation of higher-order structure within organisations and individuals.

The process of analysing data informed making descriptions of the process of emergence for each CSB, how they conducted the CAT, and their organisational properties. The initial outputs of this analysis formed the contextual information shared in Chapter 1 and parts of Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Further, the data analysed in the finding's chapters involved a meta-process of analysis; retrodution and abduction (Elder-Vass, 2010).

Retrodution moves analysis beyond observational properties to the relations which produce them, enabling researchers to infer conditions and interactions (Lawson, 1997). Identifying the conditions and interactions which shape organisational properties, involves moving backwards and asking what occurred for such property to form (Fletcher, 2015). This process is an iterative one where analysis involves moving between empirical and deeper levels of reality to grasp the detail of the lower-level properties being studied.

Speculating on these interactions (as casual powers) required analysing data from participants across cases, as interactions and conditions do not always produce properties that can be identified, as participants from CSBs engaged in similar processes which achieved vastly different outcomes for each CSB. This is due to differences in internal structure, available support, and the contexts which

interactions occurred from (Hoddy, 2019). These exemplify how causal powers may go unactuated as mechanisms underpinning them may not be activated.

Retroduction is possible once abstractions are made of the phenomena under investigation. So, identifying contexts, interactions, and changes to the properties of CSBs requires working backwards through abductions. Therefore, abduction is used throughout stages of analysis to contextualise empirical data into abstract and general forms (Fletcher, 2015). These redescriptions of data enable identifying themes that are used in further data collection and analysis.

The analysis involved a cyclical process that required familiarisation with the data before thorough analysis was conducted. Data was analysed thematically, but this was not linear, in that data was collected, analysed, and theoretically reconceptualised before themes were identified. Initially, the coding of the themes reflected the CCF (Emery et al, 2006) with themes around whether the groups had skills, connections, and political influence being identified throughout the document analysis and initial interviews with participants from two cases. This enabled building an account of the current and historical state of the organisations under investigation and abstracting the cultural and structural properties across cases. The themes were added to a matrix, with data analysed in line with the capitals related to each theme (Appendix I).

The themes for Chapters 5 and 6 were constructed by examining CSBs in their entirety and working backwards to identify tenets of capital from the CCF that were prominent at each stage of the CAT process. This was because the analysis was concerned with understanding the involvement and interactions of participants in the pre-venture and initial stages of the CSBs.

Therefore, these chapters pay particular attention to how capitals may interrelate in being utilised and mobilised from within communities. Indeed, the analysis of this data largely concerned West Hill Pool and Central Pool initially, but as the later stages of this process were considered, data from Burnside Gymnastics Club and Riverside Hockey Club became significant for this analysis.

The second stage of analysis involved analysing the organisations in detail, so the structural and cultural properties could be identified (enabling further inferences for the final stage) (Libscombe, 2010). Again, this analysis took the form of analysing the capitals that were required to form the organisational models, governance, and staffing arrangements. However, as this concerned the CSBs beyond their inception, the analysis concerned capitals and organisational capacity.

The final stage was to explore cultural properties in greater detail, to reveal perspectives of success. By reanalysing dimensions of success alignments of perspectives were revealed. This shapes Chapter 8 by building on the data analysed for the earlier chapters, with further analysis revealing whether

the CSBs had the regard or the capacity to achieve the dimensions or if there were domains where no data was written into the chapter, because of the lack of findings.

4.4.8 Research Considerations

So far, this section has outlined the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning attempts to identify causal mechanisms and structures, and the contexts that they may be activated within (Smith, 2018). The critical realist assumptions guided the methodological construction and the collection, synthesis, and analysis of data. This has been complex, with ways of making inferences complicating the extent to which the analysis and discussion of experiential data can be generalised.

Generalisations

The possibility for critical realist research methods to enable findings that are generalisable need consideration, particularly with these inferences made (Smith, 2018; Danermark et al, 2019). There are many types of generalisations, with some not appropriate for qualitative research or compatible with critical realist assumption. As this research is attending to the detailed and contextual properties in organisations, generalisations must be made in provisional and contextual. Therefore, the cases were not used to make statistical inferences from the sample of the four CSBs to the broader population of leisure organisations, as this would fail to identify the lower-level structures and properties within such organisations (Smith, 2018). Further, providing explanations of the interrelation of lower-level properties within organisations requires accepting that structuration of entities in the social world is multiply determined and contingent (Elder-Vass, 2010). This means that some explanations of reality could be fallible so generalisations must be made with caution. Therefore, a hedging approach was used to share findings that may be generalised, where claims are made cautiously and in the absence of personal judgement (Smith et al, 2015).

This approach allowed a triage of generalisations to be made. Firstly, naturalistic generalisations are possible as discussing findings from the participants, organisations, and interactions may enable reflection on whether these relate the lives of readers. For instance, if readers feel that findings can be transferred to their own work, then this could be considered a naturalistic generalisation. Indeed, abduction enabled naturalistic generalisations as where statements from participants were described in abstract forms, these descriptions could be reflected in other cases. As, abduction described West Hill Pool's board members sharing pressures faced by their community in taking on

facilities, which was described to highlight the pressures facing community groups across the country involved in CATs.

Secondly, this approach enables inferential generalisations to be made as thematic inferences may be transferred from one case to another (Smith, 2018). The purpose was not to identify whether cases are the same, but this highlights where results of the study are transferable to other settings. Here, emphasis on the study being funded by Power to Change and the Institute of Community Studies as findings must be relevant for such bodies. Thematic inference would be made if findings are able to be generalised to other community businesses and CSBs that form for ventures including CAT (Haw, 2022).

The third type of generalisation possible through this study are analytical generalisations made about the use of methods or concepts within the study. For the study, this involves the morphogenetic critical realist methodology that shapes how data is collected, analysed, and shared. Additionally, the use of the CCF and capacity (Emery et al, 2006; Chaskin, 2001) shape new theoretical understandings of existing topics. Therefore, the theoretical framing of the human capital necessary for CATs to be successful, could be applied in other studies of community businesses in different contexts. Indeed, these contributions are discussed in Chapter 9.

Abduction was introduced in the data analysis to show how inferences are made, but this enables generalisations about organisations to be made, as inferences about organisational structures and cultures being shaped requires generalisations about the tendency for properties to be causal efficacious across broader contexts. Identifying whether there is a tendency for a property to be causal or not requires accepting certain descriptions of the causes of events over others. This can be seen in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 where data on cultural properties of organisations is examined, and contexts of community organisations or sport clubs CSBs emerged from forms the inferences being made.

Judgemental Rationalism

Making inferences within and across cases in this way involves judgemental rationalism, where judgements concerning the strength of explanations involve theorising and rationalising the experiences and perceptions of individuals. Whilst this may never reveal actual reasons for social phenomena or properties to be shaped in ways which we can identify, being reflexive to the reliability of research participants as heuristic devices, aid researchers in showing some claims are truer than others. This requires reflexivity in research attending to the deeper and broader aspects

of research data, including the depth that responses related to a theme are conveyed with and the prevalence of the responses from participants. Such reflexivity ascertains the strength of participants' explanations.

Reflexivity

Successful qualitative research rests on the personal judgments and capacity of the researcher to ensure that knowledge is produced through strong and value-laden data collection, analysis, and sharing (Brinkmann et al, 2015). It is essential that the voice of participants is not misused or silenced as they are being used as heuristic devices to explore phenomena. But researchers cannot always be distant or unrelated in the collection and analysis of data, so there may be inconsistencies, and as somebody who has worked in community leisure and for NGBs, there may have been impacts from being present.

To account for inconsistencies in data collection and analysis, reflexive accounts were made throughout the research process, including of the participants and the influence of the researcher in organising data collection methods. This involved interrogating the relationship between what was found, how it was found - in terms of the way it was shared - and how it is written. Thinking reflexively on this required considering alternative ways of writing about data and critiquing the steps taken to collect, analyse, and write about it.

Maintaining such reflexive critique relied on juxtaposing throughout the methodological triage of document analysis, focus groups, and interviews (Downward, 2005). This juxtaposing improved the validity and reliability of data and how it was handled, so accounts of the CSBs and the properties underpinning their emergence could be understood (Nichols et al. 2020). Such forms of juxtaposing involved reflexively balancing accounts from participants and the historical systems which shaped the contexts being studied.

Additionally, data was scrutinised in tutorials with the research supervision team and external project advisor. These were held fortnightly during data collection with the principal supervisor of the project with monthly support from academic peers. In these sessions, the researcher shared key themes (Appendix H), the data that related to these, and the analysis, findings, and discussion of such data.

Throughout the whole research process a log was written, accounts of the research process were reflected on regularly and thoroughly which enhanced the reflexivity of the researcher throughout the process. So, this logbook of researcher development, involved daily, weekly, and reflections of

greater detail when monthly meetings with the supervision team. This series of diaries described events, dates, and people. But acted as an aide-mémoire of notes for reflection that formed thick descriptions and prompts.

Ethical Considerations

The process of collecting, analysing, and discussing data contained many ethical considerations. These were compounded by the spotlight that was placed on both local authorities and community groups during the Covid-19 pandemic, as the provision of community-run and local authority-run leisure facilities became a contentious topic. Prior to arranging data collection with the stakeholders in the cases, these ethical considerations were discussed with the project supervisors and advisors for this research.

Further conversations were held with two postdoctoral students at Northumbria University, who completed PhDs including case studies of community sport organisations. In these meetings, the considerations regarded ways to conduct the research in the most ethical way, and the ethical guidelines and procedures of the researcher's institution were complied with (Arksey et al, 1999).

This was because in order for this research to be undertaken, prior approval was obtained from Northumbria University's Research Ethics and Governance Board. This involved a proposal (Appendix H) of intended data collection, a risk assessment for face-to-face interviews and focus groups, a risk assessment for online interviews and focus groups, scoping survey consent forms, final sample consent forms, a GANTT plan of data collection, a PhD GDPR and Transparency Declaration, and the proposed interview schedule being submitted to the board on July 27, 2020, with the project receiving ethical approval from the board on August 25, 2020.

A key consideration throughout the research process was ensuring participants consented to how data would be used. Because of the sensitive nature of some of the data, it was decided that participants and organisations would be anonymised. There were participants who shared contentious opinions of other participants and organisations in the study, so this was best kept anonymous.

Likewise, a conversation with the Chief Executive Officers highlighted the importance of this, as at the time of research Central Pool underwent a strategic review, where additional opportunities were explored, with data being relevant to this, so the CEO did not want to be public with such plans. An aspect of this concerned the competency of the researcher to construct a research methodology where participants were treated with dignity and respect, with there being clear information

provided for the research (Appendix E, F, G, H) (DeWalt et al, 2011). Especially important was the ability to be reflexive, so that ethical dilemmas could be addressed.

4.5 Methodological Conclusion

The chapter detailed the ways that stocks of human capital are understood by examining lower-level social properties. The methodological repertoire of morphogenetic critical realism and the set of qualitative methods introduced have utility for addressing the research questions

The chapter began by discussing research methodology, with the second and third parts providing a unique ontological perspective for the methodology, and then discussing this social ontology. This provided a detailed explanation of how critical realism accommodates viewing CSBs. The second half of the chapter showed methods used to examine interactions. The use of document analysis, focus groups, and interviews was explained to show how the voices and experience of participants is translated into the findings discussed in the chapters that follow.

In summary, this chapter has set up the findings of the thesis, as the results obtained from these methodological procedures are described in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 - Community Capitals in Preparing for Community Asset Transfer

This chapter examines domains of community capital which were significant for conducting CATs. The chapter addresses the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd research questions²³ of the study by examining the mobilisation of these domains of capital by communities in West Hill and Central prior to the CATs of the pools (Plunkett et al, 2015).²⁴ In addressing these questions, this chapter contributes to the first three aims of the thesis, as the human capital needed to prepare for CAT is explained. The presentation of findings covers how the domains are mobilised in communities, where they are limited, and how capacity building support is accessed by external consultants. Emphasis is placed on the interactions between residents, early adopters of community groups, and local authority officers. The sections of the chapter follow the evolving formality of these interactions, as 5.1 deals with informal interactions that involve community capacity being mobilised to prevent facility closure. The section that follows (5.2) examines formal interactions between community members and local authority officers. The chapter is presented chronologically, with the key domains of capital that are revealed including:

Human Capital	Social Capital	Political Capital
Knowing how to start campaigns	Connection with residents (bridging)	Connection with political agents
Knowing how to meet with political agents	Connection to community groups (bridging)	Voice heard by political agents
	Social ties, bonding, and shared mission (bonding)	Aligning mission with local authorities

Table 5.1 Domains of Community Capital

5.1 Mobilising Community Capital: Preventing Facility Closure

Having defined the key domains of community capital, this section focuses on the interactions made between activists and residents who join community campaigns. Doing so reveals the domains of community capital that are necessary for campaigns, so social and human capital are covered. This is because the development of networks, the mobilisation of resources, and willingness to consider alternative ways of reaching goals within campaigns are covered.

²³ What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility? How are community capitals mobilised? What support is needed to sustain CSBs?

²⁴ *With Burnside Gymnastics Club and Riverside Hockey Club pre-existing as clubs prior to CAT, the transfer of these facilities is dealt with from Chapter 6 onwards.*

5.1.1 Mobilising Community Capital Through Campaigning

When West Hill Swimming Pool and Central Pool were at risk of permanent closure, residents came together to discuss responses from the community. In both cases community social capital was utilised by the activists that formed the community groups. Participants provided examples of ways residents from the areas around the closing pools started working with each other (Somerville et al, 2011).

“I got a text saying ‘we’ve just had a meeting because Central Council are shutting Central Pool, and we decided since you’ve nothing to do, you should be the chair of the committee... We had a meeting.’”
Chair, Central Pool.

“It came up on my newsfeed, the story about the pool closing. I thought, ‘I’m going to do something about this, I’m gonna get that pool reopened or stop it from closing, I’ll start a petition, I’ll do everything.’ But someone beat me to it, who I discovered was our Vice Chair...I haven’t been involved in a campaign like this before. I’m a thorn in West Hill Council’s side, as I’m a Green Party campaigner. But I haven’t been involved in a campaign like this before.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

Participants illustrated that well-connected individuals contacted them, with these informal connections being powerful in bringing groups together. Whilst the Chair of Central Pool received a text from another campaigner, Board Member 4 had not been involved in campaigns and connected with the Vice-Chair of West Hill Pool through online interactions. The theme of bridging social capital being mobilised arose from these initial interactions as the participants developed social ties, when residents connect with campaigners (Ahrens et al, 2015; Reid, 2018).

Examples of mobilising community bridging social capital were provided as participants outlined the ways to get the residents to physically coalesce around the swimming pools during the campaigns.

“We launched the use it or lose it campaign... I knocked on the doors of old people and said, ‘will you go for a swim here. Why don’t you come, you don’t need to swim, you can stand in the water. It’s warmer than your house and you get a free cup of tea. You save on electricity, meet your mates’! People turned up to support... The key was the focus on people and relationships.” Chair, Central Pool.

“The council had to be seen as trying to get the community group together, but they weren’t doing much to make it happen. It was whiteboard sheets, notes or drawing things and taking them away, and we didn’t hear anything about it again. So, when the pool actually closed, we did quite a lot in terms of flyer-ing around the neighbourhood, getting people to sign a petition. We had a protest march going into town, we had press coverage and a lot of people.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

Participants unanimously viewed the in-person interactions fostered throughout the campaigns as essential to inform residents about the risks of closure facing the pools and how this would worsen the health issues affecting local community members. This evidenced the ways that in-person approaches to fostering community connection are powerful for bringing local residents together. Both

participants explained how addressing residents directly, through relating the closure of the facility with a personal connection they may have with the facility, fostered buy-in. When buy-in and connections to the facilities were fostered, bridging social capital was developing, with Board Member 4 revealing that the in-person campaigns were more effective than the approach taken by the local authority in listening to the views of residents. The success of in-person approaches are important for understanding how to mobilise community social capital and connect residents into campaigns. For example, in their account of why the campaign was more effective than other community engagement efforts, Board Member 4 shared the approach was better in connecting with residents.

It's not the same as talking to people, we had success in the early days when we were campaigning, because we were knocking on doors and talking to people rather than just posting the flyer through. When you make that connection, they buy into the whole thing. It would be ideal to do that to reach huge sections of the community who we haven't reached so far. We are not doing enough but we are doing as much as we can. We need more volunteers." Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

In-person interactions were effective in mobilising bridging social capital, resulting in connections developing, as residents joined together to campaign for the protection of the facilities (Nichols et al, 2020). Moreover, knowledge of how to instigate campaigns and involve residents was key as knowing how to campaign brings residents together²⁵. However, despite knowing how to develop campaigns, campaigners struggled to mobilise this, as there were residents who were hard to reach. This shows how stocks of bridging social capital are unequal across communities, as is the human capital required to mobilise it (Chadwick et al, 2018; Gilbert, 2016). The examination of community capital continues in the next section, as how community bonding social capital is mobilised through meetings is examined.

5.1.2 Mobilising Community Capital Through Informal Meetings

This section covers the meetings that were organised between the campaigners and residents. For participants leading campaigns, these were opportunities for residents to share why swimming pools were important. Indeed, the meetings covered the health and social issues in the local communities.

"We said, could we take it on. We started off to say, to keep it going, we would need to have people using it. I was reminded about the eight people in four years that drowned in the canal." Chair, Central Pool.

The Chair of Central Pool highlighted that the meetings addressed drownings with this linked to the need for the pool. Whereas other participants touched on ideas of community focused management.

²⁵ Here the possession of community human capital caused a spiralling up of community social capital.

“I remember being at a meeting. The idea was that we wanted it. Could this be community owned? If it was going to be a collaboration of organisations, how could the community which rallied to prevent the closure have a part in how it went forward.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

In both cases, meetings were opportunities for campaigners to understand the need for pools in the localities and to understand the community’s interest in managing the pool. The informal nature of the meetings may have allowed suggestions to be shared (Ahrens et al, 2015; Findlay-King et al, 2015). By sharing why, they viewed the facilities and the community management as important, the residents used the meetings as mechanisms in mobilising community bonding social capital. This is because community members strengthen social ties (Emery et al, 2006) by sharing goals and being united in addressing issues which affect them (Collins et al, 2014; Chadwick et al, 2018). Sharing these goals can therefore foster the collective voice and agency in the community (Kleinhans et al, 2018).

It follows that informal meetings can cause upward spirals of community capital as they can provide community members with platforms to influence local authorities (Chadwick et al, 2018). Whilst this enhanced community capital, there was a risk that the groups would become politicised as cultures started to form. Commenting on the cultures, participants highlighted that attendees of the meetings shared politicised views and blamed the local authorities.

“They were good at bringing people, banners, and megaphones, whatever militants. Despite the protests the council went ahead with its decision to close.” Board Member 2, West Hill Pool.

“We, as a community, obviously protested the closure. And in the protest, we got a lot of manpower off the socialists, whatever, I can't remember what groups they were, I want to say some of them were the radical communists to be honest.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

“The biggest tension was the tendency of the community to blame the council. The council was seen as the enemy. I took the view that if we treat them as the enemy, we will never be able to negotiate.”
Chair, Central Pool.

Some participants felt that residents were attacking local authorities, as meetings became politicised with community members using meetings to protest. This mirrors meetings which were used to attack local authorities who reduce local service provision rather than suggest alternative ways for facility management to be provided (Reid, 2018; Ahrens et al, 2015). The responses showed two approaches: an anti-establishment approach that cause suspicion, as the communities in West Hill protested against local authorities²⁶; and another led by a campaigner who was willing to work with the council.

The theme of working with local authorities came up in how participants from Central Pool controlled the language used by local authority officers and campaigners. Another way language was controlled

²⁶ This tension is shown in section 6.2.

was through forming social missions to show how reopening leisure facilities could resolve local issues (Seelos et al, 2005). Participants confirmed that missions were clear in the meetings (Bailey, 2012; Reid, 2018).

“It's clear because it is a swimming pool. That's what it has to be used for. We genuinely wanted it to be used for the purpose, it's there to be used for the purpose, Chair was clear on that at the beginning. We had a mission. That's how we prepared our business” Board Member 11, Central Pool

“The thing we've talked about right from the off is a vision Chair had after there were kids drowning in the canal... How do you make sure you are keeping that asset in the heart of it and serving people, so it isn't just the swimming pool. The mission is to teach kids to swim.” Interim Chair, Central Pool

The participants explained how the campaign was focused on protecting the health of residents, with this being a way to frame CATs with local authorities (Nichols et al, 2014). In this way, social missions are vital social properties in ensuring that the needs of the community are at the heart of campaigns (Billis, 2010). This shifts the narrative of campaigns away from protesting local authorities (Kleinhans et al, 2019) towards objectives that are less politically contentious (Utami, 2020).

This section covered the interactions between activists and residents in community campaigns and examining this revealed the importance of bridging and bonding social capital as communities come together in campaigns. The section showed how social missions formed during informal meetings, with this highlighting how community political capital increased.

5.2 Mobilising Community Capitals Through Local Authority Consultation

This section presents findings regarding the community capital needed to participate in consultation meetings with local authorities. The data comes from West Hill²⁷, where formal meetings were held between local authority officers and residents. These meetings were opportunities for the community group to be consulted regarding their interest in being involved in the future of the West Hill Pool. This objective was covered in the CAT policy from West Hill Council.

“We want to encourage local people to take pride in their local communities and we will respect the right for people to stand up and fight for their local amenities working with them to find the best possible solutions.” West Hill Council CAT Policy.

The CAT policy welcomes residents to these formal consultation meetings, suggesting that West Hill Council would support groups which had campaigned against the closure of the facilities. However, accounts of this process from the participants in West Hill did not corroborate this. For example,

²⁷ Data from Central Pool did not concern the meetings and interactions between those campaigning to transfer the facility and the local authority.

participants claimed that the consultation with West Hill Council involved public meetings that initially attracted residents from the local community but that this changed over time.

“They tried to get organisations interested in taking the facilities... This big public meeting that we had before we reopened. Just to give people an update. I can’t remember how many people came but it was a large room at the women’s centre, and you had to keep getting chairs out because people kept arriving. It was a horrible wet night when people would want to have their dinner at home, not go to a meeting, but all these people turned up, it showed people cared, more than West Hill Council would have you think?” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The Board Member of West Hill Pool illustrates that the number of community members engaging in the consultations surprised local authority officers. They suggested that this meant the community cared more than West Hill Council officers thought. Another participant supported this view, that the initial support in the campaign was strong.

“I remember being at a meeting. The idea was that we wanted it. Could this be community owned? If it was going to be a collaboration of organisations, how could the community which is so strongly rallied to prevent the closure have a part in how it went forward?” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

Board Member 1 confirms that in sharing how they felt the facility should be managed in the future and how the community were strongly rallied to protect the pool. This suggests that initially, the meetings attracted a large number of community members in West Hill. Other responses showed consultations were held in the West Hill Pool facility, which community members coalesced around to campaign.

“We had a number of these facilitated meetings with West Hill Council, but once the pool closed, we couldn’t use the building anymore. At that time, the initial support dwindled. People still wanted to help but the majority of people don’t want to get involved with meetings. They don’t want to get involved with organising, they don’t want to get involved with politics, or to talk to people at West Hill Council. Nothing came to fruition. So, yes, they were left, and it just felt very much like West Hill Council did not try hard.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The use of the facility may therefore be a factor in why there was such a large number of residents in attendance initially. This could be seen from the facility closing and the majority of the community members that supported initially not wanting to get involved in meetings at a community hall. This may mean that momentum was lost as the community members lacked connection to the hall.

Dwindling numbers also suggests consultations meetings may be undesirable for residents who support campaigns but no longer want to be involved or no longer have the desire and capacity to interact with local authorities (Ahrens et al, 2015). Across focus groups and interviews with board members of West Hill Pool, participants explained reasons as to why the initial momentum and strength of the community support dwindled. For instance, a participant claimed community members had commitments which they prioritised.

“The number of community members that kept turning up to meetings dwindled for several reasons. People had lives; people had commitments.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool

Board Member 1 believed residents could not prioritise meetings due to having commitments, this may mean community members lack the time to engage in consultations. Additionally, they claimed community members did not agree with the political position that the Council was taking.

A few said, ‘Well, our political position is that West Hill Council should not have closed it. We believe in things being run by the Council. And this isn’t this isn’t where we stand.’ So, they backed out.”
Board Member 1, West Hill Pool

Disengaging may mean those who thought the Council should manage pools were concerned that involvement in the campaign was seen to endorse CAT (Nichols et al, 2020). These perceptions of CAT can be viewed in relation to whether the group had legitimacy from the community to start the campaign for CAT (Hobson et al, 2019). The consequence of this being that the group risked starting the CAT without community buy in. Another participant suggested this was not the case, sharing that community members often asked those instigating the campaigns to speak on their behalf, as they did not feel confident in continuing with the consultations. A participant shared an example of a resident not being able to contribute to the consultation meetings, with this causing the residents to disengage due to believing they would not be heard (Fortkert, 2015).

“There’s a lady across the road who lived there for 20 years. She tapped me on the shoulder. ‘Can you say this? What can you say here? I can’t talk, I’m not clever enough, they won’t listen to me. This is in a room for normal people. She speaks for a lot of people, young people, who don’t have the language skills or educational pathways behind them. They don’t feel confident in getting involved.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The board member used the perspective of a resident not feeling clever enough to contribute to the consultations, to demonstrate that they would not be listened to by local authority officers (Paddison et al, 2007). This supports findings where the complexity of consultations meetings caused residents to feel this way (Findlay-King et al, 2018a), with board Member 4’s comment that the inability of residents to be heard in these consultations’ meetings revealing what caused their disengagement.

The experience from community members shared by the participants shows a dissonance between West Hill Council’s CAT policy, where the authority had encouraged community members to come forward and the reality of these community members not wanting to or feeling that they would not be listened to (Christensen et al, 2020). Meetings with West Hill Council failing to be platforms for sharing voices to public institutions, means groups could not enhance the political capital of communities (Chadwick et al, 2018; Forkert, 2015). When residents who do not engage leave, those with greater stocks of community capital remain (Christensen et al, 2020).

“There was a core group left and I'm not sure who was holding it together at that stage, because the Chair wasn't involved... It got easier when Chair started coming.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

With these residents leaving, a core group of campaigners remained, specifically those who had been able to contribute to meetings. The participant highlighted that as the person who became the Chair of West Hill Pool joined, things got easier for this core group, as they had relevant experience. The ease alluded when the (now) Chair joined confirms that consultation benefitted those with greater stock of capital (Emery et al, 2004; Utami, 2020)

In explaining the nature of those who remained, a negative side to campaigns was exposed.

“Instead, you got a group of middle-class white people involved with organising things.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The response from Board Member 4 suggests residents were out voiced by middle-class campaigners who had the personal competencies to contribute to the consultations. With those remaining being middle-class, the consultations in West Hill reinforced that CAT processes benefit affluent individuals with professional skill (Aiken et al, 2015). This suggests consultations may be exclusionary in nature, as community members without such skill or affluence are excluded from the meetings. This finding is consistent with Forkert (2015), Hobson et al (2019) and Findlay-King, (2018), as board member 4 picked this exclusion up, sharing that the remaining group was made up of people who were not local.

“None of us are local. We love the area, but there are people who have stories of how their parents learned to swim locally, it means more to them. The fact that they weren't able to get involved is a shame.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The board member showed meetings designed as opportunities for council officers to listen to communities had unintended consequences of excluding community members. This in turn reduced the political capital of those who were not involved. Further, it confirms that remaining involved in the consultations required particular human capitals from campaigners. Participants from West Hill shared these aspects of human capital in explaining how the group progressed to the CAT process.

“There were a handful of us who were belligerent.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

“We had a group of savvy, local people who were not just campaigners, marching with banners and attacking the local authority. They were savvy in the way they operated politically, and the tenacity, capacity, and flexibility to work with people like us.” Development Consultant, West Hill Pool.

These accounts suggest that the campaigners possessed the character necessary to proceed with campaigns. Being described as having tenacity (Haw, 2023), having capacity, and showing resilience shows the characteristics that are needed in campaigners who are attempting to take responsibility of assets considered important in communities (Nowell et al, 2014; Sturgis et al, 2022).

Another aspect of their character was their flexibility in working with consultants to access support from local organisations during consultations²⁸. This is important as accessing support in addition to what local authorities provide is key in ensuring residents can participate (Skerratt et al, 2011b). The CAT policy of West Hill Council confirmed the importance of accessing additional support.

“We are committed to supporting strong organisations to take on assets that are of value to them and to the communities that they serve. We recognise that this is a significant change and can be challenging for organisations.” West Hill Council CAT Policy.

Indeed, there was not an explanation of the nature of the support that would be provided from the local authority. Instead, there was pressure on the third sector to support communities with CATs.

“We strongly believe that you should also access independent advice to consider whether asset transfer is right for your organisation.” West Hill Council CAT Policy

Together with responses from board members of West Hill, this suggests third sector organisations are better placed in having capacity and the will to support groups. Moreover, the consensus from West Hill Council broadly supports notions from Reynolds (2017) that public sector support is insufficient for community groups attempting to start CATs. Participants suspected that West Hill Council officers were not genuinely willing to support residents to engage in consultations.

“A different approach from West Hill Council would have been better. There wasn't a genuine desire to help get the project off the ground. They could have done things differently.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The participant expressed concern that the purpose of consultations was not to listen to community members of the community, as there was not a genuine desire to get things off the ground. This adds insight to why community members struggled to contribute, as council officers did not support them or provide equal opportunities for community members to contribute (Reid, 2018; Clayton, 2013).

Given the perceived lack of desire to support, other participants were sceptical of the intention that West Hill Council had with the consultations.

“It got to me, the attitude of West Hill Council, it felt like, ‘oh, places where they're nice, well-heeled communities, they can run things for themselves. But, poor West Hill, they are deprived, they don't know what they're doing, they can't do this kind of thing...’ I want to run with this as far as we can. If there's mileage, if there's no way of making it stack up, fine. If this is political, if this is about a lack of willpower, then that's not okay.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool

Board Member 1 suspected West Hill Council officers lacked the desire to support as officers believed there was a lack of community capital for conducting the CAT (Archer, 2019). They suggested the participants believed Council officers would have been more supportive if West Hill

²⁸ A brief overview of the background of the consultants has been provided in Appendix K.

was an affluent community and that the lack of support was for political reasons. This builds on the literature showing that consultations are used to manage dissent and silence campaigners (Murtagh et al, 2017; Forkert, 2015). Yet, if there was a genuine desire, then the disengagement and suspicion meant the meetings were counterproductive, as the ways of working within the meetings reduced interest from many residents (Forkert, 2015).

This section presented findings from West Hill regarding the community capital needed to participate in consultation meetings with local authorities. The findings showed how a small group of articulate, belligerent, and vocal campaigners were able to proceed from a facility saving campaign to conduct a CAT. However, if community capital is lacking, the campaigners may exclude community members who better represent the community (Foxton, 2018; Christensen et al, 2020). This shows that power sharing arrangements from local councils may provide communities with opportunities to participate in decision making, but this can entrench disenfranchised communities (Ahrens et al, 2015). The next section discusses this with section 5.1's findings to show the community capital needed in Pre-CAT.

5.3 Discussing Community Capital Pre-CAT

The chapter addressed the first and second research question by examining the domains of capital that were necessary for community members who participated in campaigns, informal meetings, and formal consultations. Whilst the chapter covered only West Hill and Central Pools, the findings are significant in understanding the community capitals that are necessary for communities to campaign to prevent a local facility from closing. As campaigns were started by activists, the community capitals were mobilised from their contribution.

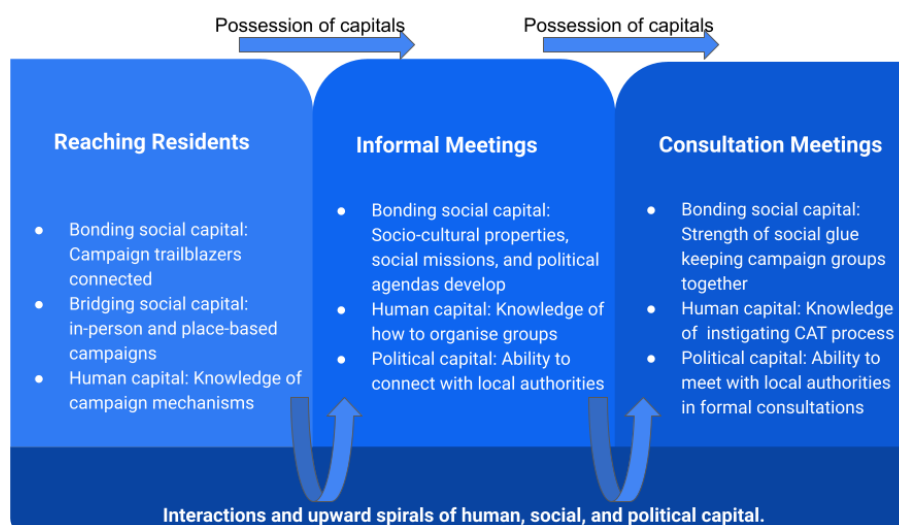


Figure 5.1 Mobilisation of Community Capital during pre-venture phase.

As Figure 5.1 shows, the pre-CAT phase is broken down into three key stages where the presence of community capital enables groups to progress with campaigns and meetings. This demonstrates the progression between the stages of this development. The first stage of reaching residents involved the knowledge of campaign processes, knowing how to mobilise residents, and the skills and networks required in starting these. Using this knowledge developed ties during informal meetings, meaning possessing human capital enhanced the bonding social capital of campaigners and the bridging social capital of the community. In the second stage, residents formed social missions, when interacting with those in the campaign groups, with these associations building social ties and developing bonding social capital. So, with human capital being utilised, both bridging and bonding social capital was mobilised, with this spiralling up of community capital. This community social capital causing meetings with local authorities led to a spiralling up of political capital in the communities in the third stage (Emery et al, 2006). However, as meetings with the local authority officers involved residents disengaging, this domain of capital does not increase for all communities. As the ties between the community and the campaigners withered when residents were excluded from consultation processes. Consequently, communities face an initial instance of spiralling up of political capital as residents come together, but as this process becomes formalised residents that lack the human capital to participate face a spiralling down of their political capital. It is inferred that communities benefit from community social capital only when they are in possession of community resources (Light et al, 2004). Figure 5.1 guides ways that support could ensure residents do not disengage from the consultations.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the capitals necessary at pre-venture stages of CATs. The focus was to show the contexts of facility closures that lead to campaign groups forming and interacting with local authority officers. The chapter found significant ways that processes to prepare for a CAT become increasingly complex. As human capital is mobilised the collective social and political capital of the community increases, but this decreases during formal interactions with local authority officers. A related finding concerned the support from local authorities in preparing for CATs. As communities need social and political capital to meet with local authority officers but cases showed this differed between communities. Moreover, the willingness of the local authority can differ too.

West Hill Council did not support efforts regarding the idea of a CAT. Consequently, the two cases differed significantly, as in Central, campaigners were able to shape interactions with local authorities

officers progressively. Whereas in West Hill, support was needed from third sector consultants throughout the interactions that campaigners had with local authority officers. This tells us that to question the capital of communities to undertake CATs, then the capacity across the third and public sector must underpin this questioning. The section covering consultations in West Hill showed the need for third sector support when public sector support is insufficient.

The chapter contributed to knowledge by showing the interactions which mobilise community capital across different localities. However, the chapter was limited to examining interactions following the closure of the community pools. Additional pre-CAT stages of the sport clubs in the study are dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 - Organisational Capitals in Conducting CAT

This chapter examines the organisational capital utilised in all four CSBs when commencing the CATs. The aim is to address the research questions 1 and 3²⁹ by understanding the organisational capital required to form social enterprises, express an interest in conducting a CAT, and submit a business plan. The chapter builds on chapter 5 by examining the way that three key domains of organisational capital were mobilised throughout the stages of CAT. The organisational human capital required to conduct CAT is examined initially, (6.1), before organisational political capital (6.2) and organisational social capital (6.3). By examining each dimension, the key tenets of capital that are needed for CSBs throughout the CAT processes are laid bare. These are listed in Table 6.1, which is revisited in the discussion of the chapter, where the way such capital can be mobilised is discussed.

Human Capital	Political Capital	Social Capital
Knowledge of how to register CSBs	Being connected with local authority officers	Connection with communities
Pros and cons of CSB models	Knowing who to contact at local authorities to express an interest	Connection with community organisations
Knowledge of business viability		

Table 6.1 Domains of Organisational Capital to Conduct CAT

6.1 Human Capital in Conducting CATs

Across the cases the requirement to evidence human capital when expressing an interest in CAT was revealed. CAT policies from three local authorities addressed the need for this evidence. West Hill Council's policy addressed the need for evidence of effective management structure.

"A key consideration will be the sustainability of the organisation and its capacity to manage and develop the asset. These issues will be explored through expressions of interest and business cases."
West Hill Council CAT Policy

Central Council also requested evidence of governance and management structures, treating these as important considerations for whether organisations had capacity to manage facilities post-CAT.

"Each organisation applying for a CAT can be any size and need to: Have robust systems, governance and policies as evidenced by a management structure, constitution and appropriate quality mark; Have the capacity to manage the asset and have directors or committee members who have relevant experience and skill and a demonstrable financial plan moving forward". Central Council CAT Policy.

²⁹ What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility? What support is needed to sustain CSBs?

The need for the CSBs to evidence effective governance and management structures shows that authorities were concerned whether groups expressing an interest in CAT had the organisational capital to manage facilities for the benefit of communities³⁰. Other policies addressed that the consideration of such capacity is weighed against the risks involved in CAT.

“The CAT of assets has risks attached and each assessment will need to consider risks such as the following: Uncertainty around capacity of recipient to manage asset; Capacity of recipient to deliver promised services/outcomes.” Riverside Council CAT Policy.

The extracts from the policies show capacity needed to be evidenced within the expression of interest and business plan documents that the CSBs would submit. Within these a breakdown of the governance arrangements, the management structure, and the financial plans for the CSBs, once formed, would be provided. However, prior to submitting this information, the groups needed to set up a model of CSB. Indeed, participants touched on the support needed to set up CiCs (Meghjee et al, 2022). Third sector consultants were used, with Riverside Hockey Club using them too³¹.

“With some support, they did it themselves. Set up the legal establishment, as far as the CiC was concerned, you've got the right support and expertise.” Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool.

“The club took advice from a cooperative who specialise in business support for social enterprises and in November 2017 Riverside Hockey CiC was incorporated.” Riverside Hockey Club, Business Plan.

Indeed, business expertise was provided from the third sector, showing expertise from such bodies is an important source of support for community organisations (Moore et al, 2013). The participants suggested support from the third sector was more accessible (Reid, 2018) as the Director of Burnside Gymnastics Club admitted accessing support from a local authority was challenging.

“We spoke to somebody from Burnside Council who was supposed to set up the CiC. It was an absolute nightmare. 3 or 4 attempts to get it sorted or what it meant as a business... People were paying us money. We had nowhere to put the money because we didn't have a bank account. We couldn't have a bank account until we were a CiC.” Co-Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The Co-Founder of Burnside Gymnastics Club explained that issues with Burnside Council delayed the formation of the CiC. This caused capacity issues as they could not bank the money they were being paid by members. The Co-Founder explained that they lacked time in registering the club as a CiC.

³⁰ The conceptualisation of how communities would benefit through the facilities being managed by the groups is examined in Chapter 8 for all four cases.

³¹ Background on the Riverside Consultant has been provided in Appendix K.

“We were trying to get the ball rolling. Issues were brought on because we put a tight deadline... We couldn't do that; we were in a pickle.” Co-Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Participants demonstrate how expertise and time is needed, which is likely to come externally. However, this support is not equally accessible across localities, as comparing between Burnside and the other cases demonstrates (Plunkett et al, 2015). Therefore, possessing organisational social capital is important if organisations have limited organisational human capital. Indeed, the Chair of Central Pool demonstrated this by sharing their knowledge of organisational models. For instance, they had experience of community ownership as they wrote legislation when working in parliament.

“I was involved in the bill going through Parliament for CiCs before I left. So, I knew my way around the structures of social enterprises. I don't think using a CiC was the right model. So, we used a Mutual Benefit Society.” Chair, Central Pool.

The Chair explains that they understood the benefits of adopting each model. Indeed, they adopted a BenCom and shared their understanding of the asset lock which could protect the facilities as benefits associated with BenComs.

“It can't be sold or turned into a solicitor's office. That was why we looked at the asset lock. If we hand it back to the Council, they've got to keep it as a functioning leisure and health facility for the community. That's key to the CAT.” Chair, Central Pool.

As shown by the Chair, knowledge of asset locks was beneficial for those forming CSBs, as the lock is a constitutional device preventing the private sale of facilities (Thurlby, 2013). By the Chair having this knowledge Central Pool were at an advantage and did not need to rely on the limited support of the local third and public sector to form this model (Briggs, 2019; Aiken et al, 2015). Across the CSBs, including those in need of support, the knowledge of these benefits proved advantageous for those registering the CSBs. For example, a Sport Club director explained the benefit of rate relief.

“If we had to pay rates, we will have to find £46k a year on top of what is being paid. That was one of the main reasons, setting up as a CiC and being a sports club, we would get an automatic 80% deduction in those rates. That would only be 20% of 46k. Each year Burnside Council make a decision on whether they should give us 100% rent relief.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

There was a sense from participants that knowing benefits of the different business models for CAT was advantageous in registering CSBs, as the Founding Director of Burnside Gymnastics Club knew how CSBs could save money in accessing rate relief (Haw, 2022). This may come from their prior

involvement with the CAT of their former gymnastics facility. However, it is unlikely others would possess this expertise (Reid, 2003) as in other cases CSBs were formed by those without experience of CAT (Briggs, 2019). In summary, participants indicated that forming organisational models requires organisational human capital. This is because registering a suitable model and doing this correctly requires knowledge of social enterprises, an understanding of the benefits of each model, and time for the process.

Across the cases the participants addressed the organisational human capital necessary in business planning, with the demand being proved greater than at previous stages. Across all cases, the efforts that were undertaken to form business plans which covered the requirements alluded to in the CAT policies were shared by participants. In Central Pool, ways to demonstrate viability were covered by volunteers who had eclectic backgrounds (Meghjee et al, 2022; Anderson et al, 2007).

“We had a person with a PhD in health statistics. We had a community development worker who could do budgets. We had a live wire on communications. We had a specialist in social enterprises. We worked in teams. A team looking at governance, engaging the community, how we would run the baths...I sent them down and half an hour later they said, ‘we have been, it's the best business they've received’ We got the business plan approved by the Council” Chair, Central Pool.

Having access to individuals with backgrounds including in financial planning, communications, community development, and health provided the skills needed to evidence viability (Nichols et al, 2020). Involving people from diverse professional backgrounds meant Central Pool could balance these skills with a focus on local community health needs (Archer et al. 2019). The comment that the Local Authority Officer thought it was the best business plan suggests that Central Pool was respected by the local authority (Locality, 2018a). In this situation, the Chair's background as an MP may have meant they were aware of the components for business plans.

Central Pool is a rare case where knowledge of business planning was accessed internally, as in other cases consultants were relied on to support those from the CSBs in evidencing viability within their business plans. The consultants from West Hill and Riverside Hockey Club shared their experience of joining the CSBs to help put the business plans together. One consultant was approached by a local councillor, and another joined them to support the business plan and the broader needs for the CAT.

“One of the ward councillors tried to start making things happen. She got the CD Consultant and WH Consultant on board as consultants and paid them out of ward committee money before there was even a community group.” Board Member 2, West Hill Council.

“I did some research and found consultants had been engaged to look at economic viability a couple of years before. One of the people that was engaged as a consultant was West Hill Regeneration Consultant because they worked in the regeneration offices for West Hill Council. Between us we had 40 years of regeneration experience. What I suggested was we should approach the Regeneration Consultant and re-engage if he was interested. I could work with him to pull together a business plan that would form the basis of a fundraising campaign to underpin the community ownership going forward.” The Community Development Consultant, West Hill Pool.

The participants from West Hill explained the ways consultants were used to support CSBs so that fundraising and financial planning were not missed from the business plan. There were two paid consultants that supported West Hill, and both were known to a local councillor who was involved with the CAT. One had knowledge of local regeneration work, fundraising campaigns, and community ownership processes and another had viability experience. A consultant from Riverside Hockey Club was approached for similar reasons, in that they had experience of working on CATs in Riverside.

“The advantage we had is the Riverside Club Director knew they didn't know what to do or know enough to have the practical arrangements. So, when my CV got thrown across the desk, they said ‘Yes, please.’ We went through an awful lot of stuff. And I’m trying to work out the legal responsibilities here. So that we can properly apportion we’ve had to pay out an awful lot of stuff on maintenance, because it fell to us, but we knew that and we built in, and they gave us a peppercorn rent for five years.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

The consultant in Riverside was not clear about how they were hired to support the Hockey Club with the business planning of the CAT. However, they noted that they covered critical areas of support such as legal and financial agreements (Meghjee et al, 2022). This meant the two CSBs accessed relevant human capital for conducting CATs (Nichols et al, 2020; Forbes et al, 2020). The consultants discussed how their connections with local authorities enhanced the organisational capital of West Hill pool and the sport club.

“I work closely with the group... We started trying to piece together the business plan. As I've been used to writing bid documents in my time within West Hill Council, I wrote the initial funding application, which was beneficial at the onset because that gave us a fairly substantial capital budget to enable us to be open, and a flow of revenue monies to get us started .” Regeneration Consultant

“The expertise we drew on was West Hill Council experience of business planning, procurement, and writing bids” Community Development Consultant, West Hill Pool.

“They brought me on as I had a senior role in Riverside Council 10 years ago... I had overseen CATs that they did. I have experience of both Burnside Council processes and things they jump up and down about.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

A tenet of human capital the consultants provided was their knowledge of the public sector in each locality. Previous employment with Councils helped with bid writing, business planning, and procurement, showing areas that need including in business planning to commence CATs (Nichols et al, 2020). This concerned how financial matters are understood by local authorities as each authority understood these differently (section 6.3). The Riverside Consultant demonstrated this, claiming to know what aspects local authority officers would be most concerned with. Additionally, the political background of the consultants meant West Hill Pool and Riverside Hockey Club could develop connections to local authorities. The consultants bring access to political organisations, with the reciprocity of this forming political capital for CSBs (Briggs, 2019; Putnam, 2000). For instance, the consultants supporting West Hill Pool understood what would give them credibility specifically with West Hill Council. The significance of the local authority experiences that consultants provided to the CSBs in Riverside and West Hill, evidences a lack of internal knowledge of how local authorities operate.

Participants in Burnside needed support with understanding what was needed by local authority for CATs to commence. A Director shared a complaint regarding the ways in which being connected to local authority officers for business planning.

“Trying to have contacts that you can go to or need to speak to be aware of things. Because when you've never done this before, and you're unlikely to again, you haven't got a clue.” Co-Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The Director explained that as they lacked connection to local authority officers, they did not know what was needed for their business plan. Another explained that this could be resolved by providing the organisations interested in CAT with a checklist and a list of contacts for officers from authorities.

“What would be helpful is a checklist, anybody going through a CAT, to know what things you need in place. Like the compliance checks, we had no idea.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Together the Directors highlighted that support should provide instructions and contacts for those attempting to conduct CATs. This suggests that local authority officers can do more to support third

sector organisations (Fitzgerald et al, 2016). Therefore, the Directors confirm knowledge of CAT processes is needed, and that this must reflect the requirements and structure of each authority.

This section examined the processes of forming CSBs and business planning, showing human capital support is required. This is because knowledge of CSB models, for example registering them and knowing what to include in business plans, is specialised and not possessed across localities. Moreover, support to develop the organisational human capital is disproportionately available. In some localities there is a presence of third sector support, and in others, CSBs are left to rely on limited public sector support. The section found that political and social capital are significant to commence CATs, as political connections are used to access credibility from local authority officers.

6.2 Political Capital in Conducting CAT

Political capital is important in CSBs, as conducting CATs relied on relationships with local authorities. The ways political relationships were fostered was evidenced as participants from the clubs discussed the connections that were fostered between clubs and local authorities. For example, participants from Riverside Hockey Club talked about ways that pre-existing connections with key figures in the local authority were utilised to enable clubs to begin the CAT process (Meghjee et al, 2020).

“I used to work for Riverside Council, and I knew the officers and Councillors. Others and I began a process, dripping our opinions to form a relationship. It’s been a lot of nurturing and cosying up to people.” Club Volunteer, Riverside Hockey Club.

A volunteer continued to connect with their former colleagues at the local authority. Likewise, the Riverside Consultant provided connections between those in the club and to officers that they knew from when they worked at Riverside Council. This evidences the importance of such personal connections (Meghjee et al, 2020; Utami, 2020).

There was a significant number of politicians and senior officers who I knew. So, there was a personal ability to ring people and be able to say, ‘No, this is the person who needs to go see that person, you need to go to....’ So, there was that personal contact.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

The personal connections enabled the consultant at Riverside to easily contact local authority officers. In another case, these connections were possessed in sport clubs. For example, participants from Burnside Council explained the importance of connections from a local authority perspective.

“The Director approached me to say they had outgrown the club, was looking for new premises... My involvement was to put them in the room to have conversations. I was able to give him a reference to say this is a chap who can be trusted.” Head of Leisure, Burnside Council.

The comment from Burnside Council’s Head of Leisure adds to the notion that political connections are important for starting the CAT process. Particularly, when individuals in politically influential roles make an endorsement for whether CSBs are suitable for managing facilities.

A theme that emerges from the data analysis is that sport clubs may be well placed in having political capital. This is because they pre-existed campaigns for CAT and are often trusted (Tacon, 2016). It can be inferred that the trust enables connections between members of CSBs and local authority officers in a way which means local authorities consider the capacity of the clubs to conduct CATs as credible (Fenwick et al, 2015; Westwood, 2011). Through such political connections the interests of the clubs can be aligned with the interests of the authority (Reid, 2018).

Comparing the sport clubs to the community pools, a significant difference in political capital can be seen. This is because participants from West Hill and Central Pool lacked pre-existing connections with local authority officers. Moreover, the consultations caused distrust between members of CSBs and local authority officers. In both cases members of CSBs had suspicion of local authorities and questioned whether they could be trusted. A participant from Central suggested that the Council was unreliable.

“The community, we're suspicious of Central Council. Expectations of them and reputation to whether they could trust them to be as good as their word.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

They followed this by explaining the way the local authority operated was a mystery to the community, which may have caused further suspicion and scepticism.

The labyrinth of committees and decisions that you'd have to go through was a mystery to the community.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

Across these points, the Board Member explained the ways this suspicion may develop in community members. It may be that these are typical experiences towards local authorities (Fitzgerald et al, 2016), as in West Hill participants observed similar experiences.

“I call it healthy scepticism. That's based on experience. There's been an experience in the city of people feeling West Hill Council has let them down consistently. I understand where that scepticism comes from for local people.” Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool

Together, participants explain how poor experience with local authorities inhibits the mobilisation of political capital in organisations, as interactions between participants and local authority officers are defined by cynicism (Levitas, 2005; Jarvis, 2015). The critique from these participants may stem from the experiences that they had with local authority officers during consultation meetings. Meaning that the CAT process is complicated, and understandings of CAT are misaligned as relationships become underpinned by wariness (Rex, 2019a).

Participants confirmed the presence of misaligned understanding of why CSBs were interested in CATs. Board Member 11 touched on the conjecture that Central Council officers held about the CSB.

There was a degree of suspicion on both sides. There was this scepticism about ‘they’ll never be able to do it like we can.’ Board Member 11, Central.

They suggest that Central Council officers suspected the group would not be able to manage the pool to the same standard that the authority did, meaning the uncertainty was caused by doubts that the CSB would have the capacity to manage the pool. However, they explained that officers did not know what CAT was, with these causing misgivings as to why they wanted to manage a public facility.

“(CAT) wasn't flavour of the month, they felt that Central Council should continue owning assets. They looked at CAT as privatisation. There was cynicism from the Central Council about whether this could work.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

The comments from Board Member 11 suggest that local authorities may be responsible for mutual suspicion as they do not understand CAT or how community organisations operate. A similar view of community groups was provided in West Hill where the attacks on West Hill Council caused the Head of Leisure to have misgivings about the CSB.

“There was distrust as to what they were trying to achieve. They would send in mass numbers to challenge. Some of those meetings had appalling behaviour.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

The Head of Leisure suggests suspicion towards members of West Hill Pool was not unfounded as they attacked the authority and did not show a desire to manage the community³². They felt those in the CSB did not appreciate the amount of support they provided

They will not recognise how much I did to persuade members to allow it to go through. Once we got over that they worked out that I was there to help.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

Overall, these issues left an unfavourable impression towards the CSB from the Head of Leisure who understood the incentive of the CSB as being politically motivated.

“It was a political decision, lobbied by an anti-council group led by the people who are now the board. The idea that they had to save it, was a politically motivated one, rather than being community led. They think in the right way, and they want to get the residents involved. But it was an anti-establishment approach” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council

The Head of Leisure shared a view that the West Hill members were not concerned with providing community benefit, considering the political motivations of members of the CSB (Rex, 2019a). They raise issues that were faced in involving residents throughout the consultations and the CAT, implying that this may have been due to the anti-establishment nature of the CSB³³. Taken with responses from Central, this displays where misunderstandings between local authorities and CSBs cause problems and impede progress (Lowndes et al, 2006). The misunderstandings were compounded by the CSBs being new to authorities, meaning they do not have a track record of running leisure facilities. To avoid these misunderstandings continuing throughout the CAT, members of the CSBs who were involved with the local authorities developed the connection between the authority and the CSB. This was to create transparency and ensure the groups and local authorities mutually understand the objectives of the CAT (Ahrens et al, 2015). Such transparency enables communication channels and trust to form between the groups and the local authority officers. Participants provided examples of there being board members from both pools who could provide channels for the two-way communication to be enabled between groups and local authorities. One was board member 11 who was a councillor at Central Council.

“I was instrumental in having a foot in both camps. I’ve gone to Central Council and belonged to Central Pool as a member of the community. I helped edge between Central Council and Central Pool, they have a positive relationship.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

³² Examples of this were covered in 5.1.2.

³³ The issues of involving residents in consultations and CATs was covered initially in section 5.2. This extract confirms that the issue continued.

Similarly in West Hill, a board member of the CSB discussed how a councillor was on the board and had used their relationship with the local authority to help the organisation.

“One of our local councillors, who was involved with trying to save the pool. They looked at this broader partnership. They’ve been stalwarts ever since. They’ve been a great help. Where they can, lobbying West Hill Council on our behalf.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool

For both West Hill Pool and Central Pool local councillors improved the relationships between the CSBs and the local authority. The Councillors that are referred to possess a convening power that facilitates dialogue between the third and public sector, as they were concerned with supporting the CSBs in improving communities in ways which may not be associated with politics (Lowndes et al, 2006). This confirms how local councillors play an important bridging role that strengthens mutual trust (Locality, 2018a), meaning that as they bridge authorities and CSBs, they align the goals of CSBs with what local authority officers see as possible.

Overall, this section indicates political capital is necessary when commencing CAT, showing that sport clubs are likely to have greater political capital due to their pre-existing connections. Whereas new CSBs may have misunderstandings which need clarifying before CATs commence. Ways of addressing misconceptions were shown by utilising mutual connections. Support is needed to develop the political capital and connection necessary to proceed with CATs (Lowndes et al, 2006). Indeed, the section found consultants and councillors are ideal for supporting in providing such connections.

6.3 Financial capital in Conducting CAT

Participants in the CSBs needed to evidence viability in terms of financial capital. This section shows how participants in West Hill and Burnside understood this viability. West Hill Council and Burnside Council CAT policies revealed the ways that financial viability was framed by local authorities.

“We ask for financial projections and business plans demonstrating groups have a sound plan in place to take on and sustain the asset. We ask for financial projections showing expected income and expenditure over 3 years and business plans explaining the assumptions in arriving at projections.”
West Hill Council, CAT Policy

“Financial considerations should be included within the business plan in order to demonstrate a sound approach to managing and running the facility. The need for on-going financial support will be carefully considered to establish a sustainable operation.” Burnside Council, CAT policy.

The policies outlined financial viability as having a robust plan for income and expenditure over three years. This needed to show financial assumptions and evidence the management and running costs of the facility. Given that CATs are commenced by new CSBs, there may be challenges with

accessing the financial capital to fund this process (Bruni, 2018). Indeed, demonstrating the management costs of running the facility was a challenge for the participants, as the CSBs were started from scratch

“We didn't have any money because we came from nothing. So, we had discussions with the Council, and they came up with an idea.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

For the director of Burnside Gymnastics club, demonstrating the financial viability of their plans was challenging as they had no financial records to evidence (Anderson et al, 2007). Despite pre-existing as a club, they were starting from the bottom up, in terms of being a registered CSB (Plunkett et al, 2015). A member of the Council had an idea to loan funds to Burnside Gymnastics Club.

“They said ‘if we take on a loan as a Council it has to go through the government.’ It has never been done before. We will pay that loan off within six and a half years, I think it was. So, there's about two and a half years left to pay at the moment. So that was great because we knew once the loans paid off the village was going to end up with £20,000 a year coming. So, we know that's going to be really good for the community going forward.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The willingness of the Council to support Burnside Gymnastics Club with a loan to fund the CAT and the clubs' operation shows how political relationships help groups to progress with CATs (Bruni et al, 2020; Anderson et al, 2007). This means that the presence of political capital can enhance financial capital, as Burnside Gymnastics Club could demonstrate financial viability. However in other CSBs, participants lacked the political capital shown by Burnside Gymnastics Club, as their inability to demonstrate financial viability in ways which local authorities considered viable. This issue occurred at West Hill where the CSB had no reserves.

“We were in this catch 22 where we didn't have any reserves, we didn't have money and were forecasting a loss in the first year, which any new business would” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

A participant from West Hill Pool discussed the dilemma that CSBs find themselves in at this stage, by being required to show a sustainable financial plan. A consultant explained the need to understand the ways the local authority officers consider financial viability in leisure CATs (Richards et al, 2018).

“The other thing was getting people to recognise that financial capital gives you credibility with the negotiations with West Hill Council... In the business plan we acknowledge on day-1 costs arise, there are substantial costs to be factored. We predicted that over the first 2 years, we would need £130k to bridge those initial costs”. Community Development Consultant, West Hill Pool.

Participants discussed the paradoxical situation they were in by being required to demonstrate financial viability, despite not having financial records to evidence. They presented a need to frame this in a way the local authority deems credible, which includes providing evidence of earned

revenue in the period (Plunkett et al, 2015). The board member went on to claim this challenged them and caused a dilemma, where the local authority officers were not being supportive.

They're saying, 'you can't do that, you can't lose money, you've got no money.' We're in this catch 22 going round. That's why there was a three-year delay, we were stuck in that conversation with West Hill Council for two and a half years." Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

This issue suggests there is a preference from local authorities for CSBs to demonstrate financial viability plans in particular ways, where income concerns the planning of revenue generation. This was the case for the Head of Leisure who was having to reject the business plan because of the risk.

"We were kicking their business proposals out because they were just too pie in the sky... What they need to try and do is find ways to invest in getting revenue grants that will pay for their staff costs. By doing that, it would make them sustainable." Head of Leisure, West Hill Council

The Head of Leisure was concerned with the revenue model proposed by those in West Hill Pool as their business plan lacked sustainability in how financial capital would be accessed. This is because the plan forecasted that start-up costs would be fundraised, meaning the business plan for managing the pool lacked a longer-term approach to revenue generation. By emphasising that West Hill Pool needed to invest in their financial model, the local authority rejected the financial plans without providing support to develop a financially viable plan. Their approach from the Head of Leisure at West Hill Council was risk-averse with how they viewed the financial sustainability of assets (Aiken et al, 2011), reflecting discourse of CATs being underpinned by financial frames which protects local authorities from scrutiny (Fortkert, 2015).

Together, participants from these two CSBs reveal the challenges of evidencing financial viability in line with local authority expectations. Across both cases, additional funding was required to address where sustainable financial viability was lacking. A participant who worked for a third sector funder provided examples of how West Hill Pool were supported to evidence the financial capital necessary to commence the CAT. West Hill Pool accessed funding from Power to Change which enabled them to invest £189,000 in start-up costs. This funding was used to cover up-front staff costs, maintenance costs, and invest in the café area at the facility, which was key to ensuring their business plan worked.

"The application set out how the West Hill Pool would become Incorporated. They were to be the ones to take on the asset and run the business... We awarded the grant to (CVS), and it was later transferred to West Hill Pool once they were set up. So, it was that they were supporting West Hill Pool and applied on their behalf, like they wouldn't have been able to get access to funding without that. In terms of risk, they were on the high-risk scale." Fund Manager, Power to Change.

West Hill Pool used the grant to get out of the catch-22 situation where they could not start the transfer due to not having the initial seed funding necessary, and they could not generate revenue as they were not managing the pool. The funding had support embedded as it was delivered through a local partner which involved peer support to the group. This confirms income-generation is about bringing in sustained income to cover the costs of operating the site and where this does not cover the full cost, bringing in external funding as well (Rex, 2019a). Bruni et al (2020) claims this approach has been endorsed by many local authorities who see this seed funding as vital in plugging initial gaps to put CSBs on track to achieve financial viability. However, such approaches were viewed as unsustainable in neglecting long-term models involving revenue generation. The Head of Leisure in West Hill highlighted the importance of generating revenue in achieving financial sustainability when CSBs put together their business plans (Aiken et al, 2011; Locality, 2018).

“We had concerns about their naive approach to fundraising, and that they look at capital as the be all and end all.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

Overall, the two cases show that commencing CAT involves a focus on financial capital where the broader way of framing financial viability involves showing financial plans that are sustainable. The policies showed this, and the financial priorities of each authority revealed this framing is influenced by the politics of each local authority. For instance, Burnside Council supported Burnside Gymnastics Club, whereas West Hill Council were not supportive and had rigid views of viability. Therefore, the section found that political capital was also vital in evidencing financial viability, as in both cases the CSB lacked financial capital, but this was overcome in Burnside.

6.4 Discussion: Mobilising Organisational Capital Throughout Stages of CAT

This chapter identified the domains of capital needed to complete a CAT. The examination revealed human capital as a key domain of capital during the CAT process. This was because forming social enterprises required knowing how to register CSBs, and the legal and financial consequences of each, with this drawing on knowledge of ways that local authorities frame financial viability. The findings added to Chapter 5, showing that support was necessary and the process of this to conduct CAT.

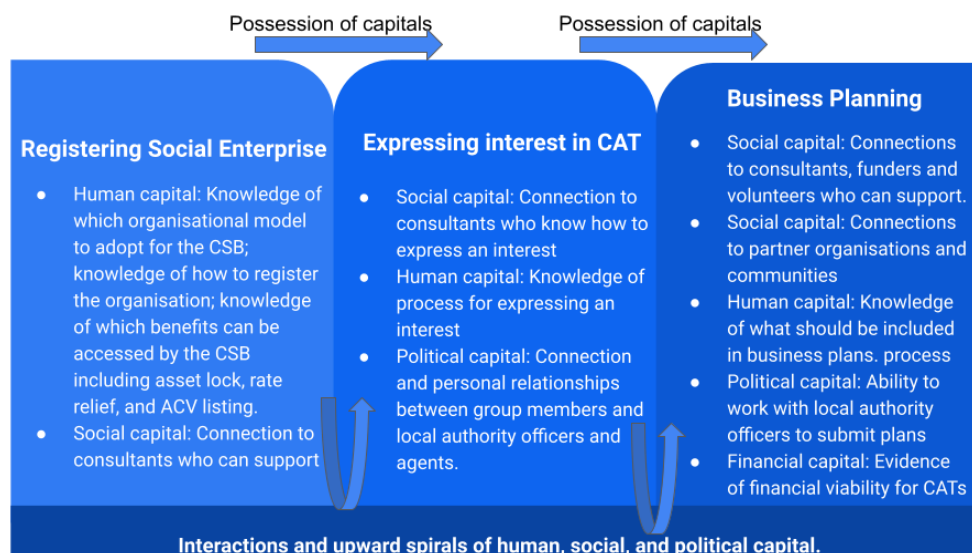


Figure 6.1 Framework of Mobilising Organisational Capital in CAT process

The interrelations of human and social capital when support is accessed is outlined in figure 6.1 (Coleman, 1998). Human Capital support was provided by consultants who had knowledge of what was needed regarding financial and business planning. However, the presence of political capital was significant as the human capital support was not sufficient in itself, as consultants were relied on to improve relationships between CSBs and local authorities. This was because lacking trust from the local authority complicated this business planning process if officers were suspicious of the CSBs or whether they would achieve financial viability. Therefore, interrelations of capital occurred through the interactions with consultants as political capital was mobilised. For instance, the consultant in Riverside called authority officers directly. Interrelations of social and financial capital involved accessing revenue and grants from funders. For CSBs that accessed this funding, interactions that utilised social networks including funders, showed another way that social capital possession enhanced other stocks of capital. However, interrelations occur as tendencies, as other CSBs completed the business planning process without support showing that human capital is context-dependent (Emery et al, 2004).

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the 1st and 3rd research questions³⁴ by showing the organisational capitals that are necessary to conduct CATs. The chapter found that human capital was essential in the CSBs conducting CATs, but where this is lacking, stocks of social and political capital are essential to access

³⁴ What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility? What support is needed to sustain CSBs?

support. The organisational capitals that interrelate when mobilised through interactions with third sector consultants and funders were shown.

Collectively, the participants identified key interrelations of capitals, such as how political capital is needed for human and financial capital to be considered credible. Therefore, a significant finding was that trust and shared understandings of CATs are required for credibility from local authorities to be achieved, meaning that CATs must be commenced with mutual objectives.

Chapter 7 - Organisational Capitals in Forming CSBs

This chapter addresses the 1st, 3rd, and 4th research questions³⁵, by examining the formation and function of structural and cultural properties in the CSBs³⁶. The aim is to understand the significance of organisational capital in forming these organisational properties. Section 7.1 shows the capital used in board appointment and section 7.2 continues this by exploring the capitals needed to recruit staff. The cultural properties of the CSBs are examined in 7.3 where the cultural consequences of forming the organisational structures are examined. Overall, the chapter covers how interactions shape how community and organisational capitals are mobilised for organisational structures to form and function.

7.1. Organisational Capitals in Forming Governance Structures

This section examines the processes of forming the governance structures in each case beginning with the appointments of the chairs. As the campaigns prior to CATs are broached, the organisational capital in the community pools is examined ahead of the sport clubs. This starts with participants who instigated the campaigns illustrating how social and human capital was used to form boards.

7.1.1 Organisational Social Capital in Forming Boards

Domains of organisational bonding and bridging social capital were found to be utilised when the boards of the CSBs were formed. Organisational bonding social capital was shown in West Hill and Central Pools as participants referred to how those who were involved in the campaigns prior to the CAT were appointed to boards.

“The group that set it up became the first board. They started off as a campaign group to keep the facility... They came from a variety of backgrounds.” Board Member 8, Central Pool.

“There's a core group of board members, the majority of them, were part of that initial campaign group, and they've stayed on. They're still part of the board.” Development Consultant, West Hill.

The appointment of these campaigners as board members shows the importance of maintaining bonding social capital with each other. Describing these members as a core group adds to findings in Chapter 5 where the committed campaigners were able to continue during consultations. This was raised as both participants claimed those who were appointed were prominent and hands on.

³⁵ What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility? What support is needed to sustain CSBs? What are the differences between voluntary and paid staff human capital requirements?

³⁶ Outlined on page 24 and 14.

“They did the preparation of the budget and everything. While they were campaigning, they had to be handed on, doing the budget plan, basically doing everything.” Board Member 8, Central Pool.

There are a couple who just attend the board meetings and you never hear or see anything from them the rest of the time. But there are others who are quite prominent that everybody else relies very heavily on.” Community Development Consultant, West Hill Pool.

As board members, the campaigners were seen as being involved in matters at both pools, with some being heavily relied on. This confirms that board members often are required to volunteer in operational capacities when CATs are being conducted. The participant from Central linked this to the struggle to step aside, as board members who were hands-on in operational work during campaigns did not work strategically once the CAT was complete.

“When we opened, we appointed our first CEO. The group found it difficult to delegate to the CEO, because they'd been running it themselves. Standing aside and becoming strategic was a thing they struggled with. We had training to make us understand and to force us to think more strategically. It took a couple of years before the board understood its role.” Board Member 8, Central Pool.

The board member suggests that appointing campaigners may mean governance skills or experience are lacking. This was because board members did not understand their role and how they could work in a strategic way. When read with findings from Chapter 5 and 6, their comments suggest this is a consequence of the lack of time and support to appoint members (Briggs, 2019). In addition, as the board members came from the campaign groups and worked on operational matters together, their appointments reflected the presence of bonding social capital in the CSBs. An example of this came from the development consultant who supported at West Hill during the CAT. They highlighted the prominence of some of the original campaigners who joined the board.

“Board Member 3 was part of the first campaign group when the pool closed, but dropped out and came back after. They fitted in and created their own niche.” Development Consultant West Hill Pool.

The relevance of leaving the group and then joining the board is that during the campaigns, those that campaigned developed trust. The consultant alluded to this in regard to West Hill.

“It's been interesting to see their impact on the board. I'm not saying she's done it in a particular way. But it's interesting, it's something that's worked well, the trust between board members, staff team, and those of us who are advisors.” Development Consultant West Hill Pool.

In referring to this association, the consultant alludes to bonding social capital being mobilised as they suggest that learning and working together during campaigns and as a board developed these stocks of organisational bonding social capital (Findlay-King et al, 2018b). Whilst the formation of the board shows that organisational bonding social capital internal to West Hill was mobilised, this can mean the board is not at full capacity, as governance skills may be lacking.

It follows that stocks of bonding social capital were mobilised to appoint board members who had no prior involvement with the new CSB. This involves external connections, which shows that stocks of organisational bonding social capital are needed for boards to form at capacity. This involves external connections, so stocks of organisational bonding social capital are needed for boards to form at capacity. Participants from Central Pool discussed how those who were not involved in the community campaigns were appointed to the board because the Chair was able to individuals that they had connections with.

“When I moved back from London, Chair was looking for board members. They had always been recruited from the group of people who took over, who were naturally local and very connected. Then it evolved because Chair knows lots of people.” Interim Chair, Central Pool.

“It is because of Chair’s drive. Chair tried to get people on the board... They tried to get people on the board. Both local and with connection to the facility.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

The Chair of Central Pool appointing personal connections is an example of bonding social capital being mobilised to appoint board members. In discussing this, participants exemplified how connections beyond the group of campaigners were utilised, explaining that levels of local connection and engagement in the community around facilities is important when making board appointments. Community members may have joined because they felt a sense of ownership over the facility (Darcy et al, 2014), meaning mobilising bonding social capital is key to form governance arrangements that reflect the community (Tonts, 2005)³⁷. However, in West Hill because there was not the same level of connection with the community, none of the initial board members were appointed from outside the core group. The Chair of the board considered the challenge they faced.

“We are deciding who we need in the board because the population is 50% white-European and 50% non-white-European. We have other people in our community. We’re not representative of our community. The board is largely women. I’m proud of that. But on ethnicity, we need to strengthen... That’s been challenging. It’s changed the way we do things.” Chair, West Hill Pool.

West Hill Pool’s struggle to appoint community members to the board is a consequence of only appointing board members from campaign groups. In sharing this, the Chair suggests that West Hill lacked organisational bridging social capital needed to appoint from the community, meaning their capacity to be representative is lessened (Kleinhans, 2020).

Together participants indicate that the initial cohort of board members of the pools came from the campaign groups that formed throughout consultations before CATs. This showed the importance of

³⁷ Discussed throughout Chapter 5.1

bonding social capital as the ties developed from the consultations-built trust and ways of working related to board appointments. Participants from sport clubs identified a presence of bonding social capital by confirming the reliance on pre-existing connections in appointing parents to boards. For example, at Burnside Gymnastics Club, two club directors explained how their connection with the founding director started when their child became involved with the club.

“I became involved as a parent when my daughter, who now works for the gym, started attending about 12 years ago. I’ll consider myself to be a parent helper. I helped the Co-Founding Director with hands-on things when we opened the new gym. Three years ago, I became one of the directors.” Club Director 3, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

“I met the Founder 14 years ago. When my daughter started tumbling at the club. When we moved across they asked me to be a director. I’m also a national tumbling judge. I started as a club judge and then became a regional judge.” Club Director 5, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The directors explained that as parents they were invited to join by the founding director (Harris et al, 2017). Similarly, as a parent of a new Riverside Hockey Club member a director offered their expertise in various areas and when the CAT was commenced, they joined the board of the CSB.

“We looked for a club and Riverside Hockey Club was the best... I said to the Riverside Club Director if they need help with regards to the finances for the new pitch or anything. I’ve also been helping out in various smallish disciplinary matters. You know, just writing people probably not do something for, you know, small contracts or for my time from like, from the cleaning contract or something, and telling the people just to just to go away into the night and not bother us again... I’ve been on the board for 6 months.” Riverside Director 2, Riverside Hockey Club.

The directors show organisational bonding social capital existed in the sport clubs, with connections between directors and parents being utilised to form boards. By extending their involvement at clubs (Cuskelly et al, 2013), they show clubs operate with normativity and informal structures when making board appointments (Tacon et al, 2014; Misener et al, 2009). The use of bonding social capital in the sport clubs may therefore exclude community members who are not involved in the club. This means sports clubs may conduct CAT without buy-in from communities as they are not involved in the initial governance arrangements (Briggs, 2019). The consultant supporting Riverside Hockey Club introduced this by highlighting that club directors were not concerned with appointing community members.

“There’s no doubt the board’s background and interest are sport because they want to see the Club become the best. That’s what they’re interested in.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

Their comment shows that directors of Riverside Hockey Club are focused on the club which may be why other directors are appointed from within the club³⁸. This means that when appointing board club members, bonding social capital is mobilised instead of bridging social capital, as board members are appointed from within the club (Cuskelly et al, 2013). Consequently, board capacity of clubs can increase at the expense of community capital, as local community members are excluded (Wicker, 2016). Across CSBs it was evident that bonding social capital is required for governance arrangements to form, but that this can be exclusionary. When bridging social capital was mobilised as community members were appointed, this showed a sense of ownership could encourage the members of communities to join the boards of CSBs (Gilbert, 2016). The way the boards formed was significantly related to the organisational human capital existing in each CSB, as examined next.

7.1.2 Organisational Human Capital in Forming Boards

For community pools, there are human capital challenges when boards are formed, as participants from West Hill Pool contemplated how the board could not govern effectively because they lacked capacity.

“We had nothing prepared because we had been firefighting all the time. You know, we haven't really had time to look at those aspects. We're lacking capacity.” Chair, West Hill Pool.

The chair explains that they lacked capacity because they had been firefighting throughout the CAT process and subsequently could not prepare for their board appointments. They followed this by questioning how the board's initial capacity could develop whilst lacking the board members to appoint others.

“The problem is how do I get capacity to do things to create capacity. You'll find that reflected in the board.” Chair, West Hill Pool.

The board being solely composed of members from the campaign group meant they had too few board members (Briggs, 2019), with this showing that more time is needed to invest to develop the size of the board (Gilbert, 2016). Other board members echoed this by highlighting that the Chair struggled to balance their paid professional work and their commitment as Chair.

“The Chair is self-employed, they take contract work, but had long periods of not working because they've been so consumed with the pool. They've chosen to do that. I had to juggle it around my job and my family and other people have as well.” Board Member 3, West Hill Pool.

The issue with having the time needed to progress the development of the board was covered, as the 'juggling' shows that being a board member in a CSB post-CAT requires time. It may be that in less affluent communities board members are required to volunteer at CSBs whilst usually working

³⁸ Appointing board members from the club reflects the approach that Riverside Hockey Club had with recruiting staff members as shown in Section 8.3.

paid jobs (Briggs, 2019), meaning they are stretched (MacMillan, 2013). The Chair gave examples of how this was a problem for other board members at West Hill Pool.

“There are people who have heavy commitments... People’s responsibilities change. People have children, so they can’t take the role they were doing. One guy was unemployed when he came on the board, he’s now got full-time work. He’s finding it difficult to get any time. We’ve had a woman who’s moved from the area, she can’t be involved. We had somebody from the college, and he’s moved on to other things. So, we’ve got replacements, but we’re not at full strength.” Chair, West Hill Pool.

The Chair explained that board members could not invest enough time because of job or family commitments, with one member leaving the board. Consequently, the governance capacity of the board would be reduced (Bruni et al, 2020), highlighting a human capital issue in that the stress in managing a pool risks burnout for board members (Aiken et al, 2015). Therefore, if board members lack staying power other members need to provide additional support. The Chair explained this.

“I feel extremely fortunate that around me, I had such a motivated group of individuals who looked out for one another. If somebody was getting burnt out, then, everybody would chip in and get work done, because everybody had commitments.” Chair, West Hill Pool.

Indeed, the chair suggests that not all board members lacked the time and ability to commit to the board, as they explained that some board members would support when others were burnt out. This shows another way how organisational bonding capital is essential on boards, as it involves being part of cohesive and mutually supportive groups, which underpins human capital (Kumar, 2018). However, this means that gaps remain, but existing members are required to fill them. The participants showed skill gaps continued but were dealt with in diverse ways. For instance, a board member claimed that they could fill these gaps as their professional role developed their governance knowledge.

“We’re conscious that we have some skill gaps as a board. I am trying to work through the governance stuff. It’s something I’ve managed to get my head round in the last 18 months through my paid job.” Board Member 3, West Hill Pool.

Board Member 3 understood the governance requirements of boards because they had a paid job which had prepared them for being on a board. Their comment shows gaps in skills and experience can be covered by the professional experience of volunteer board members, but that these may not be present in all communities (Barroso-Castro et al, 2008; Bruni et al, 2020).

Similarly, the board of Central Pool had gaps after the CSB was registered as an entity, with the way these were dealt with differing.

“At the time I was working in the social sector, for banking and supporting social enterprises. The CEO said we’ve got a real gap on the board around funding and finances. So, would you be

interested? It was one of those being in the right place, the right time.” Board Member 7, Central Pool.

“I spoke to the Chair about coming on board. It would be good development that would also help with the bath, with my background being health and wellbeing. As that involvement has grown bigger, I have found it difficult to engage.” Board Member 9, Central Pool.

Participants explained they were appointed to address skill gaps, as the Chair and CEO were aware of expertise that was lacking on the board. In joining, both participants brought financial and health expertise, with these skills addressing the gaps identified (Moore et al, 2013).

It was not enough to rely on the specialisms of those appointed to fill skill gaps on boards, as they needed governance experience as well. Board Member 9 illustrated this by questioning what they could offer to the Central Pool board.

“I am one of the quiet ones because I've not got knowledge, I've got finance and HR, but on a small scale. So, I offer my opinion, but it's difficult because I've not felt expert enough. I've got nothing to offer until something about health and wellbeing and then I could go off on one. That's where I struggle, I find it difficult because there are strong characters on the board. I don't mean that in a negative way, but knowledgeable. I always feel this, and this is my problem, an insignificant person there, which made me want to leave on a number of occasions. Board members said you must have more confidence” Board Member 9, Central Pool.

The comment from Board Member 9 suggests that there is a mismatch between the expectations of being able to contribute expertise and having the confidence to make an impactful contribution. This was because they struggled with the strong characters on the board and their lack of confidence in additional areas, as they felt insignificant (Moore et al, 2013). They suggested these issues may cause board members to leave if they felt like this.

Participants from Central Pool discussed ways such human capital issues could be addressed with training and interventions. For example, reflecting on their issues, Board Member 9 questioned the ways in which training may empower board members to balance skill with board experience (Buckley et al, 2020).

“When we have members on board, how do we make them feel comfortable? How do we make them inclusive? How do we value everybody's opinion, so we don't let them feel silly? You recognise that when people come on the board, it can be intimidating.” Board Member 9, Central Pool.

The board member highlighted the challenges they faced indicating a need to support those who are not comfortable with the intimidating nature of being on a board. Another board member touched on this, explaining that the initial governance capacity of the Central board was limited because the board members needed professionalising.

“When we first got established, we had to get your system in place, as we’re a bonafide organisation. Our governance was casual, we’re improving on the challenging aspects to professionalise.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

Board Member 11, the Councillor from Central Council, was critical of the governance capacity of Central pool, suggesting the group could no longer operate like a campaign group would, as they were a registered CSB. This meant board members needed to work in a professional way. They explained the ways that the board needed to professionalise.

“You want people with expertise on the board who know what they’re doing. Who can challenge people who are committed to the vision and get involved. We need to have that community connection on the board.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

Board Member 11 argued that there should be board members who are able to challenge each other whilst bringing skills to the board. Their emphasis on challenge being welcome on boards contrasts with board member 9 who found this intimidating. They both confirm that professionalisation is needed for the initial board members of CSBs to govern effectively after CATs (Aiken et al, 2015). Additionally, the importance of having a connection to the community was highlighted by the board members at Central. Board Member 11 reflected on the importance of community connection from board members who are committed to the pool’s vision whilst balancing this with their expertise (Hobson et al, 2019).

With board members from both pools lacking professional experience, the participants gave insight into the organisational human capital challenges faced when local campaigners are relied on for governance arrangements (Findlay-King et al, 2015). In both cases, appointing board members internally relied on stocks of organisational bonding social capital, but this had negative consequences for the human capital of the board.

Burnside and Riverside clubs contrasted this, as with existing members or parents being appointed to the boards of these clubs, the directors could more easily utilise professional skills. The directors that were appointed to the boards in clubs shared the skills that made them suitable for governing. The corporate background and willingness of a director in Riverside to volunteer was valued when they were appointed to the board.

“I’m someone in the background, I help little bits and pieces. So, they look around for certain people to do certain things. It helps that I’m a corporate commercial and litigation. That’s valued, especially in the context of CAT.” Riverside Hockey Club Board Member 2, Riverside Hockey Club.

The appointment of this director showed that appointing parents from within the clubs to boards enhanced the organisational human capital of the board, if the directors’ possessed skills which were relevant in the context of CAT. In Riverside this meant the club could access commercial and

litigation expertise without having to pay. Likewise, in another case, the Head of leisure of Burnside Council was impressed by the skills that parents provided the club either as volunteers or board members.

“The skills of the parents were eye-opening and invigorating. I said at the time we were drafting up the leases, ‘Look, you’re gonna have to get a solicitor’ they said, ‘I have a parent who’s a solicitor,’ and I said, you get a solicitor to work for nowt. I’ll eat my hat!’ They did.” Head of Leisure,

Together, the participants from the two clubs provide examples of the human capital that exists in the sport clubs that was relevant in forming governance arrangements. The points that this would be provided free of charge is significant for governing CSBs because accessing expertise from parents helps clubs in overcoming barriers to financial capital. Moreover, the comments from the Head of Leisure at Burnside Council suggests local authorities may underestimate the extent of organisational human capital that exists in sport clubs.

Another way that appointing parents of members to the boards of sport clubs mobilised human capital was if they had governance experience from being on previous boards or had pre-existing ties with other directors. Indeed, participants from both clubs shared the ways in which the directors worked well together. A Director from Riverside discussed how people were able to come and go.

“People have stepped down from the board where we felt they were not adding any value. People come on with the best intentions. The people in the board think about the club, there’s no clash of personalities, just okay, how do we solve this problem? How do we want to solve it? What’s the ultimate aim?” Club Board Member 2, Riverside Hockey Club.

The comment that people join with good intentions but leave, when necessary, shows that the board of Riverside Hockey Club was operating in a way which enabled good governance (Sport England, 2014; Wicker, 2016). There appears to be a culture on the board where every member is able to contribute, as their points regarding the personalities showed. Consequently, the board worked in a functional way that supported the Chair of Riverside.

“The Chair’s got more energy and time because everyone’s a volunteer. And lots of good ideas. They know more, and I support wherever I can, and say, ‘No,’ when it’s appropriate, ‘or I’ll help with that, or whatever,’ everyone’s the same.” Club Board Member 2, Riverside Hockey Club.

In this passage the directors explained that the chair had more time and energy, which is an essential aspect of human capital (Bruni et al, 2020) as the governance of CSBs involved in CAT can stress board members (Skerratt et al, 2011; Findlay-King et al, 2018a). The board’s function was key in the human capital of the chair being unlocked, as every board member provided support. In the board of Burnside Gymnastics Club, a similar culture was formed where the parents helped.

“It's good to have that support because you're not just understanding the gym but also how we need to work things on the board side as well. To try and sing off the same song sheet. So, it's nice to have sort of likeminded people on that side as well.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Together the participants confirm that board members worked well together, allowing contributions from members with different specialisms to be made. Having this human capital contrasts to the experience from the two community pools, as a difference in the board member energy and expertise was shared by the director. It may be because as clubs existed before being registered as CICs, there were broader social ties to draw on in appointing board members. Therefore, those that were recruited were more skilled, had more energy, and were familiar with working with parents or club members that became directors (Byers, 2013). Moreover, the conduct of the initial board members suggests that in these clubs both skills and governance experience were balanced, and board members had an aligned view of the CAT (Kleinhans et al, 2020). The alignment from board members of the sport clubs can be read as an illustration of strong organisational bonding social capital as the boards were characterised by informal relationships and loose structures (Papadimitriou, 2002; Misener et al, 2010). However, the strength of the bonding capital may exclude outsiders including community members (Burrmann, 2020).

The first half of 7.1 has examined the social capital needed for organisations to develop effective governance arrangements. A finding was that for all types of CSBs bonding social capital is utilised to appoint board members, as they come from an internal pool. For community pools, board members came from campaign groups whereas for sport clubs they came from the club's members (or parents). Only Central Pool appointed community members to their board, but as this member lacked confidence in contributing, issues of community representation in governance remain (Archer, 2019). The second half covered the additional support that is needed for community members to participate in the governance arrangements of local CSBs as there may be sufficient organisational human capital to form governance structures (Murtagh et al, 2017). The next section continues the analysis on organisational capital by examining the formation of staffing structures in the CSBs.

7.2. Organisational Capital in Forming Staffing Structures

This section analyses the capital needed within CSBs to recruit staff. The analysis concerns the human capital in the CSB with this followed by the social capital that was mobilised when staff join. As with the last section, the findings on the stocks of organisational capital from the community pools are dealt with separately to the sport clubs before the support needed is discussed across cases.

7.2.1 Organisational Human Capital in Recruiting Staff

Staff recruitment was the starting point for the formation of organisational structures of the two community pools (Findlay-King et al, 2018a). This meant board members were involved, as members of West Hill and Central Pool's boards explained their involvement in the recruitment of staff.

"We recruited from the board directly for the pool manager, the duty managers, and staff. We are moving to a system where a manager takes responsibility for recruiting staff." Chair, West Hill Pool.

"I go along to events, and I'll do interviews. They all know about the organisation really, that's our role really is to do the governance." Board Member 8, Central Pool.

Both show that it was necessary for board members to conduct the recruitment, but this should not be how such organisations operate, as they had governance matters to deal with (Findlay-King et al, 2015). Meaning that the initial HR practices of CSBs are informal, reflecting human capital challenges as the board members were relied on to recruit for operational roles, as there was no alternative. Another board member explained the lack of support for West Hill's board.

"We have started to think about taking up more on the admin side on employment matters. There's no admin support for trustees." Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

All the same, the consequences of their involvement in the recruitment were not negative. For instance, the Chair of West Hill explained that by being involved in the recruitment the board members were able to see what was happening at the pool.

"We feel that the board should have an understanding of what's going on. Because otherwise, we're getting divorced from what's happening. And we've strenuously tried not to be, we could say you manage that, we're the board and we don't need to have anything to do with it. But actually, we thought it was good that we're involved. And we have some knowledge. And we see the types of people that are coming through. We are moving to a system where our pool manager takes responsibility for recruiting staff at the lower level." Chair, West Hill Pool.

The issues highlighted suggest that recruitment challenges may be more pronounced in community pools as they lack potential staff members to recruit from³⁹. However, participants from West Hill suggested that there are positives to this as board members have a stronger connection with the staff⁴⁰ (Findlay-King et al, 2015). The comments concerning the community pools shows how a lack of organisational human and social capital created challenges in recruiting externally. In comparison, participants from sport clubs showed the clubs recruited staff by appointing club members, so there

³⁹ Despite providing training and volunteering opportunities for members of the local community (as discussed in 8.3), as members of the community did not complete the training.

⁴⁰ The consequences of having a stronger relationship with the operational staff is dealt with in 7.3.1 where the ways of working in the CSBs are examined.

were stocks of internal organisational human capital. The founding directors explained the way club members were recruited. For instance, at Burnside, nearly all staff members were recruited in this way, with the Director viewing this as a positive endorsement of the club as they explained.

“90% of our staff, and all the directors have been involved with the sport since we set up ... It's nice when you look at the board, and you see the faces on there, and so many of them come to the club, enjoy the experience and do it as a paid job.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Recruiting club members was also discussed positively by the founder of the Riverside club, as players qualified as coaches to be employed at the club.

“We had people step forward, that off their own back did their coaching courses. So, somebody stepped forward already to help out with our sort of development squad. If I wasn't able to make Thursday now, I wouldn't feel bad.” Riverside Club Director, Riverside Hockey Club.

In recruiting for these coaching roles, the clubs have an advantage as potential employees are already members of the club, whereas for new CSBs, employees join externally. This meant the organisations were challenged differently with how service delivery roles were recruited (Schwarz, 2015). However, it was a challenge to recruit roles that were not sport specific. The founding directors explained this.

“We're not lacking head coaches; we're lacking professionals to deliver. That's what we're lacking. But the initial stages are always difficult.” Riverside Club Director, Riverside Hockey Club

“If you've got the money, you'd have a facility manager, finance manager, you can have these different people.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

What is revealed here is that employing staff into professional non-coaching roles remains a challenge for sport club recruitment. It can be inferred from this that the gaps remain as those conducting the recruitment rely on staff members being recruited internally (Taylor et al, 2006). This is compounded by limitations in financial capital, as the Director of Burnside Gymnastics Club explained that they could not invest in the roles at the facility (Aiken et al, 2011). Across the cases, external support with recruitment was highlighted as consultants were used. For instance, participants from West Hill Pool and Riverside Hockey Club explained that they invested in employment support for recruitment processes to be conducted.

“When I came on board, there were no staff members, so we appointed some of them. So, their only experience of me is as having me around the site. They know that I've done some (recruitment) in the past, but they don't have knowledge of it. That was the reason they wanted the contract.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

The consultant at Riverside explains how they provided additional recruitment support throughout the process of forming the workforce. As former CEO of Riverside Council they had overseen

multiple CATs, so their experience of who to recruit was vital. They explained that recruitment was written into their contract, meaning they supported recruitment despite this being unusual for consultants.

“I am employed by them. That was the reason the Riverside Club Director wanted that. I was offering to do it and with a payment involved that makes a difference. Because it might have been different if I was doing it for nothing. Then well, ‘I don't want to do that. I don't want to do it that way.’ There have been times when I've done things, I would have done differently, but they're paying the bill. So, I do it the way they want to.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

However, there is an interesting tension as they suggest they would do only as was asked of them to support the recruitment. This suggests the board of Riverside had the financial capital to buy expertise to support, whereas in other cases limited financial capital meant this support could not be accessed, as the Director of Burnside mentioned.

“We are still reinvesting into the building, the facility and into the community. So, I don't want to be paying any extra that I don't need to.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The approach of the Burnside Director differed to those on the board of Riverside, as because of the maintenance costs faced at the facility, they were not willing to invest in costly support with staffing.

A way recruitment support was provided without having to pay, was through the use of unpaid consultants, essentially skilled volunteers. For example, West Hill Pool used an unpaid consultant who was the Manager of a local community pool who understood recruitment. They provided technical expertise and shared examples of the processes that needed addressing.

“Board members were running around, pulling together HR advice, getting information from the Pool Consultant. They were key to what the staff, job descriptions, and person specifications might look like, although we had some of that expertise, that was key.” Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool.

The Regeneration Consultant explained that the Pool Consultant shared formal documents, policies and procedures which were needed to recruit members of staff. This was key, as despite board members at West Hill Pool possessing recruitment knowledge, they needed support in employing community members.

As outlined in this section, participants showed CSBs develop staffing structures despite having limited time, finances, and knowledge of recruitment. This impacts the quality of the staff that join and whether communities are involved at facilities (Archer, 2019; Nichols et al, 2020). This was addressed by buying in human capital support, where consultants share recruitment skills (Emery et al, 2006). However, unless the board members have connections with willing volunteers, then financial capital is needed to access the consultants. Therefore, the section identified ways that

accessing relevant human capital requires stocks of organisational social and financial capital (Rasmussen, 2021; Reid, 2017).

7.2.2 Organisational Social Capital in Recruiting Staff

Both domains of social capital are vital for CSBs, as by drawing on local community networks, staff were recruited through the social ties between individuals. Staff from three cases evidenced how they were recruited through these networks. For instance, a CEO of Central was recruited whilst being neighbours with the former CEO (Light et al, 2004).

“The previous CEO was my next-door neighbour, I knew them well, and the role, and Learned about the pool through them.” Former CEO, Central Pool.

Through learning about the pool from the CEO whilst they were neighbours, this participant was able to understand the nature of the role ahead of replacing the CEO of the pool. Such knowledge meant they understood whether they wanted to do the role at the facility.

So, when the role came up, that was one of the reasons why I was drawn. My decision to move out of a commercial environment to go into something that was community driven. So that was a decision on my part, it so happened that I was looking, and this role came up, and that was the reason that I was drawn to applying.” Former CEO, Central Pool.

From conversations with the CEO the participant understood whether they wanted to work at the facility, showing that close community proximity enabled an exchange of ideas where connection can develop (Nowell et al, 2014). This kind of informal connection is not uncommon in communities or CSBs with strong stocks of bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000). As in West Hill, the Senior Duty Manager went for a walk with somebody they know to tell them about the opportunities at the pool.

“I met the Senior Duty Manager, went for a walk first and they gave me a heads up that there was an interview coming up for the manager's position and invited me through the interviews.” Duty Manager 1, West Hill Pool.

The Duty Manager shows their connection with their senior who informally prepared them for the role in a similar way to the CEO of Central Pool. It can be read from this that developing connections in communities is an important way to expand organisational structures in CATs (Briggs, 2019).

In addition to interactions between staff and community members, bonding social capital could be seen by community members having a connection to the facility itself. This was shown at Riverside Hockey Club, where the Facility Manager had a connection to the pitches used.

“I've known the venue for years, my daughter played there. That was our home ground. It hasn't changed, structurally. It's exciting to be at ground level.” Facility Manager, Riverside Hockey Club

Such connection to facilities fosters ties with clubs, more so because in this case their daughter was also playing at the club, confirming parents are likely to be recruited, especially if they develop connections with directors (Doherty et al, 2013; Seppanen, 1982; Burrmann et al, 2020).

“It was a case of the right place and time for me. The Director rang me, and I’ve never worked with it before, it was a leap of faith. But I knew what they wanted, and I know how hard they worked to get the venue.” Facility Manager, Riverside Hockey Club

The connection between this parent and the Director is shown in that they knew what the club wanted and how hard the director had worked during the CAT (Seppanen, 1982).

Each staff member’s experience showed a unique way in which social capital and the community nature of CSBs influenced their recruitment, with a shared theme being their connections to the community being mobilised. These connections exemplified that recruitment utilised bonding social capital. However, this examination must account for the relationship between staff members and their socio-cultural circumstances, as the thesis has already found that utilising social capital may exclude marginalised community members who have limited social mobility (Hobson et al, 2019; Shortall, 2008). This is because when those who were connected with the facility and directors or staff are appointed, others without these connections are excluded, perpetuating inequalities (Gadsden et al, 2022). However, Shortall (2008), argued issues of exclusion require consideration of what civic participation looks like, as involvement in leisure facilities may be undesirable.

Participants touched on this, showing that efforts to ensure recruitment did not exclude community members actually reinforced these issues, as those with connections to facilities were appointed instead of other community members. For instance, the recruitment of staff in West Hill Pool involved those from another community leisure facility training staff, before taking some of the roles themselves.

“The managers there were helping the guys at West Hill.” Duty Manager, West Hill Pool.

“I was volunteering, and it was ready to be opened, they needed staff to come. I was already doing hands-on experience.” Leisure Assistant, West Hill Pool.

The staff members highlight that volunteering at West Hill Pool before opening is a way that bonding social capital was relevant in recruitment. Both joined the pool through connections developed by volunteering.

“The job came up for a Duty Manager, I knew about the pool and staff from a nearby pool. I was helping just a bit.” Duty Manager, West Hill Pool.

Therefore, helping at West Hill Pool before its opening was another way that bonding social capital was important in recruitment. Also, training sessions were arranged to recruit for West Hill Pool, but there was a lack of engagement, so those with connections were trained at the expense of others⁴¹, meaning these opportunities benefit only some members of communities (Storr et al, 2017).

These findings illustrate further ways that stocks of bonding social capital are used to recruit, shown through existing connections being used for recruitment. This was also common in sport clubs because the recruitment of coaching staff required candidates to have backgrounds within sport clubs. The gymnastics coaches at Burnside Gymnastics Club illustrated this:

“I was offered the job. It seemed like the right thing to do. I tried doing gymnastics my whole life. So, it just seemed quite natural to do that.” Coach 3, Gymnastics Club.

“I've been here since we opened. I was helping when we started and was a gymnast then.” Coach 2, Gymnastics Club.

“I've been here since we opened. I helped when we were painting and getting the gym ready to open. Part time coach then, I'm now full time but I still train.” Coach 1, Gymnastics Club.

The similarity in backgrounds of the coaches suggests that there are norms in coaching staff being employed from the club's membership (Byers, 2013). Two of the coaches suggested that they were willing to help with additional work (Doherty et al, 2013; Kleinhans et al, 2020). The recruitment of coaching roles confirmed this way of working was common, as a coach that joined Burnside from another club highlighted.

“Me and Coach 4 weren't part of the club. We both come in on two full time hours at this facility... I was a member there, and then moved on into coaching for that club. That club moved facilities. I was involved in painting with that club. So similar to come here.” Coach Manager, Gymnastics Club

The participant touched on their background in another gymnastics club where the club had a similar culture, as within that club they had been recruited from the club's athletes. Similarly, that club had also conducted a CAT, and the coach was involved by helping beyond their paid role. This indicates that it is normal for coaches to come from a background of sport clubs rather than the community, and that doing so brings cultural norms within the organisations⁴².

This section showed recruitment involved bonding social capital. The way in which this was fostered differed across facilities, from volunteering at a community pool, to living near local staff, and being a member of a sports club. A thread was that the recruitment excluded community members.

⁴¹ Evidence of this is provided in Section 8.4.1 on page 144.

⁴² Discussed in next section

Across 7.1 and 7.2 the importance of mobilising organisational human and bonding social capital to form the structures of CSBs is revealed. This involved examining the skills needed to form staff arrangements, and to complement this with connections utilised to recruit staff. Examining the two domains of capital addresses the chapter's aims by showing how mobilising these domains of capital enables cultures and connections to form, but also how those within CSBs have the skills to conduct successful CAT and contribute to enhancing community capital.

7.3 Organisational Cultural Properties in Community Sport Businesses

This section examines the cultural properties that emerge in CSBs following the appointment of board members and recruitment of staff. The aim of examining these properties is to show how the interactions between members of boards, staffing, and communities shapes the cultures of CSBs.

7.3.1 Ways of Working

The analysis in 7.2.1 showed that due to limitations in staffing, board members were involved in the recruitment of staff. In the community pools this reliance on board members meant that an ethic of being involved in operational matters developed. Indeed, board members from West Hill and Riverside Swimming Pools explained that they worked beyond their board role.

"We're more hands on with running the business than most. All of us are at the point where we quite like to have less of that to do. But if the things that we're doing were passed on to staff, that would increase their workload, or it would require us to hire more bodies, which would affect the bottom line. There's conversations about how we get the balance right. I'm trying to do this piece of work so that we have processes, so we're doing less and governing more." Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

Participants reflected that whilst being on the board at the pools, they are hands-on with facility operations, suggesting that such a way of governing may be common in pools that have been transferred (Findlay-King et al, 2015: 75). This may blur the lines of the organisational structure if the board members perform facility management or directly provide services because then they are conducting work that paid staff should be doing (Schwarz et al, 2015; Findlay-King et al, 2015). The reasons for board members working in this way involved not being able to afford to recruit enough staff to cover the work (Aiken et al, 2011). However, this was not just a consequence of capital challenges as participants from Central Pool shared that they were involved in operational matters⁴³ because they wanted to have a feel for how the organisation operates. This suggests there is a mix of these challenges and genuine desire to lead on the management of the facility post-CAT.

⁴³ The operational matters in this instance concerned conducting the interviews for operational staff as shown in the previous section.

"I like to have a bit of hands-on because that gives me a feel for what the organisations like when you're involved in the middle of this. I don't want to be so divorced from it that I don't understand what's going on there. So, we are a very hands-on board." Board Member 8, Central Pool

"They are always keen to get their hands dirty. So, I get the sense it's difficult to do because there's a commitment to it." Interim Chair, Central Pool.

Indeed, both board members covered that the operational involvement of board members was in part because they were keen and committed to working in this way. This was a reason in other cases, as the Director of Burnside Gymnastics Club explained their commitment to the facility.

"I'm a worker, I like to get things done. I'm hands on. If I want that done in a week. I'll do it in a week. I'll do whatever it takes to do it in a week." Founding Director, Gymnastics Club.

However, they followed this by adding that there was a need to work in such a way because of the limited staffing and financial capital in the club.

"I'm doing four or five different roles because I don't want to be in a position where we have to pay out more than we need to. I would like to be at a point where I do my portion, rather than other bits." Founding Director, Gymnastics Club.

Despite their willingness to do operational work because of these challenges, participants claimed they would rather staff do that kind of work. Such ways of working are therefore consequences of capital challenges faced in CSBs (Quirk, 2006). This suggests the will to cover this work is common, as CSBs are governed by those motivated to provide value to communities (Lee et al, 2020),

The willingness of going beyond roles, in that board members did operational work, were ways of working that staff members also adopted. At Central Pool, interactions between the board and staff caused staff to do this too.

"It is important to have everybody feel connected with the purpose and the culture. So, everybody's comfortable, all hands on deck. It's been an interesting dynamic, because duty managers or whatever the role profile is, we need everybody to help because we've got to do so much cleaning. And yes, you're a duty manager. Scrub the toilets." Board Member 9, Central Pool.

There was a commitment to support the success of the baths. This was shown by the participant highlighting how staff were hands-on in the management of the facility, meaning the culture was endorsed throughout the organisation. Indeed, as touched on by Board Member 9, this approach to working beyond roles included paid staff regardless of their seniority.

"We need to bring everybody on that journey to have them comfortable that they are contributing to a bigger resource." Board Member 9, Central Pool.

The point made by board members, is that by working in this way, they contribute to a bigger human resource, which may increase organisational human capital (Kleinhans et al, 2020; Marobela, 2006).

Emerging here is the way that organisational cultures are shaped when staff interact with these board members who blur the lines between completing governance roles and operational work (Barringer et al, 2018). This may occur more in CSBs than other organisations which manage leisure facilities (Schwarz et al, 2015), with experience from interviewees at other sites echoing this.

“Since we've reopened, I've had my hands down blocks. I've created new kitchens. I don't think there's an inch of the building that I don't know.” Facility Manager, Riverside Hockey Club.

The Facility Manager shows the extent of their involvement at the facility, covering all aspects of working on the site. Knowing the facility in the way they did shows they were committed to the organisation. A manager at West Hill shared a similar experience and added that this could incentivise the other staff members to work in the same way.

“From the outset, we're very hands-on. We're a team, we all chip in. That's a deliberate management strategy. It's good that people see us chiming in. It is not you and me over there.”
Senior Duty Manager, West Hill Pool.

The Senior Duty Manager perceived that being seen to be involved in the operations of facilities was important, so other staff would work in this way and the organisations would operate as a team (Kleinhans et al, 2020). They suggest such cultures are normalised through interactions between staff and board members (Coleman, 1998; Elder-Vass, 2006).

A similar influence was identified in how coaches at sport clubs did more than coaching roles. The Director of Burnside Gymnastics Club took on operational work because of the capital issues faced and set an example for the coaches in the organisation. Indeed, seeing the Director help with the facility management incentivised coaches to help beyond their role.

“Competitions and things we don't get paid for. So, you could say we are volunteers... You see the Founding Director doing a lot of work, it makes you know that you've got to put that much effort in the work you're doing, not be lazy. Making sure you're doing the best. Because he's doing so much to make it work.” Coach 3, Gymnastics Club

“You see him putting in all that effort and doing so much and you feel like you've also got a role as part of the club to be there and do all that stuff as well. Rather than leaving it all for him to do. Because we want the same thing that he does.” Coach 2, Gymnastics Club.

The Burnside coaches worked beyond their roles and wanted the same thing as the Director, showing further normativity in commitment (Coleman, 1998; Elder-Vass, 2006). This is likely in sport clubs where the heterogeneity of staffing comes from the membership and interactions they have in the club (Burrmann et al, 2020). Moreover, this suggests the Director had agency as they could shape cultural properties in staff (Marobela, 2006; Byers, 2013;).

Significantly, the participants across cases demonstrated how this cultural property stems from a lack of organisational human capital in CSBs, so board members were involved in operational matters, and staff worked beyond their roles (Kleinhans et al, 2020). However, with this culture comes a risk of reinforcing human capital challenges if board members lack the time or ability to contribute to operational matters. This was shown in community pools lacking the willing individuals that sport clubs had. As one participant, the secretary of Central Pool put it:

“It’s run on goodwill, it’s hard to sustain that over a long period of time. But the people who can do that, they may be retired. But if they become unwell, because of their age, or go abroad, then can you replace that or find someone to fill that gap? That’s why we’re trying to make sure that we have a sustainable, viable organisation that can keep going.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

They confirm how relying on the goodwill of board members conducting operational work is not a sustainable way to function, as they may not be able to continue like this. Suggesting this goodwill may be provided by retired board members shows that the ability to do this is not considered equal across third sector boards (Aiken et al, 2015), with some CSBs having blurred lines of organisational structure as a consequence (Taylor et al, 2006). Another board member explained that to make organisations more sustainable clear divisions were needed.

“We’re in a good place where we’ve got a clear division where board members and staff have the right role to do and supportive structure. There’s still too much hands-on stuff because we need to work on our governance and processes.” Interim Chair, Central Pool.

In examining the ways in which participants work in CSBs this section revealed cultures of working beyond roles which can address organisational human capital challenges within CSBs. Such cultures require bonding social capital within the organisation, but risks human capital being lost if those working beyond their role leave. Moreover, this culture blurs lines between paid staff and volunteers when board members and staff members conduct voluntary work in addition to their role⁴⁴.

7.3.2 Community Ethos

This section examines the ways this culture was manifest in each community pool. Participants in the community pools shared a culture of helping the community (McKee et al, 2013). The board members in West Hill confirmed that this ethos existed and what it constituted.

“Yeah (there is a community ethos). It surprised me.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

“There’s a culture about being part of the community, serving the community. We give our time and are happy to because it’s a worthwhile thing. We want to help the community, we want to be doing things for the community, and that ethos.” Board Member 3, West Hill Pool.

⁴⁴ These consequences are dealt with further in 7.4.

Both board members confirm the ethos of serving the community, showing that at West Hill this culture was normative across the organisation. In this way, cultures of community organisations are particularly likely to be characterised by an ethos (Wegner et al, 2019) as they have a collective sense of serving the community (Schlesinger et al, 2018). The community mindset which board members referred to was a focus of recruitment, with staff members not having this attitude when joining, but then buying into it later. Others were attracted to join West Hill because of this ethos, as explained by a board member.

“The Senior Duty Manager bought into it. Others said they joined because of the ethos of the organisation, they bought into it.” Board Member 3, West Hill Pool.

The board member demonstrated that this community ethos is a significant reason people joined West Hill, but it was also a reason why candidates were appointed to roles. As a leisure assistant at West Hill explained.

“The reason that clinched it was the passion you had about the community. ‘It helps that you are from the community because that passion is what we’re all about’”. Leisure Assistant, West Hill Pool.

Recruitment processes were also significant in fostering this culture, as staff were recruited because they were part of the local community. Being connected to the community was an ethos during recruitment. For instance, board members from Central shared a similar priority regarding the community when recruiting staff.

“We were looking for something in particular, we wanted a community person...We’re not running Tesco we’re running a social enterprise.” Board Member 9, Central Pool.

In both cases, the board members endorsed an ethos of community service (Buckley et al, 2020) and recruited staff with a passion for the community, to maintain these beliefs in staff. Reflecting this culture in recruitment improves the normativity of the culture and where staff are employed who do not endorse the ethos reinforces the presence of it (Byers, 2013; Archer, 2000). There were staff members who did not come from the West Hill community. Indeed, an employee from a more affluent part of the city joined and was surprised.

“A local pool lent us a number of staff, we paid them, but they worked for us and two carried on working afterwards. There was a posh student, clearly from a monied background, and you could see him fitting in at the other pool. It’s different here, but he got it. He recognised demographically it’s different, but he liked the community aspect.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool

This board member suggested that although the staff member was from an affluent background, they also subscribed to the community ethos regardless of their own experience. Alluding to whether they would fit in reaffirms that endorsing an ethos is an important cultural property which shapes organisational identity (Wegner et al, 2019). This is because CSBs serve communities in ways other organisations cannot (McKee et al, 2012; Ramchandani et al, 2018).

This unique way that West Hill served the community was discussed by participants that felt that their culture was different at West Hill (Foxton, 2018). The “it” referred to in the extract below was the cultural property of running the facility to serve the community.

“(GLL) wouldn’t get the sentiment behind this, it would just be words. It wouldn’t mean anything. Whereas my son goes there, I take my daughter swimming, I’m there as a trustee and customer. The fact that people bring stuff in and drop in to have a chat with a member of staff. That’s what we wanted before opening the pool, we aspired for that, but seeing it, made us see how important community is. It’s about building that community network and bringing people together.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The board member inferred that staff at GLL, a large national charitable provider, would not understand the ethos because the way national trusts operate may be less oriented around serving communities and defined more by income generation (Reid, 2018). By emphasising that staff were involved with the community, the board member compared the connection staff had with the community, to the connection staff at GLL had (Clayton, 2016). This included community members dropping into the facility to socialise with staff

Another way the culture at West Hill was considered unique was when compared against the way local authority leisure facilities operated. The board member from West Hill compared the way that their Senior Duty Manager worked at West Hill pool, to the way they would have worked when employed by the local authority.

“The Senior Duty Manager’s background is different; he has worked for local councils. He was used to the mindset. This was a big career opportunity for him, rather than being a pool manager in a dead-end job. When it’s a council facility there isn’t a chance to make a name for yourself. His area was more affluent and less community minded because people had the financial resources to look after themselves, they didn’t look after each other. But he has been really open with everything and has listened and accepts that he is ignorant on certain matters, or he was at that point because he had not been exposed to certain things, but he’s completely open to it. He would say wow I never knew that. He’s taken these lessons to heart really quickly. So, he’s adaptable and open and willing to learn. Probably the most important attribute and he’s capable and knows the leisure industry, which is important for us, but whatever comes up he is able to find a way to deal with it. Whether that’s on a personal development level or whatever he is willing to go the extra mile and that has been incredible. I don’t think you find that in many people. Most people are more set in their ways of thinking. So, I think we got lucky... The interaction with staff and customers rubbed off on staff who did not have that before. That helped nurture the community feeling. There are staff who are from a different background but have seen the benefits to community ownership. Rather than the much more individual, look after yourself attitude” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

The board members considered that West Hill Pool were lucky with their appointment of the Senior Duty Manager, because despite coming from a local authority background and an affluent area, they had an open mind. Going the extra mile for personal development and having a community mindset with how the facility was managed exemplified this.

By explaining how the conduct of the Senior Duty Manager showed their culture was different, they hinted at ways in which staff in CSBs may work. They linked this to examples of the ways in which the conduct of the Senior Duty Manager staff enhanced the organisational capital of West Hill Pool.

“When we interviewed him, he blew us away. His willingness to learn and put himself in difficult situations has been incredible. I don’t know if we would have that with council employees. The lights would be left on after the pool was closed. The attitude was that the council will pay for everything. Rather than thinking that every penny matters as it’s for the community. If we lose money, we can’t put certain classes on or pay for a member of staff.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool

It was suggested that when facilities are in local authority management, they are managed in ways which are financially inefficient. They perceived that this stemmed from local authority staff believing that as facilities are publicly funded then there will always be ways of funding them. Which, when compared to the frugal way in which the staff at West Hill had managed the pool, provides cause for their criticism. Other participants from West Hill pool were critical of the local authority in this way.

“You would have management in the Council run facilities claiming for overtime that they did not do, claiming triple sometimes. There would be staff wasted. The reception was useless. We would joke that council staff had a Level 4 NVQ in bad customer service!” Pool Consultant, West Hill Pool.

“I do think there’s this inherent culture in the council. They tend to spend most of the time sitting around drinking coffee, not doing things. The council is big, unwieldy. It goes right through. You see them clearing snow and there’ll be three men and two of them are leaning on their shovels, and one might be doing something. They don’t set out to do things whereas our staff are always busy. If I haven’t got anything to do, they find something to do.” Board Member 6, West Hill Pool

The participants from West Hill perceived West Hill Council staff as being inefficient. The bureaucratic nature of local authorities was mentioned, as they alluded to the Council becoming unwieldy and poorly managed, as to why money was wasted. This contrasts their perception of West Hill pool, in that they claimed that money is used efficiently at community facilities, as staff tried to reduce costs.

The culture shared amongst the staff at Central Pool was also discussed as being unique in contrast to other leisure centres and to the Central Council. To illustrate, one participant spoke about this:

“The first appointment was a traditional Leisure Centre Manager. He was traditional in his approach to managing. So, you got a leisure centre type of culture. There was a lavishness, which the board recoiled from. It was how the leisure industry operated. Now we’ve got a CEO who is from a different background. We have seen different people who have stamped a different feel and culture. It’s beneficial to have a variety of perspectives.” Board Member 10, Central Pool.

This view of a traditional culture in how facilities operate reflects critically on the behaviour of staff in the public sector in that they manage facilities in inefficient ways. For the board member, the CAT was being managed differently and distinctly away from local authority leisure culture. It follows that

endorsing this culture caused friction between staff, as the board member felt traditional leisure staff culture would not share the cultural properties that were considered important at Central.

“There was friction between staff. It was a challenging culture to overcome... I'm not from a leisure background, but this felt how the leisure industry operated. We had to think that through carefully. I did press for not going for the leisure centre culture. So that's when we appointed CEO2, who was a risk at the time. And they brought a different culture. We felt that staff were more harmonious, better managed and giving more of themselves.” Board Member 10, Central Pool.

The board member recalled that their colleagues were mindful of breaking cultures in recruiting staff to manage the pool post-CAT, so they employed a CEO who had not worked for local authorities before. This ensured that the CEO could embody desired cultural norms, including being willing to do more than their role and being connected to communities.

Together the participants provide insight into how board members can develop a shared ethos in community pools by ensuring management staff endorse and embody desired cultures (Kleinhans et al, 2020). Recruiting particular staff to maintain the community ethos contrasted how staff were treated in sport clubs.

“There is no doubt that the board members main drive apart from the Riverside Club Director is the sport side of it. And they leave the facility to Facility Manager to get on with. I don't mean to be negative but they're happy to do so, they don't want to get involved in the community.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

In explaining that the Facility Manager was left to get on with managing the facility and in claiming that they were not interested in connecting with the community, the consultant acknowledges that there is not a community ethos in the board. They alluded to board members not wanting to be involved in operational aspects of the facility, suggesting there was a divide between the board, staff, and community.

“It happens, they know they need it for the funding. We need them for governance. But that's not their thing. That's not why they got involved. And that's fine. They can concentrate on making the Club the best again. But it's not at all about the community with the board members.” Riverside Consultant, Riverside Hockey Club.

This was because directors were focused on the club's sporting success and not the community. In highlighting both focuses a balancing act between involving community members and the sporting success of the club is apparent (Kenyon et al, 2018).

This section highlighted that organisational cultures of staff working beyond job roles and board members being involved in operational matters can increase organisational human capital. However, this culture differed between community pools and sport clubs, as for clubs such cultures were a consequence of having limited human capital, whilst in community pools there was an ethos of community service. Part of this ethos involved staff showing concern for the experience of

customers and ensuring that finances were used efficiently. The comparison in financial management from CSBs and local authorities revealed this, with participants drawing on the context of the CATs, including the loss-making nature of local authority facilities (King, 2013)⁴⁵. The significance of these findings is that in having this ethos, and in being concerned with financial efficiency, organisational human capital is increased, but this requires organisational social capital, for such an ethos to be endorsed.

7.4 Discussion: Mobilising Organisational Human Capital as Structures Form

This chapter informed knowledge of how organisational human capital is mobilised as CSBs emerge, with this initially lacking. For instance, board members and consultants were relied on to instigate governance and operational structures in CSBs, with business planning, fundraising, legal, and HR skills lacking. Bonding social capital possession was consequently needed for structures to form. As, besides from those involved in the community campaigns, community members were not appointed or recruited to the pool, as the board members lacked connections to community members who could take on roles in a facility. Yet, even though there were community members involved in sport clubs, skilled parents were appointed as board members in sport clubs. Likewise, clubs recruited athletes to take on coaching roles, whilst facility management and reception roles are covered through contacts in the community (Seppanen, 1982). Therefore, ways to mobilise social capital in one CSB may not be possible in others (Putnam, 2000; Tacon et al, 2013). For instance, recruiting internal members is not possible for new CSBs without an existing pool of members.

Consequently, human capital challenges remained, in the skill and human resource gaps across the CSBs, with particular ways of working being necessary to address human capital gaps. These unique properties were discussed in the last section, where board members were found to be involved in operational matters, and staff worked beyond their roles. Additionally, in the two community pools, an ethos of community service was found to be a consequence of earlier stages of the CAT, where participants identified community needs. Both cultural properties required staff and board members to endorse the aims of the CSB, whereby doing so, the organisational human capital of each CSB to be mobilised. As this relies on connections, trust, and norms, then organisational human capital increased through access to skills and experience (Dietz et al, 2003). Figure 7.1 demonstrates the process of mobilising organisational human capital as found in the chapter.

⁴⁵ The points raised that local authorities had not been managing pools in an efficient way, adds to the notion that CATs are pursued for financial reasons (Reid 2017; Rex 2019b). This is because quality and efficiency became the means in which the performance of local authority leisure facilities were being measured by (Boyne, 1998).



Figure 7.1 Upward spirals of Bonding Social Capital as CSBs Emerge

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter examined structural and cultural properties in CSBs showing the organisational capitals that are mobilised in forming these properties. In addressing the 1st and 3rd research questions a significant finding was that organisational bonding social capital is needed in CSBs to enhance the organisational human capital in the CSB.

Additionally, the chapter found unique ways CSBs run leisure facilities by serving communities in being responsive to community needs but also in having staff and board members who work beyond their roles. This means where staff subscribe to these properties, they work in ways which enhance the organisational human capital of the CSB, with interactions between staff and board members mobilising this. So, the chapter made a unique contribution regarding the way bonding social capital possession enhances organisational capacity.

The 4th research question was addressed as the dilemma of having voluntary board members and directors involved in operational matters was discussed. Whilst this positively impacts organisational human capital in having additional resources, this was also risky and unsustainable as board members may leave. Therefore, participants suggested CSBs should ensure structures are clear.

Chapter 8 - Understanding Success in CATs

This chapter examines the meaning of a successful CAT. The aim of this chapter is to address research questions 1, 2, and 5⁴⁶. The first research question is addressed by investigating ways that successful CAT is understood by different stakeholders (Nichols et al, 2020). Sustaining a community leisure facility for the benefit of communities is considered an overarching domain of success. Examining the domains underpinning this addresses the second research question regarding how community capitals are mobilised. Lastly the fifth research question is addressed by examining how recruitment practices of CSBs empowers community members.

The chapter examines each dimension of how successful CAT is understood, showing facilities being sustained (8.1) through governance and management structures (8.2), which lead to health and social impact (8.3) and community empowerment (8.4). In applying the CCF, this means successful CAT must develop community capital, so this chapter concludes by returning to communities around facilities, as the organisational capitals needed to achieve this are discussed (8.5).

8.1 Sustaining a Community Asset

This section examines the way local authorities CAT policies outlined that CATs are successful if facilities are sustained⁴⁷. The policies outline that sustaining facilities to enhance the capital of the VCS and community constituted a successful CAT.

“CAT can unlock the potential of communities by empowering local communities by putting local organisations in control; Creating stronger, more sustainable VCS organisations which can create a wide range of benefits for the communities they serve. An asset can provide VCS organisations with financial security, recognition, and management capacity; stimulating the involvement of local people in shaping and regenerating their communities.” West Hill Council, CAT Policy.

“Local communities have greater opportunities to access funding that would not be available to the council which helps sustain existing facilities and supports the development of new community based projects and services.” Burnside Council, CAT Policy.

“There are benefits to all parties to pursuing a CAT. These are: harnessing voluntary sector energy and local knowledge to provide community benefit; supporting community empowerment, giving local organisations control, encouraging pride of place, and generating wealth; Saving revenue costs for the Council whilst achieving community benefit.” Central Council, CAT Policy.

⁴⁶ What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility? How are community capitals mobilised? What impact does the balance between voluntary and paid staff have on success?

⁴⁷ Evidence for this came from CAT policies and interviews with local authority officers saying that successful CAT involves provision continuing. Document analysis complemented this analysis as the CAT policies from each local authority was a data source.

Across policies developing projects, the services, regeneration, and empowerment in the community all represented ways local authorities would consider community benefit as representing successful CAT, through sustaining facilities. The diverse ways for communities to benefit underpins a sense that success concerns who benefits, and not just how people benefit (Hobson et al, 2019; de Haan et al, 2019). It follows that the CCF is used to understanding how community members benefit from CATs, when facilities are sustained (Emery et al, 2006)⁴⁸.

8.2 Effective Governance and Management Structures

The ways organisational capitals underpin effective management was discussed by participants in Riverside, Burnside, and West Hill. In each case, facilities needed to be managed effectively to ensure the community would benefit without support. Heads of Leisure from two of the local authorities in the study emphasised that this constituted success for them.

“They don't create noise. They don't hassle me saying ‘can you help with this?’ Some that have transferred across do and we're spending time having to say no to them. But they don't. Now that doesn't mean they haven't got issues because no doubt they have.” Head of Leisure, Burnside Council.

For the Head of Leisure, managing the facility independently is a sign of effective management, constituting success as the council were not required to support. The bonus of the club managing the facility without support was that local people benefited without local authority resources being used.

“It's a good arrangement for us. Because we've returned a facility for community use, we've got 1000s of kids going through it being active⁴⁹.” Head of Leisure, Burnside Council

The independence alluded to reflects that local authority officers are motivated to reduce the number of facilities authorities have responsibilities for (Schultz, 2016). An aspect of this shows authorities may lack the means to support groups who inherit such responsibilities (Rex, 2019a).

Managing facilities independently whilst improving communities highlights that local authorities have multi-faceted priorities regarding CAT success. This balance was addressed by West Hill Council.

“CAT can unlock the potential of communities by empowering local communities by putting local organisations in control; Creating stronger, more sustainable VCS organisations which can create a wide range of benefits for the communities they serve.” West Hill Council CAT Policy.

⁴⁸ Community engagement is a foundation for success, but the way facilities are managed underpins this

⁴⁹ This is dealt with in the next section, where the health improvements made at facilities are examined.

Here, it is believed that VCS organisations are empowered through CATs, as community organisations develop organisational capital when managing facilities. The extract shows that the act of putting local organisations in control of assets is a way of both building VCS capacity and ensuring that the community benefits through the facility being sustained (Moore et al, 2013). This view on the importance of building the capacity of the VCS in West Hill was confirmed by the Head of Leisure of West Hill Council. For instance, by divulging that they wanted to see West Hill Pool working independently, they revealed an expectation that there would be capacity in the VCS organisation conducting the CAT.

“In a month's time, we might be saying, ‘it works, because they're not going to open until May...’ I'd like to see them stand on their own feet for a good five years, I really would like to see that happen. And I'm not confident that people will go back in those quantities.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

“Stand[ing] on their own feet” mirrors the view from the Head of Leisure at Burnside Council, in that officers in the authority would prefer for the facility to be managed without support from authorities (Schultz, 2016). West Hill Council could not afford to sustain the facility themselves, so equally, the budget to support the CSB in West Hill would also be constrained. Indeed, with cuts to local authority budgets in 2011, both facilities were closed due to being unaffordable. The Heads of Leisure from West Hill Council and Burnside Council clarified this as a motivator for why CATs were accepted. By outsourcing facilities savings would be made (Schultz, 2013; Findlay-King et al, 2018a)⁵⁰.

“We closed West Hill Pool because it was just unaffordable, it was costing us £800,000 a year, with hardly anybody wanting to use it. We put it out to contract as part of the package. The people who bid on this all said, we're not prepared to bid for West Hill Pool because it's gonna drag down any future contract price. So, we made the decision to close it.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

“What happened with this particular building, and with what is now Burnside Gymnastics Club was we divested in the building back in 2011. So, as part of the government's first round of austerity, we took a decision to close a number of leisure facilities, this was one. But part of the reason for the closure was they needed money spent for maintenance issues, so they needed a substantial investment to get them off to a reasonable standard.” Head of Leisure, Burnside Council.

Both Heads of Leisure draw on the impact of austerity, as the closures of these facilities ahead of the eventual CATs is due to austerity measures made across England (Forkert, 2016). The acceptance that they were unaffordable affirms the importance of why community groups were suited to take on these facilities, as local authorities could no longer afford to. It highlights the significance of doing so independently, as for local authorities that are without the finances to support, CAT ensures that facilities are sustained, and communities can continue to benefit from this (Schultz, 2015).

⁵⁰ More context on these closures is provided throughout the introduction to this thesis in Chapter 1.

CATs may therefore be deemed successful by local authority officers when savings are enabled for authorities, if costs are transferred and facilities are managed without support (Nichols et al, 2014).

The reluctance of officers to support the West Hill Pool came from the questions the Head of Leisure raised regarding the capacity West Hill CSB had to manage the pool independently.

“There is a naivety about them. I spent a lot of time talking to them about how to run a centre. I mean, I might as well have taught them leisure management qualification at the end of it, because they went through the whole gambit with this. Some of the things that were in their business plan were never gonna succeed and won't succeed. So, there was a hesitancy by the Council to take the risk. Because it's an enormous facility to take a risk.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

The Head of Leisure joked about the level of support given to staff and board members in West Hill Pool. These comments on the level of support to West Hill Pool raise questions about the capacity of the CSB to continue managing the facility without local authority support. The hesitancy from the authority to take this risk suggests there were doubts as to whether this would be the case.

However, members of West Hill Pool had a different view of their success. They believed their CSB was successful in effectively managing the facility, praised as they were by the Regeneration Consultant for their successful management.

“They were savvy in the way they operated politically, as well as the tenacity, and capacity and flexibility to work with us to get this done... And keep going for four years... We've got the place open. We've got brilliant staff. It was all hands to the pumps.” Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool

The consultant viewed West Hill Pool as being successful because they coped with challenging consultations and complex CAT process to re-open the pool. They claimed this perseverance in those managing West Hill Pool was driven by the tenacity to reopen the facility, a tenet of organisational human capital related to the management capacity of CSBs.

Another consultant discussed this capacity to manage the pool, inferring that their capacity was greater than that of the local authorities.

“You don't deal with idiots...Something that's independent, where you're successful. Get the best staff in, no red tape, you grab the best ideas and continuously evolve, we're gonna move on those ideas. We just do it. If it doesn't work, we'll try something else.” Pool Consultant, West Hill Pool.

The comments from the consultants contrasted the views of the Head of Leisure regarding whether support was needed for West Hill Pool. Indeed, the consultants considered the CAT a success as they formed management arrangements that sustained facilities independently and meant the group did not need to work with West Hill Council.

This is significant in cases like West Hill, where CATs are defined by misalignments in how success is understood. For instance, not having to deal with idiots evidenced that relationships continue to be defined by tensions after CATs. This shows the importance of managing facilities independently as even once understandings of success are shared, this does not guarantee CSBs, and authorities will collaborate. Moreover, this consultant believed that the group not only had the capacity to effectively manage the facility but could do so in a more sustainable way than West Hill Council.

“Something's wrong with management at the top of West Hill Council, if you can't make money and serve the community. Give it to the people like us, the charities who are going to serve the community, be profitable and be viable.” Pool Consultant, West Hill Pool

The consultant viewed communities as better positioned to manage leisure facilities because they can serve the communities while balancing this with financial sustainability. Their comment contrasts the Head of Leisure's view that West Hill pool lacked the capacity to manage effectively.

Participants from Central Pool showed ways that those in CSBs understood how effective management was understood as success. For a participant from Central Pool, effective management meant being independent of organisations or in the local area.

“We've always been clear in communicating what makes us unique, and we will never regret that we are independent, and community led because of the volunteers on the board.” Former Marketing Manager, Central Pool.

Independent management for the former Marketing Manager involved connection to communities, not just being removed from the local authority. This differs from the participants in West Hill because at Central Pool their independent management emphasised making the community feel involved more than being separate to the local authority.

Across the section, the participants reflected the notions from the Localism Act and Big Society agenda, in that members of communities are seen as best placed to form structures to serve communities without local authority support (Cameron, 2009; Reynolds et al, 2017). The limited support is significant for ways successful CAT is understood, as accepting that facilities are to be managed independently may limit the capacity of CSBs.

Additionally, this puts further pressure on third sector support agencies and consultants, who support CSBs in the absence of local authority support. In response CSBs collaborate with local authorities to achieve impacts.

8.3 Health and Social Impacts

8.3.1 Health Impacts from Community Pools

There were shared perspectives that a successful CAT should include outcomes which combine health and social impacts. The CAT policies from West Hill Council and Central Council conveyed that addressing social value, social objectives, and social benefit were important outcomes for CATs.

“Each organisation needs to demonstrate that it generates social, economic, or environmental benefits which directly benefit the people... These include the harnessing of voluntary sector energy and local knowledge to provide community benefit and social value.” Central Council CAT Policy

“West Hill Council has strong, vibrant communities with active citizens who are ready and able to get involved and make a difference to their local area... This is where we transfer an asset at less than its full market value to promote local social, economic and or environmental objectives.” West Hill Council CAT Policy

The extracts illustrate how local authorities needed to see how the groups would achieve social impact through managing the facility. The local authorities addressed the nature of these impacts in multiple, but broad ways, meaning these impacts were not clearly defined.

In contrast these impacts were conceptualised in a straightforward way by participants from the community pools, with there being a collective consensus regarding health outcomes. A board member from Central Pool highlighted those social impacts involved a balance of health and financial impacts.

“We all have a collective census of success being health outcomes for the community, safe and viable physical assets. But some people would focus more on the social impacts, whereas I'm quite focused on making sure that not only do we need to wash our face in terms of earning enough money to pay all of our bills, but that we make enough of a profit to invest in the fabric of the building and have a longer term view on asset management. Because at some point, we're going to have to replace the roof, it's going to cost a shedload of money. So, if we're just making a pound a year, we're never going to be in a position to actually gain that stability.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

For community pools to have the capacity to achieve health outcomes a balance with financial sustainability is needed. This means that to achieve social impact, CSBs managing community leisure facilities need to ensure financial viability is sustained. This confirms that whilst maximising surpluses may not be a primary concern for CSBs, sufficient income is needed to enable CSBs to make social impact (Archer et al, 2019).

Moreover, balancing social impact and sustainability concerns the wider ways that communities benefit from facilities being sustained (Kenyon et al, 2018). This emphasises the importance of community businesses having both a commercially viable business case whilst positively impacting

the community (Bruni et al, 2020). Another way this balance was achieved was prioritising improving swimming proficiency. In Central this priority threaded through the mission of the organisation.

“The thing we’ve always talked about, and this ran through everything, there was kids drowning in the canal. The mission is to teach kids to swim, fundamentally.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

“Our initial motivation was to help residents stop losing young people dying in the canal.” Board Member 7, Central Pool.

The importance of providing swimming opportunities through sustaining the facility was linked to the need for swimming provision. Board members from West Hill considered this important because of the lack of affordable facilities in the local area.

“The Senior Duty Manager was amazed by the number of kids that didn’t know how to swim. This has been going back because of the levels of poverty in the area.” Board Member 4, West Hill Pool.

Linking the importance of providing swimming opportunities to the lack of affordable local facilities in an area of socio-economic disadvantage emphasises the importance of sustaining them. In having such a focus, the pools were key to addressing community needs more effectively than other low-cost pools. Indeed, this concerned ensuring residents were learning to swim and that drowning would be prevented. At central, this was a clear mission for how social impacts were made.

“It is clear because it is a swimming pool. That’s what it has to be used for. The Chair was clear on that at the beginning.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

Whilst the board member suggested improving swimming proficiency was a logical social mission as the pool had to be used in that way, the Chair made reference to the issue of local drowning in specifying the purpose of the mission.

“I found out that kids, 10 years old, couldn’t swim, and were drowning. I could swim and life save as a kid. It is a waste of life if kids don’t learn to swim, it’s like learning to have a driving licence or learning to use a computer, you must learn to swim. And so, it’s a safety issue.” Chair, Central Pool.

These participants signified that improving swimming proficiency lay at the heart of why Central Pool was reopened through the CAT. In ascribing significance to this, the Chair evidenced how Central can achieve social impact.

“We are bringing in people to do lifesaving, swim teaching and activities. We extended them from being open from seven in the morning to seven at night, seven days a week. Our income stream went up from nothing.” Chair, Central Pool.

Demonstrating ways that the social impact would be achieved revealed that improving the health of the community was a priority.

“We have saved the pool now. But we need to think about saving the health statistics of the whole neighbourhood.”

The participants discussed how improving local swimming shows that there is a consensus at Central Pool regarding the impact mission of the pool. The frequency of this being emphasised suggests a clarity in purpose (Aiken et al, 2015), as it fosters collective agency and aligns the workforce (Kleinhans et al, 2019). In discussing the focus on improving swimming proficiency, the Chair of Central alluded to this being a way for health improvements to be made in communities.

Indeed, successful CAT was collectively understood as a way for health impacts to be made, as participants confirmed a focus on improving the health of local community members in other ways.

“We have a collective consensus of success being health outcomes for the community... We have a facility that is sustainable. That is engaging to improve the health and wellbeing of the community. You're hoping that you're going to have a valuable asset within the community that, long term impacts the health and wellbeing, that's what you are hoping for.” Board Member 9, Central Pool.

The board member explained that there was a consensus for success concerning how the facility is used to make health outcomes. Multiple ways for these health improvements to be made were provided, including reducing NHS referrals, mental health improvements and improving access.

“If there are less CCG⁵¹ referrals of cardiovascular problems, mental health issues. If you can look long winded in the census that comes out in 2031. You see that dropping.” Board Member 7, Central Pool.

There were a variety of ways health improvements were identified, with board member 7 covering quantitative ways of evidencing health improvement. However, they stressed health improvements also were subjective in nature.

“If people say this is a place, I feel happy coming to, both physically and mentally.” Board Member 7, Central Pool.

Focusing on subjective health improvements being made overlooked the number of people using the pool, and instead covered the quality of the experience for service users.

“We've got a social mission. It's not about numbers through the door, and people paying subs, which is part of the business plan of some of the gyms from what I've gathered... We want people to come, to use the facilities, we want those outcomes for the community.” Board Member 7, Central Pool.

By emphasising the importance of subjectivity and quality, the board members differentiated Central Pool from other leisure facilities which attempt to attract as many members as possible without regard for the impacts on their health. Part of this emphasis is accepting that health impacts are subjective, and that they need to be balanced with accessibility. A similar consideration was made by a board member in West Hill.

⁵¹ CCG Referrals are the referrals to the local NHS that the Clinical Commissioning Group (the board responsible for local health trust population health management) will oversee.

“Because of the culture and values, we want to be able to go, who are the groups in the community who maybe aren't accessing it who have poor health? How do we start to do more outreach and engagement? How do we make ourselves more accessible.” Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

The consideration of who was or was not accessing the pool reflected that health improvements were understood in subjective ways that reflected local contexts. This has significance for whether CSBs are able to improve community health (Aiken et al, 2011). Indeed, they went on to question the ways in which they could operate the pool to ensure that health improvements were made by groups of the community who most needed support.

“How do we create times and spaces in our timetable? So that disabled people, minority communities, the right people are around the table, The Senior Duty Manager and Leisure Assistant are definitely the people to run with those things and make them happen once we're able to do so.”
Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

This aligns with visions of how health inequalities are addressed by ensuring the provision of activities at pools reflects community need, as creating an environment for health improvements requires this alignment (Nowell et al, 2014). They highlighted a staff member as the right person to make these health improvements happen, who themselves had their own passion for making this.

“The magnificent thing about a community run pool is you see the difference in people. They're not only getting confident in their swimming and health, but their lives.” Leisure Assistant, West Hill Pool.

The culture of serving the community was reflected in this view of the difference the pool made to the subjective health of community members. Achieving health impacts involved refocusing the use of the pool to use it as a health hub. A board member from West Hill shared this vision.

“Our vision for what we want to do in terms of health inequalities is becoming that community hub.”
Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

Becoming a hub created opportunities for marginalised community members to address their health, with West Hill Pool addressing the broader health inequalities in the area. A similar shift was taken with using Central Pool to address health inequalities,

“We've switched the focus; we're setting ourselves up as a health and wellbeing centre, an outreach hub. We train people in mental health and we're looking to provide physical and mental health support in the community and be the hub for that.” Chair, Central Pool

The Chair explains these methods, suggesting that pools are suited to being community health hubs as the interactions between staff and community members address community health needs. A board member highlighted that Central Pool could do this through using the pool in other ways.

“Offering services outside of the facility or in community settings. Having a team that is committed, an identity in the community, married to the building, but you have more to offer than keeping it within the walls of the building in terms of health outcomes.” Board Member 12, Central Pool.

The components of how to shift services in this way were detailed by others.

“We’re looking to turn into a health hub, where we increase the use of the pool, increase the use of the gym, increase the use of our community assets in the garden and expand outwards, and use the park to do Zumba acting classes, particularly to help people.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

For Board Member 11, Central Pool had more to offer than providing swimming opportunities to improve health, as being a health hub involved extending the use of the pool to address community health needs. This increased use was not exclusive to leisure or physical activity, as they proposed.

“The other thing they have is a communal garden. It’ll go right to make more art; we’d like to have a shop there and sell things just so people can take them away and start to grow things in their garden. So, if we look at a whole health and wellbeing centre, where people come and learn how to swim, they go home and grow stuff in the garden.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

The work outside of the pool reflects that the board members of Central Pool approached improving community health through using the swimming pool in additional ways, which did not revolve around the pool. For instance, staff could go out into the community and support people at home.

“We’re looking at training carers as part of our baths work in the future and becoming an employer. We’re talking about becoming a training academy for health. So, care workers from the baths visit you at home, help you change your dressings or get your medications.” Chair, Central Pool⁵².

As explained by the Chair, there were many ways that the provision of activities within or around the facility which was transferred could support community health impacts. Even though these did not all concern swimming, they were related to the core focus of the organisation and the CAT.

“The purpose of the building, it makes it clear because it’s a strong focus, with the pool itself. Teaching people, but bits on the side that you could say are different, the swim, the gym, we’ve got the community, they’re all about health. The people that joined the board are interested in that as a mission.” Board Member 11, Central Pool.

Impacting health through unique approaches exemplifies the knowledge, creativity, and innovation that board and staff members may show in CSBs (Nichols et al, 2014). Meaning human capital is used to make community health improvements (Kumar, 2018).

In discussing the ways that staff in CSBs could work with local authority officers, the participants exemplified another way that health impacts could be made. This was shared between local authority officers and staff, as comparisons between CAT policies and interviews revealed. Central Council’s CAT policy outlined those partnerships aligned with their strategic priorities.

“Central Council will use its assets to form long term partnerships with community organisations to achieve CAT that will enhance community empowerment” Central Council, CAT policy.

⁵² The Chair linked this to the changing nature of the community health sector as they highlighted how care and health could be accessed in the community (Marmot, 2021).

From a local authority perspective, partnerships were key in achieving outcomes for communities from CATs. A Councillor emphasised the value of the partnerships in how health impacts could be made by the local authority and Central Pool working together.

“As a councillor, I come at it from that angle. The relationship between us and Central Council enabled us to put things on for healthy themes and healthy food.” Board Member 11, Central Pool

Having an understanding of what these priorities are enabled board members from Central Pool to access resources for improving community health. This means that political connection can underpin whether community health outcomes are achieved (Emery et al, 2006; Fitzgerald et al, 2016).

Additionally, such resources were available in other cases, where local authorities had visions of addressing health inequalities through the CAT when aligned with priorities.

“You’ll say to them there’s an opportunity to work around healthy eating, school hunger. But they say, ‘we’re doing it, we know what we’re doing. You don’t need to tell us.’ Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

The Head of Leisure of West Hill Council stressed the opportunities to work with them to achieve outcomes, but that these were resisted by those within West Hill Pool. Consequently, West Hill pool would not access the resource that was being offered.

“What we’re trying to say is, work with us on these council priorities because it will help you and you’ll get support from us. You’re gonna make cash out of it.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

The opportunity to develop financial capital in this way suggests collaborating with local authorities may enhance the capacity of CSBs to address health inequalities (Parnell et al, 2019). This could be a practical way for local authorities to balance the need for the community organisations to manage facilities independently after a CAT, as the nature of working together in this way may even unlock opportunities for local authorities to bring financial investments into the local public sector.

However, to do this, political capital is needed, in that the CSBs must maintain partnerships with the authority. The Head of Leisure of West Hill Council highlighted that the partnership with the CSB could not be developed because the board members were reluctant to work with the Council.

“Our conversation isn’t about that, our conversation is, ‘will you work with us on these things,’ and they get defensive, they want it to be their ideas. It’s more talk and in their head that they’re going to do it, but they haven’t worked out how to yet. If that was a more established organisation or another facility, they would have the wherewithal of how to do it.” Head of Leisure, West Hill Council.

They considered West Hill Pool well placed to achieve health improvements (Quirk, 2006), but members of the pool continued the tensions between the CSB and Council. Tension therefore

limited the political capital that can be mobilised (Moore et al, 2013; Fenwick et al, 2015). The issue exemplifies that once CATs are completed, making health improvements through community ownership can be dependent on political capital (Reid, 2018), as members of CSBs view collaboration as compromising independence (Hobson et al, 2019). This was raised by a board member who questioned the Council's ability to provide these opportunities

"I don't know what they've offered. I don't know that there's anything they could offer that would make a difference. Unless it was financial. They've been clear that there's no money in the pot. I'd like us to feel like we are part of the bigger health and wellbeing ecosystem in the city. There's a strong voluntary sector, there are other health and wellbeing-based organisations. With whom, we have some piecemeal relationships, I don't think we've had time to, as a pool, look at how we work with health workers, service, all these things." Board Member 1, West Hill Pool.

Inferred from this is the challenge of whether working with local authorities can address capital gaps for CSBs. Meaning that despite the consensus that improving community health represents successful CAT for the community, there may not be a consensus for how this is achieved.

8.3.2 Health Impact from Sport Clubs

The Head of Leisure recognised that sport clubs could impact community health through running activities after the CAT⁵³. This evidenced that sport clubs were well placed to make impacts in line with local authority objectives. For instance, the Head of Leisure illustrated that health outcomes were embedded in the local authority's strategic objectives regarding outcomes of successful CATs.

"We're gonna do work looking at our leisure strategy. That'll look at clubs, like Burnside Gymnastics Club, and their venues and Burnside Council might recognise the social value they provide. We do Health Impact Assessments; we look at the social value." Head of Leisure, Burnside Council.

Health impacts underpinned measures of social value that related to leisure provision, emphasising how many people could improve their health. In using this Burnside Council could recognise the social value created by sport clubs.

"You see Burnside Gymnastics Club? it will be substantial because it's focused on young people. The throughput is impressive. It's got big numbers. I don't know whether the Founding Director's ever conquered these waiting lists." Head of Leisure, Burnside Council.

These tools quantified health impacts, overlooking subjective impacts on individuals including improved confidence, mental health, and health awareness (Kumar, 2018). However, by emphasising the numbers using the facility, Burnside Council gave the club a measure of success that

⁵³ The Head of Leisure addressed this in 8.2 by claiming that children being active in the facility was beneficial. Suggesting this led to broader improvements,

they could align with in how they run the asset (Rex, 2019a). The director of the club touched on these impacts.

“If we leave tomorrow, they've got a facility that's better than it was when we took it on. By doing all of the work that we do, and by doing all the stuff for the community, that's going to benefit the community. Working with the Burnside Council partnership team and by supporting them, not charging anything for them to use the facility.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Through the CAT the community would benefit in ways which aligned with the Head of Leisure's view of social value and health improvements. Achieving this involved the local authority and club working together, for more community members to access the facility as the club would not charge the local authority in doing so. This confirms that developing cross sector partnerships underpins how CAT can be successful, community members including those facing deprivation are involved (Parnell et al, 2019). The director echoed this.

“We are here as a community; we want the community to benefit. It's in the bottom 3% deprived areas within Burnside. So, to have something like that coming in the local community is good. That's how (the Head of Leisure) managed to sell it. The local community, which isn't well off, is going to benefit through this.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club

Given the levels of deprivation in the local area the Director indicated that they perceived success by how many community members would potentially be impacted by involvement at the facility. They highlighted this level of justified CAT because of the much-needed impacts in the community.

This section found mutual understandings existed between CSBs and local authorities regarding how health impacts constitute successful CATs. In both types of CSB, the CAT had the potential to improve the health of the local community (Breslin et al, 2017; Bradbury et al, 2021). Sport clubs are well placed to facilitate these impacts (Sport England, 2018) due to their infrastructure (Hull et al, 2016). Additionally, community pools can make health impacts by partnering with Councils and becoming a health hub. However, the lack of evidence from Riverside Hockey Club suggests some clubs may not share this perspective for how engaging people in the club would constitute success.

8.4 Empowering Communities Through Employment and Training

8.4.1 Employment and Training Opportunities at Community Pools

Whilst there were no comments from Council officers wanting to see communities empowered through employment and training opportunities, CAT policies showed that successful CAT could involve community pools empowering communities.

“Increasing local volunteering and community cohesion. Building confidence and capacity amongst the individuals involved and supporting the creation of community.” West Hill Council, CAT Policy.

“There are many benefits to all parties to pursuing a Community Asset Transfer. These are supporting community empowerment, giving local organisations control, encouraging pride of place and generating wealth in communities.” Central Council, CAT Policy.

The way that CATs were considered successful if communities were enhanced, through opportunities created at facilities, suggests employment was a way to build capacity in communities (Bruni et al, 2020). This is reflected in how the jobs were created at the facilities.

Participants explained that residents could gain employment opportunities at the swimming pools after the CATs had been conducted. This was where CSBs could uniquely address deprivation and health inequalities. The Chair and CEO shared why Central Pool is well placed with staff and board members knowing opportunities which are needed for empowerment.

“We've done employability because we are a population of deprivation. Using community assets to help rebalance inequality is one that's come to life as part of the health inequality. Where we can, we will help with health and jobs.” CEO, Central Pool.

CSBs were uniquely positioned to tailor recruitment practises to rebalance the issues that residents faced. Staff development is at the heart of rebalancing inequalities as by recruiting staff to entry level positions and enabling them to progress to leadership roles, staff access broader opportunities. The Chair of Central displayed reservations to whether this was being achieved.

“One thing we've not fully developed but is at the heart of what we're doing is staff development. This social enterprise idea isn't just to keep facilities running, but the young people that have a sense of personal development.” Chair, Central Pool

Their reflection reaffirmed that in sustaining the facility, they could create jobs for local people, but this had challenged them. Ideally, staff would utilise the skills developed from working at the pool to provide additional opportunities in the local economy.

Part of my vision for the facility is that we're a different business that works with staff in a different way for personal development. If staff left us, they could say, ‘Hey, I know companies have gone under, but I could set up and run a business in a community with people and do it ourselves and get well paid jobs in the community. That people really need and want.’ That is the vision for social enterprises which we have not yet fully developed.” Chair, Central Pool.

Developing in this way meant staff could utilise these skills to set up new social enterprises in the local area, supporting the notion that CATs have significant economic benefits for communities, as employment opportunities are created (Bruni et al, 2012; Gilbert, 2016). The deprivation around the pool was a factor in why benefiting residents through recruitment was important, as employing locally addresses inequality (Kumar, 2018; Apaliyah et al, 2013).

The management of the pool had been proactive in understanding what the needs were in the community, as they surveyed residents.

“Keeping with the community survey, they say they want employability.” CEO, Central Pool

From this they knew young people wanted opportunities to be upskilled through employment.

“16-24-year-olds are unemployed because of furlough. People leave school without hope of getting a job because everybody's job ready.” CEO, Central Pool

Therefore, developing employment projects for the benefit of communities requires an understanding of who needed jobs (Nichols et al, 2020). Understanding these needs and knowing how to involve community members underpins the success of the CAT (Kleinheins et al, 2020).

The recruitment approach of Central Pool required social and human capital for residents to benefit from employment. Yet, in other cases, staff lacked knowledge of how to address needs and involve community members. The issue of engaging residents in projects managed by West Hill Pool exemplified this, as consultants set up courses to train community members for working at the pool.

“We helped with lifeguard training, so the staff are qualified. We hosted a course here for them. No charge, just getting lifeguards that will keep it afloat.” Pool Consultant, West Hill Pool.

“I organised lifeguard courses. We'd offer local people jobs in the pool before it opened.”
Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool.

The consultant participated in the training because without their involvement the facility did not have enough lifeguards. Another consultant claimed this was because local people did not engage with the training

“They had spaces, a free course. Should have charged. Every week, someone dropped out. It was a shame. It's a skill, a lifeguard, we're gonna offer them bloody jobs.” Pool Consultant, West Hill Pool.

The lack of engagement risked the pool not being ready to be opened, with one of the organisers of the training having to attend, qualify, and volunteer at West Hill so the pool had enough lifeguards.

“I joined and qualified. So, when we opened, I was one of the lifeguards.” Regeneration Consultant, West Hill Pool.

This suggests that whether CSBs employ residents is influenced by the agency of the residents (Stirling et al, 2011). Moreover, the reliance on the consultant is an example of how those members of CSBs were involved at West Hill Pool at the expense of the community.

8.4.2 Employment at Sport Clubs

Participants from the sport clubs explained community members were unable to access the paid jobs at facilities, as these were taken by those involved with the clubs. Riverside staff came from the club.

“When we first took over, we got two staff that are from the original bunch, they’re still there. What we have done is ended up making them team leaders, and they lead now.” Riverside Hockey Club Board Member 1, Riverside Hockey Club.

Some staff were recruited and promoted to other roles within the club. Where other staff members were players that provided coaching.

“She’s been there from day one. Same as two of the girls... Having a hockey player. They're restricted to no Saturdays because of hockey.” Facility Manager, Riverside Hockey Club.

The facility manager explained that they managed staff who were working for the club before the CAT had been conducted. Whereas other staff members were recruited from a local university.

“Then a couple came from the University. They're quite good with us. So, we'll help them whenever we can. And we're always looking because of a high turnover with the students. I say it's high turnover, but they do come back after they've gone to uni. So, it's nice to have that relationship with the university.” Facility Manager, Riverside Hockey Club,

This way of recruiting staff echoes the findings from Chapter 7, where staff at Burnside were current athletes, with these clubs having a certain freedom in their recruitment (Taylor et al, 2006). The director underlined that this was the case.

“90% of our staff have been involved with the sport since we set up. It makes the coaching scenario good. All those coaches I used to coach.” Founding Director, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

It can be inferred from these participants that paid staff are likely to have been involved with CSBs prior to being recruited. Whilst this was viewed positively the founding Director reflecting on the coaching scenario and the facility Manager of Riverside Hockey highlighting the partnership with a university (Marginson, 2019) the local community were excluded (Calderwood et al, 2013).

Roles in sport clubs may be unlikely to benefit the communities around the facility because these roles need to be held by staff with coaching qualifications and knowledge of sport clubs. There were a number of operational roles which community members could do, including the receptionist role in Burnside Gymnastics Club. The receptionist at the club reflected on their recruitment.

“It was different from what I was used to, I've never had any affiliation with sports centres. So, I didn't know a lot about it... But it's a different experience for me.” Receptionist, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Working at Burnside Gymnastics Club gave this member of the community a positive experience of work. So, whilst on the whole existing club members were recruited at sport clubs, a job did upskill a resident, as they were recruited as to be a receptionist. This shows that despite being limited there are roles which can be offered, and others that are filled internally.

Coaching staff revealed that there are properties exclusive to sport clubs which may cause such few community members to be employed at the sport clubs (Byers, 2013). One of these was that the roles were not paid enough to attract community members.

“A lot of us come for the love of sport rather than money, it's not a high paid career that you would come to for the money. So, there is a sense of family and working together.” Coach 1, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

“We don't do it for the money but because we love the sport. We are close and the other coaches share the same. We are together all the time; we socialise and spend our lives together. We keep a close connection.” Coach 5, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

The coaches were attracted to their roles because they felt affection for working at the facility, and this made up for the lack of pay in their role. Both explained that there was a family-like culture of working and spending time together, with this shaping their care for the club.

“There is a culture... As it's a sport everyone loves. That's what has been brought into by everyone, coaches socialise outside of work. It's turned into friendship, rather than just colleagues.” Coach 1, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

“I want to emphasise that we are close, we work a lot of hours together, so it is like a family. We are spending half our life here, so we are close, and that's why we volunteer as staff because we want the best for this club because of how much we love it.” Coach 5, Burnside Gymnastics Club.

Family culture in sport clubs and cultures of working together underpin why coaches want to work at facilities. This adds to notions that social ties are developed through social activities within clubs (Van Der Roest et al, 2017). As the roles were not paid well these ties have significance in whether community members may wish to work in the facilities without an attachment to the club. Indeed, the lack of pay, close-knit cultures, and the requirements of coaching qualifications, are reasons for why community members may be excluded in recruitment at sport clubs (Forde et al, 2015).

The section demonstrates that stocks of organisational bridging social capital are required for CSBs to recruit community members into the organisations. The findings suggest that where this is lacking, there are challenges in recruiting community members to the CSBs.

8.5 Discussion: Success CAT Contributing to Community Capital

Overall, five dimensions of successful CAT related to where enhancements in community capital were apparent. These were interrelated as the enhancements in community capital occurred as community empowerment and health impacts were possible through sustaining facilities. Indeed, sustaining facilities involved developing structures, and working with local authorities to ensure communities benefit. Figure 8.1 groups these dimensions together.



Figure 8.1 Dimensions of Successful CAT

The dimensions do not all involve the direct benefit of community members, as some underpin others when communities benefit from CAT. Indeed, successful CATs involve CSBs working with local authorities to sustain assets through maintaining effective management structures. Achieving this requires organisational human, social, and political capital, with this contributing to communities through built capital (Emery et al, 2006). Successful CAT was considered to involve sustaining facilities (as illustrated at the top of Figure 8.1) by local authorities and CSBs, confirming local authorities are motivated to conduct CATs to ensure local facilities are sustained (Schultz, 2016). This is significant in localities where local authorities have received budgetary cuts and are required to reduce leisure facilities provision. Therefore, CAT prevents downward spirals of community capital as local leisure facilities are sustained (Emery et al, 2004).

The bottom left of Figure 8.1 illustrates that collaborative partnerships between local authorities and CSBs represented whether CATs were successful. The enhancements that CSBs had in their capacity to achieve impacts through accessing local authority resources exemplified this. Subsequently, the partnerships between local authorities and CSBs increases the impact of CATs on the local community, as there are more resources invested. Additionally, CAT policies emphasised that

through partnerships local authority officers can influence the management in achieving public sector objectives such as addressing health inequalities (Nichols et al, 2014). However, organisational political and social capital is required in partnership, as power dynamics, challenging CAT process, and misaligned periods can cause tension. The case in West Hill involved tensions between the local authority and CSB, meaning that the CSB could not access the funding that the Head of Leisure claimed was available. Whereas in other cases, funding and other resources were put to use by CSBs.

The top left of Figure 8.1 represents the finding that facilities were sustained without intervention from local authorities because the CSBs had established effective management structures. Heads of Leisure identified that it was a good arrangement for local authorities to have facilities in community ownership, as impacts were made without the local authorities being responsible for investment. So, whilst not directly enhancing community capital, the impacts made after management structures are formed, enhance community capital.

The two dimensions covered on the right side of figure 8.1 concern the ways that community capital was enhanced by the facilities being sustained; through making health and social impacts; and through empowering communities.

Health and Social Impact		
Example	Organisational Capital	Community Capital Improvement
Developing ways to improve the health of residents. Becoming a health hub.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Human capital in understanding ways to improve the health of residents. ● utilise assets for additional purposes ● Social capital in consulting residents to understand their health needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Children being physically active. ● Subjective health improvements. ● Reductions in NHS referrals ● Reductions in health inequalities
Develop health projects with local authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Political Capital in understanding how local authorities measure health impact. ● Understanding the strategic priorities of local authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community health improvements

Table 8.1 Health and Social Impact

Local authorities and CSBs viewed successful CAT as where health and social impacts were made on community members (Findlay-King et al, 2018b; Hobson et al, 2019). Whilst the findings involved vague conceptualisations of social impacts, participants from three of the cases identified that improving the health of community members was a way for this to be made. Participants had knowledge of how to make health improvements through projects, how to involve community members through being a health hub, and how they could access resources from local authorities. Table 8.1 outlines the domains of capital constituting the knowledge for health and social impacts being made.

These organisational capitals do not exist equally in CSBs, so impacts varied across the cases. The community pools understood the health inequalities in local areas, whereas the sport clubs addressed how physical activity could improve health without grasping local health demographics. Additionally, the connection CSBs had with local authorities to make health improvements showed it was necessary to collaborate with local authorities, which required organisational political capital.

Another way community capital enhancements were covered in dimensions of success, was through empowering communities. Each CAT policy outlined this providing vague conceptualisations of how it could be achieved. Participants from the community pool insisted that community members could be empowered through being trained and employed at facilities. So, in employing residents CSBs can enhance community human capital as residents develop leadership skills (Emery et al, 2006).

Empowering Communities		
Example	Organisational Capitals	Impact on Community Capital
Employing residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Organisational social capital to develop connections with communities. ● Human resource in recruiting for roles ● Understanding employment needs of residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Engaging residents in employment opportunities develops civic engagement ● Develops social capital in communities. ● Financial Capital of community members available to invest in community capacity-building. ● Develops community confidence and leadership skills

Table 8.2 Empower Communities

As outlined in Table 8.2 Central Pool made such an impact by employing young people and improving their social and economic prospects (Bruni et al, 2020; Gilbert, 2016). The case of Central Pool highlights the importance of organisational capital as staff were able to develop employment practices which benefited the community. Not possessing this organisational capital risks, the decline of community capital as residents are excluded (Forde et al, 2015; Kumar et al, 2018).

Indeed, exclusion occurred at these facilities as residents did not attend training in West Hill and with regards to being employed at the sport clubs, they did not have coaching qualifications, or did not find pay attractive.

8.6 Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter concerned five dimensions of successful CAT. The primary aim was to provide an understanding of ways that successful CAT is understood, with two secondary aims being to identify the impact of successful CAT on community capital and to understand the organisational capital needed for this. Examining the perspectives from local authorities and CSBs illustrated how successful CAT meant different things to different stakeholders, organisations, and sectors (Meijer, 2020). The chapter found that local authorities and CSBs mutually understood that sustaining an asset constituted a successful CAT, with underpinning dimensions requiring that assets were managed effectively and that there is collaboration between local authorities and CSBs (Aiken et al, 2011; 2015).

However, there were overarching dimensions of success that could be achieved when these domains were met, as success involved health impacts and empowerment being made in communities. This confirms that successful CATs are about the 'who' rather than the 'what' (de Haan et al, 2019), as empowering residents through the facility could spiral up financial, social, and human capital in the community. Moreover, the findings confirmed that successfully conducting CAT is not synonymous with overall success, as legitimate success depends on who benefits (de Haan et al, 2019). It is legitimised when community members are involved in provision, services, and decision-making (Ostrom, 1999). Where this was achieved, the subjective health, leadership abilities, and economic prospects of community members could be enhanced, meaning ways CSBs enhance community human capital were found.

The chapter identified the organisational capitals that were required to achieve dimensions of success. Organisational human capital is needed to address health and empower residents through employment opportunities. Organisational bridging social capital is needed to involve residents in opportunities, as the internal recruitment of staff reflects bonding social capital. Also, organisational political capital is needed to work with local authorities to achieve shared objectives.

Overall, these findings are significant in evidencing that CSBs make an impact on the communities that have an interest in a facility which has been transferred. The findings add to the importance of the need for mutual conceptualisations of how CATs are considered successful. The findings of the chapter would suggest that this includes the community organisations, local authorities and, for success to be considered legitimate, members of the local community.

9. Discussion: Bringing the Chapters Together

This chapter brings the study findings together by discussing how the research questions and the aims of the thesis are addressed. In answering these questions, the thesis presented the domains of community capital that are mobilised in preparing for CAT (Chapter 5), the domains of organisational capital that were utilised when CSBs conduct CATs (Chapter 6), and how domains of capital are related to cultural and structural properties of CSBs (Chapter 7). These chapters laid bare the human capitals needed for CSBs to successfully acquire and sustain leisure facilities through CAT. Chapter 8 followed these by illustrating the ways success was understood from different perspectives and that it must concern communities benefiting from CATs. In addressing domains of capital mobilised from communities and organisations in the CAT of leisure facilities the discussion draws on these chapters.

Each section of this chapter answers a separate research question, with the first of these being the overarching focus for the study. Together, these sections address the ways that the aims of the study are achieved. Indeed, Table 1.1 outlines the study aims.

Aim 1	To provide the human capitals underpinning how CSBs emerge.
Aim 2	To understand how cultural and structural properties impact the mobilisation of capitals
Aim 3	To examine the role of external support in the mobilisation of capitals.
Aim 4	Understand the ways success is collectively constructed by those in and external to CSBs
Aim 5	Understand the human capital necessary to achieve and balance success.

Table 1.1 Research Aims

Providing the community and organisational human capital needed to conduct CATs is therefore the overall focus of this discussion. The next section addresses this, revealing the ways the findings of the study achieve these aims.

9.1 What are the human capitals needed to successfully CAT and sustain a leisure facility?

9.1.1 Community Human Capital

Chapter 5 presented knowledge of how to form community campaigns and generate momentum as an essential part of community human capital needed prior to CAT (Fortkert, 2015). Open minded attitudes were found to be needed in community members, as their ability to join campaigns, align

interests, and meet with political agents to explore options for facility provision was essential. The tenets of community human capital revealed from these chapters are outlined in Table 9.1.

Community Human Capital	
Tenet	Detail
Knowledge	Knowing how to start campaigns
	Knowing how to meet with political agents
	Understanding the health needs of localities
	Knowledge of local authority structures
	Framing CATs in a positive/progressive way
	Demonstrating business viability
Abilities	Ability to bring residents together
	Ability to inspire
	Leadership
Energy	Maintaining momentum in campaigning
	Perseverance
Confidence	Confidence in contributing to public meetings
	Ability to communicate with a variety of stakeholders

Table 9.1 Tenets of Community Human Capital

These findings build on literature exploring the capitals in communities to conduct CAT. Ahrens et al (2015), Fortkert (2015), and Findlay-King et al (2017) found that the meetings and consultations held with communities prior to conducting CAT are important in shaping these capitals. This study added that these meetings were opportunities to understand the issues in local areas, as when groups formed narratives for why CATs are necessary, they drew on shared knowledge of such local contexts. The way activists drew on health inequalities in West Hill and the way Central Pool were campaigning to prevent drownings depicted this.

It followed that these meetings required language skills, organisational experience, and confidence to communicate with a variety of stakeholders (Ahrens et al, 2015). Further, the meetings showed support is needed for community members who are not vocal, confirming Skerratt et al (2011a) highlighting community participation must not favour only the most vocal community members.

Therefore, the study's examination of these meetings develops Nichols et al's (2020) comments that preparing for a CAT is a complex process requiring time and resources from communities. Additional perspectives were included too, in that the reservations from local authority officers revealed ways that these pre-stages of CAT can be misused by activists. In presenting these, the study added that interactions between communities and local authorities were defined by suspicion and scepticism.

Skills were identified to avoid suspicion during these interactions for example the Chair of Central Pool framed the CAT around new ways of collaborating between the public and third sector. This showed skill in forming narratives which aligned with local Council objectives, by focusing on health (Nichols et al, 2020). The importance of this skill was highlighted in reverse as West Hill Pool did not align with the local authority, with consequences of this being the 3-year delay of the CAT process. Therefore, the thesis found resilience as a domain of human capital that community members need when involved in community ownership endeavours.

These chapters provided further examples of support being needed to address where communities lack capital. Examples of this came from West Hill Pool as community members disengaged with the campaigns due to the complex local authority consultations. Participants identified how additional support from local authorities would be valuable in such situations. However, local authorities may be ill-placed to provide such support and instead, third sector support appeared to be accessible as consultants were available to help. This addresses the third aim of the thesis by showing the importance of support for mobilising community capital.

Further, the thesis revealed other domains of community capital were necessary prior to conducting CAT. Social capital was identified in Chapter 5 as being essential for communities to come together, with community bridging social capital being necessary to bring residents together and bonding social capital necessary to align their views and develop social ties. Additionally, community political capital is necessary to meet with local authority officers and maintain engagement during complex consultations. These insights are outlined in Table 9.2.

Social Capital	Political Capital
Connection with residents (bridging)	Connection with political agents
Connection to community groups (bridging)	Voice heard by political agents
Social ties, bonding, and shared mission (bonding)	Aligning mission with local authorities

Table 9.2 Community Social and Political Capital

9.1.2 Organisational Human Capital

With increasing complexity there were organisational capital challenges for the CSBs conducting CATs, as found in chapter 6. Consequently, support was needed to set up social enterprises, as the complexities could not be handled by those who campaigned or formed sport clubs. The expertise that was accessed proved significant to the models that were adopted as knowing the benefits of each model of social enterprise was essential. The chapter developed claims such as Plunkett et al's (2015) that expertise to form social enterprises may be lacking, because those commencing CATs are doing so for the first time. This evidenced the importance of accessing support, touching on the organisational human capital needs identified by Moore et al (2013) and Findlay-King et al (2018b) respectively. The study uniquely contributed to literature on CAT, by showing organisational human capital is likely to be present only when experience of CAT is possessed. For instance, Central Pool's Chair had experience of CATs as they helped to write community ownership legislation, so they knew the benefits of adopting BenComs. Similarly, Burnside Gymnastics Club founder knew the benefits of setting up a CIC through their involvement at another facility. This proved to be relevant for CAT (Thurlby, 2013), evidencing human capital needed to commence CAT (Bruni et al, 2020).

The study contributed to understanding the complexities of business planning by showing that prior involvement in CAT is important as the necessary business planning involves balancing community needs with evidencing business viability and partnership working. The study built on research by Aiken et al (2011) and Archer et al (2019) by identifying that experience in regeneration projects from working in local authorities or third sector bodies was vital. Whilst this experience was not part of internal organisational human capital, accessing it externally revealed tenets of organisational human capital that were needed for business planning. These included knowledge of procurement, bid writing, fundraising and general business planning. Consultants were brought in to provide this expertise due to their backgrounds with local authorities. Their involvement showed that having direct experience of the ways local authorities operated was important for working with local

authority officers to understand what they wanted to see in the plans. Knowing how to develop viable business plans for CSBs and providing evidence of this exemplify organisational human capital, as provided in Table 9.3.

It was evident from Chapter 7 that to form structures in CSBs there needs to be a significant resource of personnel involved for appointments and recruitment to occur, confirming that CSBs must have enough human resources as recruitment evolves over time. However, board members lacked recruitment experience meaning volunteers and external consultants supported, confirming that the organisational and governance capital to meet finance, HR, and legal requirements may involve external support (Aiken et al, 2011; Murtagh et al, 2017). Relying on external human capital means that the recruitment process is based on practices at other leisure facilities, as procedures, job descriptions, and role specifications are shaped based on facilities elsewhere. Analysing this revealed that connections with third sector partners were required to develop organisational human capital.

Additional ways for human capital to be utilised by CSBs post-cat were identified in Chapter 8, where the skills needed to involve community members in recruitment opportunities at the facilities were found. These concerned whether the staff of CSBs knew how to research community needs, develop projects that could address this, and work with third and public sector partners in doing so. Examples of this came from Central Pool, where becoming a health hub was an effective way for impacts to be made on community members. This approach required significant expertise, as the multitude of ways the facilities could be used was understood, as were ways that staff could support community members away from the facility, with the desired contribution of the local authority being clear.

Organisational Human Capital	
Tenet	Detail
Knowledge	Knowledge of business models, their benefits, and how to register
	Business planning knowledge such as viability, procurement, fundraising, and bid writing
	Knowledge of how to balance viability with community needs

	Knowledge of local authority policies, strategies, and key personnel
	Knowing how to conduct recruitment
Abilities	Ability to bring staff together
	Ability to inspire/Leadership
	Ability to balance fundraising with revenue generation
Human Resource	Availability of workforce and having the time to commit to requirements
	Having procedures, policies, job descriptions, specification
Confidence	Ability to communicate with a variety of stakeholders
Experience	Experience of localised council, third sector, and public sector planning

Table 9.3 Tenets of Organisational Human Capital

The study revealed that having the knowledge, skills and insight was not enough in itself to achieve health impacts, to conduct recruitment, or to complete CAT processes. Indeed, multiple tenets of human and social capital were needed to recruit community members in the CSBs. Financial capital was needed in evidencing business viability. There were also ways political capital was needed during the CAT process and post-CAT, in order for the CSB to be able to work with local authorities. These domains are summarised in table 9.4.

Organisational Capitals		
Social Capital	Political Capital	Financial Capital
Connections with community members	Ability to meet with local authorities to express an interest	Evidence of financial viability
Presence of social ties	Ability to meet with local authorities to commence a CAT	Finances guaranteed of at least 3 years
Connections with consultants and third sector support	Personal connections with local authority officers	Access to grant funding
Access to funders	Partnership agreements to work with local authorities	
Aligned organisational cultures	Shared understandings of CAT	

Table 9.4 Tenets of Organisational Capital

9.2 How is Capital Mobilised?

When knowledge was used in the community, then community human capital was mobilised. This is significant as Chapters 5 and 6 showed human capital was accessed through the interactions in communities during campaigns, informal meetings, and consultations. In these interactions knowledge of how to conduct CAT was accessed by groups, but this did not reach all communities as community members began disengaging from the consultation meetings. Chapter 8 showed that sustaining facilities mobilised community human capital. The benefits for residents represent upward spirals of community human capital, as residents benefitted from both providing activities as employees and as service users. A conceptualisation of how human capital was mobilised concerns whether community health would be improved through this. Becker (1964) confirms participation in health activities develops human capital in individuals and communities. For instance, Becker claimed that this covers *the sense they improve health over much of their lifetime*" (1964: 3).

Becker's (1964) view of health improvements shows how community human capital was mobilised, as involving community members in leisure activities at facilities could contribute to the collective health of the community. Thus, local authority officers offered to form partnerships with CSBs to ensure activities contributed to local health. Participants from CSBs confirmed health improvements were ways to mobilise community capital, explaining that residents could improve mental health, reduce cardiovascular problems, and improve their health confidence. This showed human capital enhancements were achieved if health improvements were made (Kumar, 2018).

Community human capital was also mobilised through employing and training residents at facilities if staff progressed to leadership roles or other enterprises. At Central Pool this focused on young people and those in need of work. So, the provision of jobs and training mobilised community human capital (Apaliyah et al, 2013). However, there was a tendency for community development opportunities to exclude residents, meaning human capital was not mobilised. Findings in Chapter 8 showed these opportunities lacked engagement from residents and in particular sport clubs were not concerned with involving residents in employment opportunities. This revealed that social capital is needed in both organisations and communities for community involvement. Indeed, possessing organisational and community social capital mobilises community human capital, as leadership skills are developed in communities, before being utilised in organisations and ultimately put to use in communities. Where community members worked at CSBs they developed business knowledge, work experience, and leadership skills. Staff sharing their involvement showed another

way for community human capital to be mobilised, with communities benefiting from the provision of services at facilities.



Figure 9.1 Mobilising Community Human Capital

9.2.1 Mobilising other domains of capital

Examining the community human capital revealed upward spirals of other domains of community capital from interactions in communities. Chapter 5 showed trailblazers instigated the interactions that developed relationships enabling upward spirals of social capital. Making connections in these interactions were seen to bring residents together, forming norms and social ties and building their buy-in. Thus, community social capital was mobilised as connections were made.



Figure 9.2 Framework of Mobilising Community Social Capital

Figure 9.2 shows that interactions between residents and trailblazers enhanced community social capital, as stocks of community capital spiralled up. Community political capital was mobilised as residents accessed a platform to have their voices heard by political agents. This meant that by being part of the campaign groups, residents could enhance their political capital.



Figure 9.3 Framework of Mobilising Community Political Capital

Figure 9.3 illustrates how the political capital of the community was mobilised through interactions between residents, as trailblazers provided opportunities for residents to have a platform in political spaces. Where this was not the case, was during consultations where residents stopped engaging with the campaign because they felt that their voice was not being heard. By showing this, the study has revealed that the interactions between residents, campaigners, and local authorities can cause upward spirals of community capital, but this required the presence of human capital in communities as a starting point for community capital to be mobilised. Further, accessing health improvements and empowerment opportunities are examples of how investing human capital increases the social, financial, and political resources in communities leading to upward spirals (Guitierrez-Montes, 2005).

9.3 What support is needed to sustain assets?

The study showed knowledge, networks, and connections were mobilised through interactions with consultants (Appendix K). In chapters 6 and 7 consultants shared experience of business planning and how CATs could be conducted which enhanced the ability of those running the CAT to manage the facility sustainably. Knowledge of how to take advantage of community business rates, revenue modelling, and ways to build community connection was provided by these consultants. Further, support in making board appointments and staff recruitment in CSB was critically provided by consultants. As Chapter 8 examined, whether facilities are sustained was due to this support. Lastly, where CSBs are able to access grants, their financial capital increased, which was significant in multiple cases. For Burnside Gymnastics this enabled the business planning to address costly maintenance repairs, for West Hill Pool, this involved accessing a large grant to overcome the catch-22 situation, and for Central this gave them funding to invest in staffing and building repairs.

Figure 9.4 illustrates the ways working with third sector consultants was necessary to mobilise the organisational human capital, with the tenets of each domain of capital being outlined.

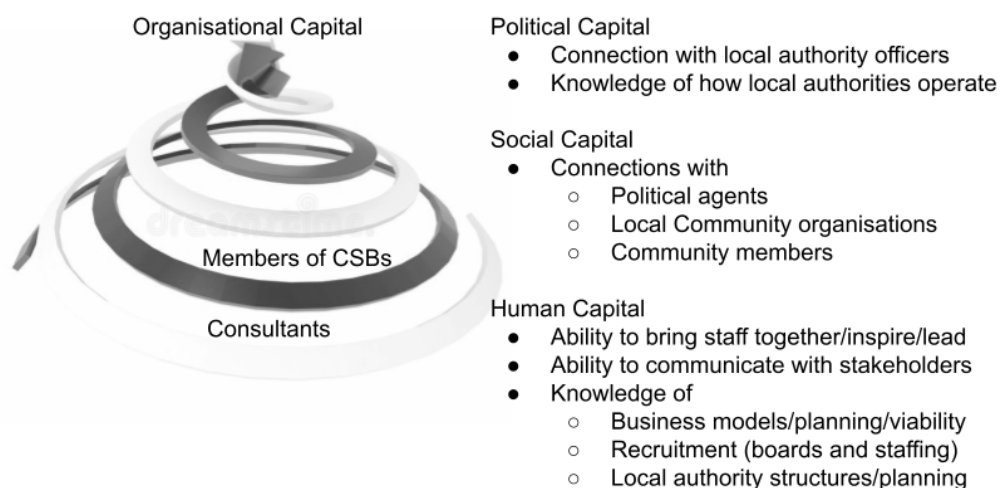


Figure 9.4 Interactions with Consultants

There was evidence that interactions with the community could mobilise organisational capital, as figure 9.5 illustrates. As community members interact with staff in CSBs the connection between CSBs and the community mobilises the social capital CSBs have with communities. This improves the financial resources of CSBs as they have more to invest in facilities and the workforce. Likewise, when community members join as staff members, they were found to align the organisational culture with the community needs, providing additional human resources. If staff have a connection to the community this can improve the work ethic of those in CSBs and when this cultural property is aligned throughout the CSB, an increase in organisational capital can be seen. Therefore, community members are a significant source of support in sustaining a CSB, as when they are involved, they enhance organisational capital. This finding extends Findlay-King et al's (2015) notion that successful CAT requires close connection with communities, as this better meets the needs of community.



Figure 9.5 Interactions with Communities Mobilising Organisational Capital

9.4 What are the differences between voluntary and paid staff human capital requirements?

The findings showed volunteers are formally and informally involved in CATs and managing facilities but contribute specific tenets of human capital. Chapters 5 and 6 presented the human capital

requirements of the volunteers who led campaigns, revealing that knowledge of campaign processes, their abilities to mobilise community members, and their confidence and energy in doing so were key. These tenets of human capital relate to experience of CAT processes and community campaigns, reflecting the tenacity and resilience required (Guitierrez-Montex, 2015; Sturgis et al, 2022)

The tenets of volunteer human capital required in conducting CAT differed from those needed in campaigns as processes became complex and professionalised. CAT processes required professional skills including community business management, as knowledge of ways to register CSBs and the benefits of each model are key to commencing CAT. Another finding concerning tenets of volunteer human capital, was the importance of evidencing business viability. This meant volunteers needed to know how they could evidence financial viability, community benefit, and that facilities would be managed effectively. Table 9.6 outlines these tenets, revealing the ambiguity regarding whether volunteers or paid staff provided such expertise. For instance, during the business planning process, consultants were paid by Riverside Hockey Club and through a local councillor in West Hill.

Indeed, the inconsistency of whether CATs were conducted by individuals who were paid or unpaid continued throughout the appointment of board members and recruitment of staff. As volunteers were primarily involved, as in Central and Burnside, all board members were unpaid, and they handled this between them. However, the paid consultants from West Hill and Riverside conducted interviews and shaped aspects of roles. Leadership, recruitment, and partnership development were human capital requirements for both volunteers and paid staff, throughout stages of CAT, which adds to existing suggestions (Findlay-King, 2018a; Bruni et al, 2020). Additionally, as these tenets were possessed by board members such as those in Burnside and Central, evolutions of volunteer human capital occurred in CSBs. This upholds Skerratt and Hall's (2011a) findings that significant capital is needed to govern community assets.

There were cultural properties in the CSBs that shaped the ways of working. These were examined in 7.3, where it was found that because of the community ethos, the limited human resource in CSBs, and the passion that sport clubs members have, staff worked beyond the confines of their roles. The operational involvement of board members was a starting point for where such cultures were endorsed, as when staff interacted with operationally hands-on board members, they were also likely to work beyond their roles. Consequently, paid staff and unpaid board members contributed to CSBs in similar ways with organisational structures becoming blurred.

However, where lines are blurred in terms of the work that is included in paid and voluntary roles, this was found to be unsustainable because board members may leave or be unable to continue volunteering in operational work. A board member explained that having bona-fide structures and clarity in roles ensures that staff and board members avoid burnout. Therefore, the study identified ways to remove the ambiguity regarding the human capital requirements of paid and voluntary roles.

Human Capital differences between volunteers and paid staff		
Human Capital	Volunteers	Paid staff and consultants
Knowledge	Knowing how to start campaigns	
	Understanding community health needs	
	Framing CATs in a positive/progressive way	
	Business planning, procurement, fundraising, bid writing	
	Knowing how to conduct recruitment	
	Knowledge of how to balance viability with community needs	
	Knowledge of business models, their benefits, and how to register	
	Knowledge of local authority policies, strategies, and personnel	
Abilities	Ability to bring residents together	Ability to bring staff together
	Ability to inspire	
	Leadership	
Attitudes	Willing to be hands-on	Willing to work beyond paid role
	Resilience	
	Passion and alignment with mission	
	Tenacity	

Table 9.6 Human Capital Differences between volunteers and paid staff

9.5 How does human capital shape the ways successful Community Asset Transfer is understood?

Chapter 8 addressed collective understandings of success, finding the organisational capital necessary to achieve these. Overall, there was a mutual belief from local authorities and CSBs that sustaining an asset was a key dimension of successful CAT. The chapter showed that achieving community empowerment, health and social benefits were dimensions of success that underpinned outcomes of sustaining facilities. This echoes de Haan et al (2019) who argued that successful community initiatives must benefit communities. Successful CAT concerned these areas for how the CATs would contribute to health impacts and the empowerment of the community was identified. In this, local authorities and CSBs can partner to share resources and align their strategies. Additionally, the CSBs need to develop governance and management arrangements for these impacts to be made. Therefore, these dimensions form how successful CATs are viewed, with Figure 8.1 representing this.



Figure 8.1 Dimensions of Success

Chapter 8 explored each dimension in turn, with the sections drawing on whether participants considered their CSB was capable of achieving the dimension. Whilst Chapter 8 summarised whether the community capital was increased through the dimension of success, the aim of the thesis was achieved as the human capital necessary to achieve success was identified. Indeed, Table 9.7 outlines the tenets of organisational human capital that are necessary to achieve each domain of success.

Organisational Human Capital to achieve of success		
Dimension of success	Example	Organisational Human Capital
Health and Social Impact	Developing ways to improve the health of residents.	Understanding ways to improve the health of residents.
	Becoming a health hub.	Knowing how to utilise assets for additional purposes.
	Addressing health inequality.	
Empowering Communities	Employing residents	Having the human resource available
	Providing needed roles for young in the community	Understand employment needs of communities.
Working with local authorities	Collaborating on health projects	Understanding the strategic priorities of local authorities.
Effective Management Structures	Having a functional board with governance capacity.	Knowing how to recruit board members. Understanding governance requirements.
	Contributing to communities whilst empowering role incumbent	Having sufficient human resources to recruit staff members.

Table 9.7 Organisational Capital to achieve success

Table 9.7 outlines how successful CATs require human capital, as knowledge was required to impact the health and empowerment of residents, with connections and consultation to the community being required. Further, the knowledge of how to recruit the residents into roles at the community is outlined, implying that interplays of human and social capital are necessary for success. A similar way of reading into the partnerships with local authorities would imply that human and political capital are related for success. Overall, Table 9.7 outlines key ways the study achieved its aim.

9.6 Concluding the Discussion

The chapter outlined ways that the research questions have been addressed. In identifying the human capital that is mobilised in communities and organisations that conduct CAT, the study has addressed three key dimensions concerning how human capital is mobilised in successful CATs.

First, the findings addressed the collective understanding of successful CAT. As with De haan (2019), success concerns outcomes of CATs benefiting communities around facilities. Hobson et al's (2019)

conditions for realising this, underpins the way success can be seen as legitimate, as community health and empowerment impacts formed the key dimensions that participants from CSBs and local authorities shared. Whilst there are other ways to view success, such as working with local authorities, developing effective management structures, and sustaining facilities through these were only considered as legitimate when communities benefited (Hobson et al, 2019).

The study confirmed that success is about people, as argued by Rex (2019a) because it is legitimised when community members are empowered by providing, using, or making decisions for local services (Ostrom, 1999). This exemplified ways to achieve what Findlay-King et al (2018b) and Civil Exchange (2015) term as a genuine handover of power. There are tensions in this, as characterised by the misalignments in local authority officer and CSB understanding of CAT (Lowndes et al, 2006). The perpetuation of tensions and misunderstanding prevents successes, as communities may not be able to access opportunities at facilities. The study added to research on political connections in CAT showing ways that shared understandings of success can enable the capacity for success.

Second, organisational human capital is essential in sustaining community leisure facilities. This was clear, as examining the capacity individuals had to cover ongoing business requirements, laid bare ways Fitz-enz's (2002) organisational knowledge is conceptualised in CSBs. To this extent, the use of Becker's (1979) notion of human capital has been applied in a novel setting, revealing that the collective abilities, human resource, confidence, attitudes, and experiences of individuals form the organisational capital. CAT relies on these individual tenets to succeed (as chapter 8 covered),

The third dimension returns to the importance of community capital. The study adds to the analysis of this capital, such as Emery et al (2006), Fischer et al (2017), Findlay-King et al (2018a) and Hobson et al (2019), focusing on human capital. Additionally, the framing of community capital was applied in analysing a delineated concept; CAT. The study found knowledge, abilities, energy, and confidence are needed in communities prior to CATs being conducted. So, by examining the process of CAT in each, the study built on these approaches by illustrating that collective human capital rests on key individuals possessing these capitals (Murtagh et al, 2017). It follows that the extent that human capital was mobilised varied, as skilled individuals were able to utilise these capitals with little issue. Yet, as Fenwick et al (2015) found human capacities are unevenly available and political tensions interfere with the extent that human capital is mobilised.

What is clear from this study, is that the presence of human capital is disproportionately mobilised across both community and organisational settings, meaning opportunities for CAT to be conducted are unequal (Dobson, 2011; Early, 2020). Whilst the context of this study recognised such inequalities (SPERI, 2015; Forbes et al, 2017, Nichols et al, 2020), improving bonding and bridging

social capitals, and enhancing political capital, were found to be key in mobilising human capital. It remains that the way communities engage in CAT and the complexity of this experience, is complicated by its socially constructed nature, as shown by how success is understood. Moreover, the idiosyncrasies of local authorities, inconsistency of CSB structure, and divergence of local communities, means findings regarding CAT are difficult to present in any generalised way. Therefore, the critical realist approach taken was useful to identify broader elements of commonality in CAT. These discussion points are summarised in the next Chapter, where the contributions of the thesis are outlined.

10. Conclusions

This chapter considers the implications of the research findings (10.1). Limitations of the study are highlighted by reflecting on the theoretical and methodological approach of the research, with these followed by recommendations for future research and practical support to build community and organisational capital (10.3). Lastly, 10.4 concludes the study, summarising key contributions to knowledge, limitations of this study and where future research may address these contributions.

10.1 Contributions to Knowledge

The unique theoretical contribution which this study makes is to use Emery et al's (2006) CCF in two unique ways.

Firstly, applying the framework in novel analytical settings revealed ways in which human capital is mobilised. For instance, by examining human capital in both community and organisational settings, the thesis showed the human capital required from communities to commence CAT, and from CSBs to manage facilities post CAT. In showing such a process, the thesis uniquely applied the community capitals framework to demonstrate how upward spirals of community capital are put to use through commencing CAT. This contrasts uses of the framework from Skerratt and Hall (2011a), Skerrat et al (2013) and Fischer et al (2017), where no spirals are examined. Likewise, emphasising human capital has developed the notion from Christensen (2020), Fergen et al (2022), and Utami, that this domain is the most significant in causing upward spirals of community and organisational capital. The study considered both community and organisational perspective, and recognised the human capital needed to successfully conduct CATs, and as run CSBs.

Secondly, the study focused on how human capital is mobilised in organisational and community settings. Therefore, the study provided detailed analysis of just one of the seven domains within the CCF, and provided detailed analysis of the tenets, how they are mobilised, and what this looks like in CAT in two settings. Doing so revealed that the domains are inextricably linked. In this way, analysis of human capital has been novel, as prior to this study, most studies that focus on such domains of the CCF tend to do so from an economic perspective (Becker, 1964; Coleman, 1998) where human capital is measured as the potential an individual acquires through investments in education or training (Marginson, 2019). Findings show ways that this may happen in CAT (for instance the training provided at swimming pools), but the broader significance of this is that it is a unique and focused application of human capital in a sociological study of CAT.

From a practical perspective, the study invites community groups to reflect on whether they possess the capitals to conduct CATs. Whilst these are framed through the CCF (Emery et al, 2006), where seven domains of community capital are conceptualised, the study emphasises the importance and interrelated nature of human, social, and political capital in communities. Thus, these domains can be developed into a practical tool to aid community groups considering CATs.

By highlighting the domains of capital to address in groups, the thesis can enhance the ability of local authorities and third sector bodies to support community groups and sport clubs involved in CAT. This is particularly important given the capacity issues for organisations from both the third sector and the public sector. Such a tool could be developed as a checklist for local authorities and groups to explore whether CATs are feasible or to form the basis of ongoing support in delivering CAT. By rooting the conceptual view of the thesis in the CCF, the support can be framed for how the capital of groups can be mobilise (Emery et al, 2006)

Finally, the study contributed ways of examining the properties of CSBs through applying the critical realist view of emergence (Elder-Vass, 2006), where the organisational emergence and evolution was understood as following the stages of the Morphogenetic Framework (Archer, 1995). In doing so, the study utilised a novel application of Archer's (1998) morphogenetic framing, where the interactions between human and organisational entities entails some form of structural change.

The implications of applying the morphogenetic approaches showed the ways in which the groups and CSBs may reinforce structural inequalities by conducting CATs. This is because, by sustaining facilities and achieving success, they can be seen to justify local service cuts (Rex, 2019a). Indeed, besides from Horrocks (2009), who examined the emergence of organisational properties in English Local Authorities, a gap remained, which the study addressed by using this framework.

Additionally, the study identified the interactions that shape cultures and how these are reinforced over time. This is significant for showing how the organisational capital of CSBs was enhanced and whether this influenced the way success is viewed. Framing the analysis through morphogenetic emergence added to research from Byers (2013) regarding the ways in which cultural properties emerge and are reinforced in sport clubs, by evidencing that individuals are granted power to lead in CSBs. The study therefore provided ways that morphogenetic analysis can uncover the identity shaping nature of organisational culture in CSBs, extending the work of Wegner et al (2019).

Overall, applying morphogenetic critical realism enabled ways to expose the emergence of social and organisational structures, as well as whether the forces they produce are resisted or reinforced.

10.2 Limitations

The present study is based upon four community organisations which manage single-site leisure facilities, where each CAT was conducted with different contexts with regards to the location, type of facility, and level of local authority differing in each case. Whilst this served the purpose of examining the context dependent presence of human capital in such organisations, investigating the CAT of health, social care, and other facilities would add to the body of knowledge.

The theoretical frameworks upon which the analysis was framed are international in origin as Emery et al's (2006) CCF was derived from their work in Nebraska and Chaskin's (2001). Here, the concept of community capital was originally applied in research conducted in Milwaukee, so local community ownership processes do need to be taken into account for research to complement this study elsewhere (Gershlick et al, 2017). So, although the study focuses on leisure facilities in England, the study has implications internationally. Additionally, the study used human capital in two analytical contexts, but further conceptualisation of human capital is needed for the potential of the theoretical frame to be made in both community and organisational contexts (Marginson, 2019).

There are methodological limitations, as the focus on a small sample⁵⁴ means findings may not apply to other facilities, especially facilities which are specific to other sports. Further, longitudinal focuses could improve the reliability of the methods, by extending the discursiveness view of the sample organisations. This would enable additional morphogenetic cycles to be analysed, meaning that the ongoing emergence and evolution of organisational structures are attended to.

10.3 Recommendations

The thesis clarified key domains of human capital needed in communities and CSBs for CATs to be conducted. By presenting the challenges that are faced in the communities that attempt to conduct CATs, areas that need additional resources and attention are considered. Therefore, the practical recommendations underpin ways that three key stakeholders; community groups, local authorities, and support bodies, must consider the necessary capital and understandings for CATs to be achieved.

Firstly, community groups must consider their internal and external social networks, and identify the skills, connections, and knowledge that exist within it, with community asset mapping being a way of

⁵⁴ There are 364 community leisure facilities listed in the scoping sheet, all having been conducted in the last 20 years on a lease of at least 25 years

outlining this. This should reflect the importance of having social ties so communities can become involved and having broad community networks covering political bodies are third sector agencies. From there, questions of whether there is the necessary human capital within such communities can start to be raised.

Secondly, local authorities must improve the support they offer, as the study revealed that local authorities need to work closely with groups to collectively pursue a positive CAT, to ensure that suspicion, scepticism, and tension are avoided. It would be beneficial if local authorities published their expectations of groups, the types of organisations that can conduct CAT, and what the process will involve. Whilst all four local authorities in the study did this, not enough detail was provided, and the policies therefore did not reflect the potential or the capacity within each community.

Additionally, local authorities must assist community groups in achieving shared understandings of success, as these were found to be essential for successful CAT (Hobson et al, 2019; De haan et al, 2019). Local authority officers could specify whether a successful CAT is one which leads to improvements in community and social impacts. The study confirmed that this would enhance the capacity of authorities, as where groups were able to manage facilities independently, they could still partner with local authorities to achieve broader strategic objectives.

Lastly, a recurring theme has been the need for additional support, however the study identified the ways these needs evolve. Communities need support in coming together and working with existing public and third sector bodies, and this support needs to account for local contexts. Once formal organisations are registered and CATs are conducted, relevant support should concern the business development for CSBs and balancing this with the ongoing challenge of remaining community focused. Therefore, the provision of support needs to ensure that the required stocks of capital that are mobilised from communities remain unfettered once community organisations form.

The study found that successful CAT involved collective resources, so this form of support requires a collaborative approach, where national organisations such as Power to Change tailor support to local contexts and leisure facilities by working with NGBs, third sector sport bodies, and infrastructure organisations. This would cover the needs of leisure facilities, ensuring local contexts are accounted for. However, as argued throughout the study, the forces that pressure communities into conducting CATs, reduce the funding and resources to support the success of CATs. Overall, the study has recognised that there is a need for improved human capital support, but this does not discount the

quality of existing support provided (Locality, 2018a; 2018b; Sport England, 2019; SQW, 2011). It instead provides a conceptualisation of the form that such support may take.

10.4 Final Conclusion

The aim of this study was to provide an understanding of the human capitals underpinning how CSBs emerge from communities when conducting CAT. Overall, human capital exists unequally across communities and within the organisations that are involved in CAT. This because the deprivation caused by local authority budgetary reductions compounds the lack of available skills and expertise in communities.

Each case contained aspects where human capital requirements became increasingly complex (Findlay-King et al, 2018b), with the environmental settings for the CAT becoming formalised (Plunkett et al, 2015). Participants in the study stressed the lack of preparation and time that they had (Ahrens et al, 2015). Also, they lacked the knowledge and capability of how to develop CSBs when transfers were underway or complete. Campaigners and directors of sport clubs were particularly challenged when human capital requirements evolved, as they may be unprepared to continue leading the organisation. For instance, community campaigns required organisational skills, but these differ to those needed to effectively manage organisations.

Another aspect of this concerns the extent that individuals can commit to being involved in the management of facilities, whether as trustees or volunteers. As, with the formalisation of organisations, the commitment that was required for board members became more structured, meaning those without time or those who were only willing to campaign, were unable to commit, creating a precarious governance situation for the CSBs. These findings revealed that across both organisational and community settings, the increasing complexity and commitment required for CAT meant that human capital support was required, with the nature of support having to evolve.

A critical realist examination of how human capital is mobilised involved a view of organisational structure (Elder-Vass, 2006), where organisational and individual properties were identified. For communities and organisations, these properties include the social capital, capacity, and resources that constitute community (Chaskin, 2001) and organisational capital. For individuals such as those working in CSBs, local authorities, and third sector organisations, this includes their human capital and the dispositions they possess which means that they can put their capital to use.

Similarly, the morphogenetic framing of this examination enabled interactions which result in human capital being mobilised to be understood (Archer, 1995). It follows that unique cultural properties

exist in CSBs, as staff and board members interact in ways which develop their bonding social capital. This is significant for whether the organisational human capital to sustain facilities is possessed, as where such bonding capital exists additional human resource is unlocked. Likewise, interactions with external stakeholders underpin whether organisational human capital is mobilised. When skilled consultants interact with members of communities and organisations then human capital is increased in each context as they share their knowledge and experience of CAT processes. The third sector is a reliable source of this human capital support (Aiken et al, 2011; 2018).

Interactions with local authority officers shape whether the human capital in communities were mobilised. The extent that local authorities support communities and organisations corresponds with the political and human capital that is mobilised throughout the process. Indeed, the relationships that individuals, communities, and CSBs have with local authority officers will dictate the extent to which human capitals are mobilised (Forbes, 2017; Fenwick et al, 2015).

Moreover, relationships with local authority officers are strengthened through having shared understandings of what constitutes successful CAT. This is because additional resources may be shared by local authorities if the CAT enables them to achieve their own strategic objectives and keep local leisure facilities operational. For the participants in this study, CATs were considered successful when communities benefited from the facilities being sustained, as this concerned a genuine handover of power to communities (Civil Exchange; Findlay-King et al, 2015).

CATs will only succeed in communities that possess strong stocks of human capital which can be mobilised from the communities into the organisations that form. These communities are likely to be affluent and composed of skilled professionals. Therefore, the chances of CATs being a success are disproportionate and stacked against communities who most need community leisure facilities. It is too simple to argue that support in building human capital can address this issue, as such efforts would further pressure groups that lack capacity to sustain themselves (Jarvis, 2015). Overall, as communities continue to receive attention regarding whether they are suited to managing public assets, attention needs to turn to how community human capital is mobilised before CATs are started. Failure to empower communities in this way will reinforce the austerity localism) that CAT is defined by when human capital is lacking (Featherstone et al, 2012; Findlay-King et al, 2015).

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Appendix A

List of Participants

West Hill Swimming Pool					
1	Code	Gender	Profession	Sector	Description
2	Board Member 1	Female	Manager	Civil Service	Board member who was involved since the pool's closure. They have children that use the pool. They work in management within the public sector.
3	Board Member 2	Female	Manager	Third Sector	Board member who had been involved since the beginning of the campaigns.
4	Chair 1	Male	Manager	Civil Service	Chair once the entity was registered. They run a community news network in the local area. They joined the campaign through this network.
5	Board Member 3	Female	Accountant	Third Sector	Accountant that works for a charity in the city where CG1 is based. Joined during the campaigning phase.
6	Board Member 4	Female	Organiser	Third Sector	Most local board member. Member of local green party. Joined the campaigns when working with the former Vice Chair of the board launched an online petition.
7	Board Member 5	Female	Admin	Private	Newest board member at time of research. Background in private sector business management as they were the business administrator for their husband's business.
8	Head of Leisure	Female	Manager	Public Sector	The Head of Leisure at the City Council. Has been in post since the City Council first started utilising their CAT policy.
9	Senior Duty Manager	Male	Manager	Leisure	Senior Duty Manager with a background in managing council owned leisure facilities
10	Duty Manager 1	Female	Manager	Leisure	Leisure manager that came into management after training as a swim teacher at university.
11	Duty Manager 2	Male	Manager	Leisure	Leisure manager that has worked in local authority leisure facilities for 10 years in a variety of roles. They were recruited and during the lockdown took on a part time role elsewhere as they could not start until the facility was opened.
12	Leisure Assistant 1	Female	Leisure assistant	Community Leisure	Leisure assistant and part time student at local medical school where she is training as a doctor. Whilst working at CG1 she is on placement.
13	Leisure Assistant 2	Female	Leisure Assistant	Community Leisure	Leisure assistant who was a community development officer. She worked alongside the Head of Leisure.
14	Consultant 1	Male	Manager	Community Leisure	General Manager of a local community owned pool. This pool was transferred into community ownership between 2002-2005. The pool is in the most affluent ward of the city.
15	Funder	Female	Manager	Third Sector	Manager of Power to Change Community Business Fund. Not in post when CG1 and CG2 received Power to Change grants.
16	Consultant 2	Male	Manager	Third Sector	Manager of a local charity that evolved from the local development agency in the city. Had been involved with CATs before through the development agency.

17	Consultant 3	Male	Manager	Third Sector	Local third sector consultant who had previously worked for LA1 and had been involved with CATs between the authority and local community organisations
Central Swimming Pool					
19	Code	Gender	Profession	Sector	Description
20	Chair 2	Male	Retired (former MP)	Public Sector	Former MP of the ward that the pool is in. Was involved in the development of the Community Asset Ownership Bill going through Parliament during their time as an MP.
21	CEO	Male	N/A	Community Leisure	Chief Executive who has managed third sector organisations and worked as a third sector consultant.
22	Board Member 6	Female	HR	Third Sector	Manager of a local third sector support agency. The board is required to have a representative of this agency. The background of this board member is HR within the third sector.
23	Board Member 7	Female	HR	Finance	Part of a triathlon club that uses the facility. A CEO invited them to join the board to bring finance and banking expertise into the organisation.
24	Board Member 8	Male	HR Consultant	Third Sector	Newest board who had worked within the third sector across the local region for over two decades. They had worked with the current CEO and the former Chair on employability projects.
25	Board Member 9	Female	Councillor	Public Sector	They were involved in the process of transfer as they joined to help the group maintain a healthy relationship with local authority.
26	Board Member 10	Female	CEO	Community Leisure	Chief Executive of local health and wellbeing charity which addresses health inequalities for mothers, women, and young people. Joined the board to bring health and wellbeing expertise. They also used the pool for their company.
27	CEO 2	Female	Theatre Manager	Community Leisure	CEO that had previously worked in the arts and cultural sector across the midlands. After working at CG2 they became the CEO of a theatre company in the city.
28	Marketing Manager	Male	Journalist	Media	Former Marketing Manager at CG2. They joined the organisation after covering the campaign to protect the facility and providing stories of the CAT in local and national media outlets. Since working at the pool, they have started a community-based media company.
29	CEO 3	Female	Operations Manager	University	CEO that had a background in retail management before working at Central. After working at the pool, they joined the local university to be the operations manager of the student's union.
30	Board Member 11	Female	Management	Public Health	Current board secretary. Has a background in public health management.
31	Interim chair	Male	Management	Civil Service	Interim Chair. They worked for the Chair when they were an MP and continued to work in the civil service after. Their work with the Chair kept them involved with the pool during the campaigning.
Burnside Gymnastics Club					
	Code	Gender	Profession	Sector	

32	Director 1	Male	Retired (former fireman)	Public Sector	Director of the club who was involved in another Gymnastics club that offered a broad range of disciplines. That club also conducted a CAT. The director had been the station manager for the fire service in the area.
33	Director 2	Female	Social Worker	Public sector	Had been involved with the previous club. They have a background in social work.
34	Director 3	Female	Unknown		Parent of a gymnast who uses the facility and now works at the facility.
35	Director 4	Female	Social Worker	Public sector	Parent of a gymnast who uses the facility. They have been volunteering by taking children at the club on trips.
36	Director 5	Male	Architect	Private	Parents of gymnast at the facility. They have a background as an architect and have helped with the conditioning reports at the facility.
37	Receptionist	Female	Receptionist	Leisure	The receptionist at the facility is from the local village and had worked in banking prior to joining the club a year after it reopened.
38	Coach 1	Male	Coach	Leisure	Lead coach who joined the club once the facility had reopened. At their previous club, they had also completed a CAT.
39	Coach 2	Female	Coach	Leisure	Coach who also joined shortly after the facility reopened. They are from the local village.
40	Coach 3	Female	Coach	Leisure	Coach that has been a member of Burnside Gymnastics Club since their childhood. They have competed internationally in gymnastics. They are the child of D4
41	Coach 4	Female	Coach	Leisure	Coach that has been a member of Burnside Gymnastics Club since childhood. They competed internationally in gymnastics. They are a child of Director 3.
42	Coach 5	Female	Coach	Leisure	Coach that has been a member of Burnside Gymnastics Club since their childhood. They have competed internationally in gymnastics
43	Head of Leisure 2	Male	Manager	Public Sector	Head of Leisure from Burnside Council.
Riverside Hockey Club					
44	Code	Gender	Profession	Sector	
45	Director 6	Female	Club Manager	Leisure	Chair of the board that oversees the board of the CIC within the sport club. They have a background in sport management as they have managed the club in different capacities since working at a nearby university as a sport administrator.
46	Director 7	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Former coach and parent of hockey players. They have been involved for 40 years.
47	Director 8	Male	Accountant	Private	Joined the board after their daughter had been at the club for 6 months.
48	Volunteer	Female	Council Officer	Public Sector	Volunteer who coaches at the club. As a volunteer they support the transfer process and the ongoing relations with the local authority. They have a background working with the local authority in the city.
49	Consultant 4	Male	CEO	Public Sector	Consultant who supported with liaising with the local authority. They have a background as the head of the community's department and have overseen multiple CATs both with the local authority and through work

					with sport federations. They wrote the business plan and continue to be involved.
50	Facility Manager	Female	Manager	Leisure	They manage the grounds of the new facility. They do not have a background in hockey, and they live locally. They knew the facility well before it became a hockey facility.
51	Head of Leisure 3	Male	Manager	Public Sector	The head of Leisure from the City Council. They were involved with the CAT of the hockey facility.

Appendix B

Freedom of Information Request

Subject: Freedom of Information - Leisure and Sport Community Assets

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am currently conducting a scoping exercise for a PhD research project. Therefore, under the Freedom of Information Act, please provide me with a copy of the following:

A list of facilities and spaces including sport centres, leisure centres, swimming baths, gymnasiums, bowls greens, cricket greens, outdoor courts, and outdoor activity spaces, which have been transferred through a process of Community Asset Transfer and were previously owned by your local authority, during the last 25 years.

If possible, please also provide me with information concerning when the asset was transferred, the specific nature of the asset, the name and nature of the organisation who the asset was transferred to, the lease that the asset was transferred through, the length of the lease, if the recipients are still in ownership of the asset, and the contacts details of the recipients of the asset.

I understand that under the Act I am entitled to a response within 20 working days of your receipt of this request.

If my request is denied in whole or in part, I ask that you justify all deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the act. I will also expect you to release all non-exempt material. I reserve the right to appeal your decision to withhold any information or to charge excessive fees.

I would prefer to receive the information electronically.

If you require any clarification, I expect you to contact me to provide advice and assistance if you find any aspect of this FOI request problematic.

Please acknowledge receipt of this request, and I look forward to receiving the information in the near future.

Yours faithfully

Stuart Haw, BSc, MSc |

PhD Candidate,

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Room 431, Northumberland Building,
Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 8ST,



Appendix C

Project Information

Information Sheet

Study Title: An investigation of the Human Capital within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities

PhD Researcher: Stuart Haw

PhD Supervisor: Dr Lindsay Findlay-King

Background to study

The purpose of this jointly funded PhD research project (with Power to Change and Northumbria University) is to examine the human capitals that voluntary sport clubs (VSC) need, to successfully undertake and sustain the running of a previously local government managed community sports centre. While the community management of public sport and leisure facilities has attracted increasing attention in terms of government policy, there has been surprisingly little empirical study of this phenomenon in action, particularly with regards to acquiring the sport and leisure facility through Community Asset Transfer (CAT). Community capacity, organisational capacity, and social capital, have all been used as theoretical focuses in exploring the capacity of the organisations and the possession of capital by individuals (Findlay-King et al, 2018a; 2015; Fenwick et al, 2015; Nichols, 2014; Skerratt and Hall, 2011). In such studies, volunteers and paid staff have been seen to possess elevated levels of Social Capital whilst lacking Human Capital (HC).

In this context, HC is comprised of the knowledge, education, skills, competences, training, and resilience that individuals can utilise within the organisation that they work or volunteer within. HC possession is considered a key component of a voluntary organisation's capacity to partake in CAT (Hall, 2003; Skerratt and Hall 2011a; 2011b; Morgan, 2013), as increases in HC lead to greater increases in social capital, financial capital and community capital, than would be achieved by other capitals (Hall, 2003). So, understanding how it can be mobilised is of paramount importance. However, understandings of how HC can be mobilised as part of a VSCs capacity to instigate a CAT and subsequently own and manage a facility are unknown.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the current study is to replicate and extend the previous work on the challenges of organisations involved in the CAT of sport and leisure facilities. Specifically, to investigate the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities. The researcher is looking to work with 3 organisations to discuss the human capital within the organisation, the challenges that are faced, and what support could help mobilise such capital.

Who can take part?

Any voluntary community organisation whose primary objective is the provision of sport opportunities and any Voluntary Sports Club which has undertaken the process of Community Asset Transfer. The organisation will need to have completed the survey that the researcher provided, have supplied necessary additional information, and have been invited to participate by the researcher.

Why take part?

The aim of this survey is to measure the suitability of the organisations for the data collection of the research project, where focus groups will be used to as a primary method of data collection, complemented by document analysis and interviews with other stakeholders. The focus groups will explore human capital within voluntary community organisations that have acquired a sport and leisure asset from a Local Authority through a process of Community Asset Transfer. Specifically,

how that human capital can be mobilised to improve the success and sustainability of the transfer, and if there are areas which need supporting.

The focus groups will give the organisation an opportunity to discuss the skills, competences, and experiences which they collectively possess. This will aid their planning. The researcher is also able to signpost the organisation to support bodies.

How did you get my contact details?

The contact details of organisations were acquired through submitting FOI requests to all English Local Authorities. Several of the Local Authority Officers provided contact details, and for those that did not your details were found on the webpage associated with your organisation.

How long will the survey take?

The survey should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. There are some short questions pertaining to the general information of your organisation and the asset, but you may need more time to answer questions relating to when your organisation acquired the asset. Please have this information ready prior to complete the survey.

What about my privacy and confidentiality?

If you do not provide consent your information will be removed, and you will not be invited to the focus group interviews.

If you choose to consent, your information will only be used by the leader researcher and their supervisor. The information will be used for assessing whether your organisation is relevant for the focus groups. If you are included in the focus group study, your organisation, organisation members, the Local Authority, and the asset you are responsible for will be anonymised.

At the end of the survey there is a section asking if agree to the researcher contacting you again. This will either be to ask you to provide some more information, or to invite you to the focus group interviews.

Stuart Haw

Northumbria University



**Northumbria
University**
NEWCASTLE

Appendix D

Interview Schedules

Focus Group Schedule for Staff

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my project. The purpose of this focus group is to collect information about your involvement in the transfer of the sport facility that your organisation runs, your viewpoint on the context of this change and the role that your human capital plays in its success. You may decide that you do not want to answer some questions, which is not a problem. All the information that you provide will be confidential.

Section 1 - Paid staff

Please introduce yourself and explain your background. Specifically, your background with the organisation, your current role, and any relevant work or training you feel comfortable to share prior to your involvement with the organisation.

What motivated you to get involved with the facility?

Were you involved with the facility before it was closed by the Council?

Were you involved with any of the facility maintenance?

Section 2 – The organisation

2.1

To start, can you say whether you feel there is a particular here?

Can you explain your relationship with the local community?

Have you been involved in any community projects in the past?

What did you know about the facility prior to joining?

What about the organisation?

2.2

Can we talk about the decision-making processes?

Do you feel involved in this?

Section 3 – Dynamics

3.1

The next two questions relate to external relationships that the club has.

Can you explain if you work with the external network of the club?

How involved is the local community?

3.2 Do you receive any support from the Council to do your role?

Appendix E

Trustee Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule for the Board Members

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my project. The purpose of this is to collect information about your involvement in the transfer of the Pool.

Section 1 - Human Capital

1.1

Please introduce yourself and explain your background. Specifically, your background with the organisation and anything prior.

Please can you tell me about your involvement with the process of acquiring and opening the facility?

1.2

Please tell me about the ease or difficulty that you have faced in recruiting members of staff.

Section 2 – Culture in the organisation

2.1

To start, can you describe your values?

What about culture, how would describe that here?

2.2

Can we talk about the decision-making processes here?

Section 3 – External dynamics

3.1

The next two sets of questions relate to the capacity of the organisation in seeking external support.

Can you explain the presence of a particular stakeholder from your external network?

How supportive has this stakeholder been?

3.2

Do you feel pressured or encouraged to sustainably run the facility?

Appendix F Consent Form

Consent form

Project Title: An investigation of the Human Capital within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities

PhD Researcher: Stuart Haw

Consent Form to take part in research

- I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that participation involves discussion my Human Capital (skills, knowledge, experience, qualification).
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that in publishing this research my identity will remain anonymous.
- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in PhD publications, conferences, and other academic journals
- I understand that if I inform the researcher that myself or someone else is at risk of harm, they may have to report this to the relevant authorities - they will discuss this with me first but may be required to report with or without my permission.
- I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in the researchers Northumbria PGR Office Computer and on an audio recording device from the day of recording until PhD completion
- I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained until PhD completion.
- I understand that under freedom of information legislation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.
- I agree to providing information contained in completed interested parties' forms, business plans and memorandums.
- I understand that I am free to contact the PhD Researcher to seek further clarification and information (and academic supervisors when relevant).
- I have read and understood the participant information sheet.
- I have read and understood, and I am happy with the GDPR and Transparency information in the GDPR and Transparency Declaration.

Signature of research participant -----

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of researcher -----

Date

**Appendix G
Risk Assessment**

Date: 09/07/2020	Researcher: Stuart Haw
Project Title:	Investigating the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure facilities

The following two risk assessments pertain to the Ethics for focus groups investigating the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities. As outlined in the data collection section of the ethics application that this is attached to, the focus groups may be conducted in person or through video conferencing. Because of this uncertainty, the following is a risk assessment for in person focus group interviews that are conducted at leisure centres belonging to the VSCs, this is followed by a risk assessment for focus groups that are conducted over video calls. As it is currently unclear which VSCs will be included in the research project as the scoping has not been done (it will be completed once ethical approval has been granted) it is not possible to produce a tailored risk assessment for each VSC.

Risk Assessment for In Person Focus Group

Item No.	Activity, Equipment, Materials, etc.	Hazard	Persons at risk	S	L	Risk Rating	Control Measures Required	Final Result*
	activity	risks when travelling	participants and researcher			1-10 11-18 20-36	<p>Awareness of options for mode of travel.</p> <p>Awareness of physical environment.</p> <p>Participants and Researcher to be aware of health and safety policies and fire drills of research location.</p>	
	activity	discussion of a sensitive topic in an interview as potential to cause distress to participant	researcher and participant: psychological stress and anxiety about dealing with a complex situation				<p>offer to cease interview.</p> <p>signpost participant to external/internal support services.</p> <p>provide each group with information prior to the focus group pertaining to what will be discussed.</p>	

activity	Whistleblowing	participant: emotional distress from disclosing the event bias as a result of disclosing				inform participants of limits of confidentiality in Participant information Sheet at time of disclosure cease interview have identified person to pass on to	
activity	data collection with groups	participants: agreements or conflicts between people				confirm researcher experience and skill in group facilitation	
activity	data collection taking place in an unfamiliar location with people not already known to researcher	researcher: physical injury or psychological harm				visit location prior to data collection to assess possible risks associated with location and social environment. Use this information to plan session Researcher to have contact details and means of making timely contact with back up	
activity	disclosure of information about poor practice	participant				ensure all verbal and written information about research indicates possible researcher response to disclosure.	
activity	disclosure of inmet health or social care needs	participant				ensure all verbal and written information about research indicates possible researcher response to disclosure. participants have an opportunity to disclose this information in the survey.	
activity	research participant in danger of harm to self or others	participant				ensure all verbal and written information about research indicates possible researcher response to indication of danger to self or others. participants have an opportunity to disclose this information in the survey.	

	Activity	Physical risk posed by the asset	Researcher and participants: An incident at the asset involving equipment, the facility, or people outside of the focus group				Upon attending the facility, it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure they are clear on health and safety rules. If necessary, researchers and participants must attend an induction.	
Does this Risk Assessment Require Further Specific Risk Assessment: Yes (listed below)								
Manual handling: No	OSHH: No	UWER: No	SEAR: No	Young persons No	New & Expectant Mothers: No:			

Risk Assessment for Video Conferencing Focus Groups

Item No.	Activity, Equipment, Materials, etc.	Hazard	Persons at risk	S	L	Risk Rating	Control Measures Required	Final Result*
						20-36 12-18 1-10		
1.1	Equipment	Technological disruption	Researcher and participants: Lack of access to focus group. Data loss/data leak.			3	Ensure communication is only made on official and agreed platforms. Use secure emailing. Use secure video conferencing (Zoom)	
1.2	Activity	Discussion of a sensitive topic in an interview has potential to cause distress to participant	Researcher and participant: Psychological stress and anxiety about dealing with a complex situation				Offer to cease interview Signpost participant to external/internal support services	

3	Activity	Whistleblowing	Participant: emotional distress from disclosing the event bias as a result of disclosing				Inform participants of limits of confidentiality in Participant information Sheet. At time of disclosure cease interview. Have identified person to pass on to.	
4	Activity	Data collection with groups	Disagreements or conflicts between people				Confirm researcher experience and skill in group facilitation	
5	Activity	Data collection taking place with people not already known to researcher	Researcher: psychological harm				Visit location prior to data collection to assess possible risks associated with built and social environment (if possible) Use this information and information found in A CAT policy, interested parties form, business plans and memorandums to plan session Allow extra time to familiarise participants with research and environment Make contact beforehand to build rapport with participants	
6	Activity	Disclosure of information about poor practice	Participants				Ensure all verbal and written information about research indicates possible researcher response to disclosure	
7	Activity	Disclosure of unmet health or social care needs	Participants				Ensure all verbal and written information about research indicates possible researcher response to disclosure. Participants have an opportunity to disclose this information in the survey.	
8	Equipment	The data shared may be stolen and leaked if somebody intercepts the video call.	Participants and Researcher				Use secure video conferencing (Zoom)	
Does this Risk Assessment Require Further Specific Risk Assessment:								
Manual handling: No	OSHH: No	UWER:	SEAR: No	Young persons	New & Expectant Mothers: No			

To be completed by the person undertaking the risk assessment

Name: Stuart Haw

Job Title: PhD Researcher

Date: 09/07/2020

Appendix H PhD GDPR and Data Protection

PhD GDPR and Transparency Declaration

The following information is being provided to participants to advise them on GDPR and Transparency arrangement for the PhD project “Investigating the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities.” The information is in line with the Northumbria University Ethics and Governance March 2020: <https://northumbria-cdn.azureedge.net/-/media/corporate-website/new-sitecore-gallery/research/documents/pdf/northumbria-research-ethics-and-governance-handbook-march-2020.pdf?modified=20200318091151>

And the Information Commissioning Office’s latest GDPR guidance: <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/>

Northumbria University Ethics and Governance March 2020 stipulates the following:

“Transparency Under the new General Data Protection Regulations, which come into force on 25th May 2018, all researchers undertaking research involving personal data must provide information to subjects about the collection and processing of their data. Remember: where participant data is no longer identifiable, then it is no longer personal data, and the GDPR transparency requirements do not apply. Under GDPR researchers will now need to provide transparency information about the legal basis for undertaking research and other details of data processing.

The below sets out the required information that researchers will need to provide when collecting personal data from 25th May 2018.” As the PhD researcher will be obtaining personal data directly from participants, they must inform participants of the following:

- Name of data controller and data processor
Stuart Haw, PhD Researcher at Northumbria University.
The project is jointly funded by Power to Change and Northumbria University. For information regarding the project and further information on transparency and GDPR please contact: dp.officer@northumbria.ac.uk or lindsay.findlay-king@northumbria.ac.uk and ailbhe.mcnabola@powertochange.org.uk
- Purposes of the processes as well as the legal basis
There is not a legal basis for the processing of this data. The purpose is for the PhD project the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities. Specifically, to investigate the Human Capital and capacity within voluntary sport clubs involved with the Community Asset Transfer of formerly Local Authority owned Sport and Leisure Facilities. The research objective is to answer the following questions:
 1. What are the capacities and tenets of HC needed to successfully acquire and sustain a sport and leisure facilities, as a community asset transfer?
 2. How is HC mobilised in VSCs?
 3. What HC specific support is needed to sustain a community owned Sport and Leisure asset?
 4. Are there differences between voluntary and paid staff capacity requirements?

The research aim, research objective, and underpinning research questions have been agreed with staff from the Power to Change Research Institute.

- The categories of personal data concerned
According to the ICO the data is categorised as non-sensitive in that it does not that pertain to any of the following areas:
 - Race

- Ethnic origin
- Political opinions
- Religious or philosophical beliefs
- Trade union memberships
- Genetic data
- Biometric data
- Health data
- Sex life
- Sexual orientation

The data may pertain to the financial information of organisations and assets. Not people or personal financial data.

- The recipients or categories of recipients of the personal data, if any
This data will not be shared externally and will be anonymised when published.
- The period for which the personal data will be stored
Personal data will be destroyed upon completion of the PhD project.
- The data subject's rights
Participants have been informed of their rights within this document and the Participant information sheet. Participants have the right to submit a subject access request through the university's legal services team: <https://www.northumbria.ac.uk/about-us/leadership-governance/vice-chancellors-office/legal-services-team/>
- The right to lodge a complaint with the ICO
Participants have been informed of their rights within this document and the Participant information sheet to lodge a complaint with the ICO if they are not satisfied with the Researcher's handling of data, and the University's handling of Subject Access Requests. <https://ico.org.uk/>
- The source from which the personal data originate, and if applicable, whether it came from publicly accessible sources
Personal data will originate in survey responses, focus group responses, and documentations
- Whether the provision of personal data is part of a statutory or contractual requirement or obligation and possible consequences of failing to provide the personal data
The provision of personal data is an obligation in this research and the consequence of failing to do so will be the removal of the participant from the research project.
- Any automated decision-making, and, meaning information about the logic involved, as well as the significance and the envisaged consequences of such processing for the data subject
There is not automated decision making involved in this research project.
- How appropriate or suitable safeguards are achieved in relation to any personal data transferred out of Europe
The data management process outline within this document and the Participant information sheet has outlined an appropriate safeguard in preventing data from being transferred out of Europe." The following outlines Data Management and anonymising the data. This will be shared with participants within the Participant Information Sheet for Focus Groups in line with Section 12 and 13 of the Northumbria University Ethics and Governance published March 2020.
The audio recording will be transcribed verbatim onto the researcher's main computer in the Northumbria University PGR office. Data will then be added to NVivo 12 Software where the Constant Comparison Method of data analysis will be conducted.
Audio recording equipment will remain on an audio recording device until being added to a secure computer in the Northumbria University PGR office. The audio recording device will be USB compatible so that there is not unnecessary storage or unnecessary

transferring. The audio recording will be destroyed once transcribed. The transcriptions will be destroyed after 5 years of being made.

If access to the Northumbria University PGR Office is not possible. Then the researcher will access a private computer to ensure security when conducting Focus Groups, collecting data, and analysing the data. The notes made in the focus groups will be destroyed after being used in the analysis.

I will be coding the data when analysing through the constant comparison analyses. This method relies on coding and chunking. As the participants, the assets they are responsible for, and the local authority will also be coded, they will be made anonymous in the write up within the thesis.

Data will be anonymised in line with the Northumbria University Research and Governance Ethics and Governance Handbook. Participants, assets, and local authority will correspond to a reference number in an index list. A second list will include the reference number where it is used in the collected, transcribed, and coded data. "By themselves, neither list identifies a specific individual, even though they both contain 'personal information,' and it is not until they are together, and the reference is used that they identify each individual and the details they have submitted." Therefore, the two lists will be stored separately on the researcher's computer's filing system. Both lists will be kept until 5 years from the beginning of the data collection process."

Appendix I

Data analysis Matrix Example: Chapter 8

Success as com	Theme	Case site	CCF Theme	Quotes
Social Impact su	Social inclusion	SC1 - D1	SC	And we have tal
		SC1 - D2		We set up the co
		SC1 - D2		We had one one
Improving the h	Health Impacts	CG1 - LA1	SC	teaching about f
		CG1 - BM4	SC	When you make
		CG1 - LA2	SC	Because he lives
		CG1 - DM1	SC	in a community
		CG1 - LA1		they magnificent
		SC1 - LA3	SC	You can probabl
Improving the h	Clear Health and	CG1 - LA1		they magnificent
		CG2 - Treasurer		Maybe they focu
Teaching people		CG2 - Treasurer		I think it's clear t
		CG2 - Treasurer		I was aware of th
		CG1 - SDM		we've got ideas t
		CG1 - SDM		And that's the w
		CG1 - BM1	HC- knowledge	So out of boroug
Providing bespo		CG1 - BM4	The need for sw	He spent a whic
		CG1 - LA1	HC/SC	I know who you
		CG1 - BM1	Seeing informat	we we've had a
Community involvement		CG2 - Treasurer	Success being cl	Defining success
		CG2 - Treasurer	Success being cl	Because there's
Opportunities for local people				
Who are the com	multiple sports/	SC2 - CON4	How the facilitie	My experience is
		SC2 - CON4	How the facilitie	So the there is it
		SC2 - CON4	How the facilitie	it was a recognit
		SC2 - CON4	How the facilitie	We never even s
	Community is ar	CG2 - CEO3	SC/HC - Knowled	there is a kind of
		CG2 - CEO3		And I think I was
		CG1 - LA2		So the communi
		CG1 - LA2		I do feel how im
Measuring Com	Social Return on Investment	SC2 - D6		uni, because we
		SC1 - LA3		Perhaps the cou
		SC1 - LA3	nisation complet	ing a CAT because
		SC1 - LA3		I talked about £6
		SC1 - LA3		I would say to er
Challenges in pri	Deprived areas	SC1 - LA3	Knowledge of h	Nearly everythin

Appendix J Reflexive Notes: February 04-10, 2021

Productive morning workwise. I have been finding some interesting things particularly the way board members overstepping has exhausted the legitimacy and community ethos but this has been at the expense of creating a bit of a skills gap. This has probably benefited the faculty as it has meant staff volunteered during forenoon. I think there is a job for me to explore this in detail on Tuesday. There is a bit of work to be done.

February 05 2021

Monday 8
Saxel. Today was absolutely exhausting 6 hours of data collection plus making an organising more data collection notes do bill. The benefit however is that I have been able to sit down and not have to work too much. However, I am tired from the interviews. There are a few things which are not yet done, but that's good. I shall not email evening or sites until I have a clear idea of what has been covered this far. Likewise with Glen with regards to Alex from PFC I will make contact with her tomorrow morning prior to leaving.

February 08 2021

The things discussed today were fascinating I can't wait to transcribe at least through the conversations which were held. My theory, differing roles on the board, community ethos/unique ethos, local authority governance.

09/02 Data coding at chat with Jhoni Pines
- My interests were brilliant, really pulled out 3 key themes - LA relationship, community generation, and normative culture of the organisation involved. These contrast across the sample regarding these.

February 09 2021

My personal communication skills need improving. Or so it seems from my audio recordings

Appendix K Backgrounds of Consultants

Consultant 1 - West Hill Pool Consultant

- General Manager of a local community pool, which is located in another ward.
- Lead the transfer of this pool in the early 2000s after a lengthy protest with the local authority
- They supported the recruitment process and trained lifeguards. Staff from their pool volunteered at West Hill Pool to support the reopening.
- They had contacts at Community Leisure UK and Power to Change.
- They supported West Hill Pool on a voluntary basis.

Consultant 2 - West Hill Community Development Consultant

- Former employee of the West Hill Council
- Experience of community ownership, CAT, and community development
- They supported with business planning, fundraising, contract procurement, bid writing,
- They were hired by the West Hill ward Councillor prior to consultations with West Hill Council.
- Continued as a volunteer to support the CSB with facility maintenance and repairs

Consultant 3 - West Hill Regeneration Consultant

- Manager of "The Hill" a community and voluntary council and regeneration agency based within the West Hill ward.
- Experience of community regeneration projects and was the Community Lead for the New Deal for Communities expenditure in West Hill.
- Had worked closely with West Hill Council officers from past collaboration.
- They were hired by the West Hill ward Councillor prior to consultations with West Hill Council.

Consultant 4 - Riverside Consultant

- Former CEO of Riverside Council and former member of the Senior Management team at the Football Association.
- Experience of community development, sport governance, CAT, and facility development.
- Did not have a background in Hockey.
- Had existing connections at Riverside Council, who suggested to the Club Director that they should work as a consultant on the CAT.